THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE
INDIAN PEOPLE

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Prepared under the Directions of
the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's President
DR. K.M. MUNSHI
and with a Foreword by him

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN'S

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME V

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

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THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

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FOREWORD

By Dr. K. M. Munshi

One of the objects of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Institution which sponsors this Series, is the "study of the forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative energy through which it expressed it (Indian Culture) in different ages as one continuous process". An attempt has, therefore, to be made, consistently with this object, to present a view of the Age in flowing time.

I do so in all humility. I fully realise my inadequacy to do so; for, I have to rely upon whatever little study I have made and whatever I have observed, during the last fifty years, of the collective responses of our people to the events, movements, customs, institutions and values as also to men who have, through their life and teachings, evoked the unseen forces which have shaped the life of India.

The most crucial Age in Indian history began in A.D. 998, when the Turkish conqueror, Mahmūd, captured Ghaznī; it ended in A.D. 1292, when the Khaljī Chief, Jalāl-ud-dīn, proclaimed himself the Sultān of Delhi. It can, however, be conveniently divided into two periods, the first ending in A.D. 1193, when Mu'izz-ud-dīn Ghūrī defeated Pṛithvīrāja Chāhamāna of Ajmer in the Battle of Tarain or Taraori and opened the gates of Madhya Pradesh to the foreign invader; the second ending in 1299.

This period, in my opinion, has not yet been studied from India's point of view; from the point of view of the trials she passed through; of the sufferings she underwent when foreign elements forced their way into her life-blood; of the manner in which she reacted to the situation; of the means which she found to meet, or to mitigate, the dangers that confronted her; of the ways in which she reconstructed, achieved and fulfilled herself.

Such a study is difficult for two reasons. First, the chronicles written by the protégés of the invaders or their successors throw a dubious but concentrated light on the narrow sector of life which their patrons dominated. This generally leads to the unconfessed impression that the vastly broad sector, which lies in obscurity for want of historical material, either did not exist or does not matter as much.

Secondly, the magnificence of Akbar's achievements in the sixteenth century, by an illusory retrospectivity casts a reflected glamour on the period of the Sultanate. Because the Mughal Empire was an experiment in a national monarchy presided over by a Muslim monarch, one comes to assume, by an easy transition, that the Muslim-dominated Sultanate was the chrysalis from which it sprang.

Unless, therefore, the period is viewed from a right perspective, its true picture cannot possibly emerge; nor would it be possible to assess the factors which, coming into existence during this period, affected the life of the people through the intervening centuries, and which still confront it with unsolved problems.

II

The year A.D. 1000 was a fateful year for India. In that year, Mahmūd of Ghaznī first invaded it. That event, in my opinion, divides Ancient from Medieval India.

For over 2000 years before this event, that is, from before the days of king Janamejaya Pārikshita, referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the culture of the dominant classes, developing in almost unbroken continuity, had brought large sections of the people within its fold. It was, however, disturbed on occasions, for instance, by the raids of Alexander; by the influx of the Bactrian Greeks, the Kushāṇas and the Śakas; by the invasion of the Hūṇas; by the Arab incursions in Sindh. But these inroads were only temporary episodes; the vitality of the culture and social organization found it easy to absorb most of the alien elements which were left behind in the country after they were closed.

This continuous vitality is a phenomenon, without appreciating which it is difficult to study the epochs of Indian history in continuous time. Several factors have maintained it. Of them, perhaps the most important was the 'Āryāvarta-consciousness' which threw up values and institutions of great vigour and tenacity.

It was based on the faith that Bhāratavarsha, in its ideal aspect often referred to as Āryāvarta, was the sacred land of Dharma, 'the high road to Heaven and to Salvation'; where 'men were nobler than the Gods themselves;[1] where all knowledge, thought and worship were rooted in the Vedas, revealed by the Gods themselves; where the Dharmaśāstras prescribed the fundamental canons of personal life and social relations; where *Chāturvarṇya*, the divinely-

1. *Vishṇu*, II, 3, 4.

ordained four-fold order of society, embraced all social groups; where, whatever the dialect of the people, Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, was the supreme medium of high expression.'

The Dharmaśāstras—and by that is meant not only the Smṛitis beginning with the *Manu-smṛiti,* but the *Mahābhārata*[2]—have played a very big role in the life of the country. Particularly *Manu-smṛiti,* as the *Dharmaśāstra* of divine origin, has had an all-pervading influence from the time historical memory could reach back to moulding the mind and the life of men, not only in India but in the India beyond the Seas, in Burma, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Bali.

With the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* it has provided a background of continuity to the social and moral life; modified customary laws of tribes and communities in different stages of civilization; and built up the Collective Unconscious of our people, that subconscious source of integrative vitality which keeps a people together, leads them to feel and react as one in the face of certain circumstances, and provides the urge to collective action of a recurring character.

Century after century, the system, first formulated by the *Manu-smṛiti,* was accepted throughout the country, never by force of arms, less by royal fiats than the sanction implied in the belief that 'God gave it and the ancestors obeyed it'. It was found so acceptable because it had a revealing basis of reality: of a frank recognition of the temperamental inequalities of man; of the predominance of hereditary influences over environments; of the need for a synthetic framework for widely differing social groups in a vast country where culture had been staggered from not only region to region, but often from one group of villages to another. Its fundamental aim was to produce a synthetic urge towards human betterment, which treated economic, social, material, and ethical and spiritual well-being as indivisible; an aim which has yet to be improved upon by any other system.

These values gave continuity to the way of life of even those sections who did not accept the divine origin of the Vedas or *Chātur-varṇya.* They also provided homogeneity to widely differing communities and religious cults and forms. The universal urge which they provided to go on a pilgrimage, generation after generation, to the mountains, rivers, towns of ancient fame, and holy spots and shrines which were conceived as the physical manifestations of the

2. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja both treat *Bhagavadgītā* as a *smṛiti.*

Land of Dharma, also kept alive an emotional awareness of unity and sanctity.

The 'Āryāvarta-consciousness' was mainly religio-cultural in content. Its political significance which, though often belied in practice, exercised considerable influence with the kings of an earlier age in North India when they faced foreign invasion; it is summed up by Medhātithi thus: "Āryāvarta was so called because the Āryas sprang up in it again and again. Even if it was overrun by the *mlechchhas,* they could never abide there for long".[3] The tradition also had it that whenever a crisis arose, a *chakravartin,* a world-emperor, would rise in the land and re-establish Dharma. South India, however, which accepted the religio-cultural aspects of 'Āryāvarta-consciousness' and Manu's system, knew no such significance, for it had never to face the problem of the *mlechchhas* till the fourteenth century.

The consciousness in its political aspect had all but disappeared during the few decades which preceded A.D. 1000 on account of the recurring upheavals in North India. The empire of Kanauj, which had stabilised North India for wellnigh 150 years and supported the Shāhi kings of the North-West[4], has disintegrated. Now *Raghukulabhūchakravartī,* 'the World-Emperor of Raghu's race', was merely a symbol of a vanished greatness, ruling over a small territory around Kanauj on the sufferance of his erstwhile feudatories. Some of them, however, like the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti, the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala and the Paramāras of Mālava were engaged in struggling to found an empire on the ruins of old one, but with little success.

In Eastern India, the Pālas, the Chandras, the Varmans and the Gaṅgas fought each other with fluctuating success, struggling to retain whatever they had or to filch what they had not.

The Rāshṭrakūṭas, the rivals of the Pratīhāra-Gūrjareśvaras, had faded away; their empire, which for well-nigh two centuries had dominated most of South India, had also been dissolved. The Paramāras of Mālava and the Western Chālukyas, both feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, at one time or the other, were locked in a life and death struggle, while Rājarāja Choḷa (A.D. 985-1014), who ruled over the extreme South, was just emerging as a powerful and wise monarch.

At the turn of the tenth century, therefore, there was no generally accepted national focus in the country, as Kanauj had once

3. Medhātithi on *Manu:* II, 22.
4. Munshi, *Imperial Gurjaras,* p. 86.

been, and no military power in North India strong enough to keep the warring kings in check, or to co-ordinate their activities against any foreign invader. Thus, when Mahmūd began his raids, India was ill-equipped for successful resistance.

III

After the Hūṇas had been repulsed in the sixth century, the country had been free from any serious foreign visitation for about two centuries. The Arab conquest of Sindh in the eighth century had only been a frontier episode and the Pratīhāras in the ninth century appear to have reclaimed some parts which had been overrun by the Arabs. The Indian mind, thus lulled into self-complacency, was indifferent to, if not unaware of, the vast shifts of power which were taking place across the frontier.

When the Sāmānid Princes, Turks recently converted to Islam, had grown weak, Alptigīn, a slave of one of them, established himself at Ghaznī on the borders of India as a quasi-independent chieftain. His successor, Sabuktigīn (A.D. 977-997), when he was safely entrenched in power, began nibbling at the possessions of the Shāhi kings, which included parts of Afghānistān, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjāb.

On Sabuktigīn's death, his son Mahmūd, with swift audacity, captured Ghaznī, which his father had left to another son. He was a military leader of the highest order, gifted with a rare personality. Developing a marvellous striking power, by A.D. 1000, he extended his sway over considerable parts of Central Asia, Irān and Seistān. Then he turned to India, giving her people a foretaste of total war with which they had not been familiar since the days of the Hūṇas.

The Indian kings, all of whom accepted, at any rate in theory, the law of the Dharmaśāstras as inalienable, waged wars according to certain humane rules. Whatever the provocation, the shrine, the Brāhmaṇa and the cow were sacrosanct to them. War being a special privilege of the martial classes, harassment of the civilian population during military operations was considered a serious lapse from the code of honour. The high regard which all the Kshatriyas had for the chastity of women, also ruled out abduction as an incident of war.

The wars in Central Asia, on the other hand, were grim struggles for survival, for the destruction of the enemies and for appropriating their womenfolk. No code circumscribed the destructive zeal of the conqueror; no canon restrained the ruthlessness of their

hordes. When, therefore, Mahmūd's armies swept over North India it saw torrents of barbarians sweeping across its rich plains, burning, looting, indulging in indiscriminate massacre; raping women, destroying fair cities, burning down magnificent shrines enriched by centuries of faith; enforcing an alien religion at the point of sword; abducting thousands, forcing them into unwilling marriage or concubinage; capturing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Ghaznī and other Central Asian markets.

Delhi, Kanauj, Jejākabhukti sent men and money to help the Shāhi kings to defend their frontiers. But the invader swept everything before him. All that the three generations of the Shāhis, 'men of noble sentiments and noble bearings', who, according to Al-Bīrūnī, 'in their grandeur never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and rich', could do was, like heroes of frustrated destiny that they were, fight and die bravely.

Mahmūd annexed the Punjāb, thereby opening the way to the hungry men from the steppes of Central Asia to descend upon this rich and fertile land in search of plunder. Nothing would withstand the Central Asian raiders eager to plunder and destroy. In a few years, Thāneswar, Mathurā, Kanauj and Prabhāsa Pattana were smoking ruins. The ruler of Kanauj accepted submission on abject terms. The raids of the Turk were, however, halted in the east by Vidyādhara Chandella at Kālañjara and in the south-west, where after destroying the temple of Somanātha, Mahmūd had to beat a hasty retreat through the desert of Sindh for fear of the federated armies of 'Paramadeva', whom I would identify with Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā (A.D. 1000-1055).[5]

In spite of the havoc worked by the raids of Mahmūd, life returned to normal as soon as their pressure disappeared. For instance, within five years of the invasion, in the course of which Mahmūd destroyed the temple of Somanātha, Gujarāt, richer and more powerful than before, had not only rebuilt the temple on a more magnificent scale, but created the artistic wonders of the Dilwārā temple. About the same time, the neighbouring kingdom, which included Mālwā and parts of Gujarāt, was enjoying great prosperity associated with enthusiastic pursuit of learning, literature and art.

5. Munshi, *Imperial Gurjaras*, p. 139.

IV

However, the destruction and the humiliation inflicted by Mahmūd's raids shocked India's sense of ancient superiority, bringing into play several political, social and psychological factors. With the Yamīnīs, the successors of Mahmūd, firmly established in the Punjāb, the 'Āryāvarta-consciousness' lost whatever significance it had. The belief that *Chāturvarṇya* was a divinely appointed universal order, characteristic of the land, was shaken; for now a ruling race in the country not only stood outside it, but held it in contempt and sought its destruction.

Nationalism, familiar to the modern mind, is a non-religious group sentiment. It is associated with a fierce possessiveness over one's own land however vast it may be, entertained by a people who have willed themselves into a quasi-organic solidarity. Naturally, the Indian kings could not develop it, because the country was too vast and the times unfavourable to the development of a non-religious group sentiment of this nature. Five more centuries had to elapse before nationalism became a force in Europe and two hundred more years had to pass before it was to become a human value in Asia.

The storm that blew in the wake of Mahmūd's armies was sudden and overwhelming. It came before any of the feudatories of Imperial Kanauj could win the race for an unchallenged hegemony; when it blew over none was left strong enough to win it. The kings of South India, where the political aspect of the 'Āryāvarta-consciousness' had been so much as penetrated, also presented too persistent a menace to enable them to combine against a foreign enemy from the North-West. In the result, loyalties came to be confined to one's own region, accelerating the trend to social and political particularism.

During this Age, the *dvijas* had long ceased to be a compact, social group created by *anuloma* marriages and a common education received from Brāhmaṇa preceptors. The Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas were now separate castes to which was denied the dynamic fluidity throughout the country which it had under the earlier social order. To this was added another factor. The dynastic pride, always a great factor in stiffening the morale of royal houses, had deteriorated into vaingloriousness which grew in proportion as the kingdoms shrunk in extent. A king, instead of being the only source of power, was no more than the first among the equals, the head of inter-related overlordships, never in a position to overrule the wishes of his feudal lords.

In consequence, the loyalties of the Kshatriyas became rooted in the region over which they and their king held feudal sway. This rendered annexation, the only possible source of establishing the core of an empire, extremely difficult. Even after a smashing victory, a conqueror sometimes seems to have found it expedient to restore the vanquished enemy or a member of his family to the throne in order not to alienate the local chieftains; but no sooner was his back turned, than they, more often than not, declared independence.

Under these conditions, scarcely any king could leave his realm for any length of time exposing it to the greed of his neighbours. He was always hard put to save his own kingdom and, on accession, had to make peace even with a foreign invader and divert his attention to his neighbour. In this way, social stagnancy and regional consciousness led to what has been called 'small-state-mindedness', the sure forerunner of political disintegration.

V

About the middle of the twelfth century, the Turks, then in occupation of parts of Central Asia, were forced first westwards and then eastwards by the pressure of their enemies. In A.D. 1175, the Turkish chief, Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, the nephew of the ferocious 'World-Burner' of Ghūr, invaded India. The impact of the invasion was borne by three powerful princes: Pṛithvīrāja Chāhamāna of Ajmer, Jayachandra Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauj, and Mūlarāja II, Chaulukya of Gujarāt. Each one of them was powerful enough to defeat the invader singly; Mūlarāja drove him back in 1178; Pṛithvīrāja, in A.D. 1191; but no two of them would combine. When the brave Pṛithvīrāja lost the second Battle of Tarain in 1192, the turning point of history came. When Jayachandra Gāhaḍavāla, next to be vanquished, died fighting, the Turkish cavalry swept over the plains of the Gaṅgā.

In A.D. 1206, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, who succeeded Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, established the Turkish Sultanate of India at Lahore. It was transferred later to Delhi. The Sultanate was foreign in personnel and outlook, for "The Forty" as the leading Turkish chiefs, originally the slaves of Mu'izz-ud-dīn, were called, owned it in fee. Its principal concern was loot and conquest; and the slogan of *jehad*, supported by the *'Ulamā*, came in useful to maintain the fanatic zeal of the army. To these invaders nothing was sacred. The description given by Padmanābha in *Kāhnaḍade Prabandha* (c. A.D. 1456)

of what the armies of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī did, would equally apply to the campaigns of the Turks:

> "The conquering army burnt villages; devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took Brāhmaṇas, children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with thongs and raw hide, carried a moving prison with it, and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks."

In the days of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, in the words of 'Utbī, "the blood of the infidels flowed copiously and apostasy was often the only way of survival." On the testimony of so liberal a Muslim of this Age as Amīr Khusrav, "the land had been saturated with the water of the sword and the vapours of infidelity (*i.e.* Hindus) had been dispersed." Will Durant, in his *Story of Civilization,* aptly says: "The Mohammedan conquest of India is probably the bloodiest story in history. It is a discouraging tale, for its evident moral is that civilization is a precarious thing, whose delicate complex of order and liberty, culture and peace may at any time be overthrown by barbarians invading from without or multiplying within". And neither the ferocity nor the persistence of the invader could lead the Indians to develop the military organisation or the ruthlessness needed to match the opposing savagery.

The conquests so exultantly referred to by the court chroniclers of the Sultanate had an Indian side of the picture. It was one of ceaseless resistance offered with relentless heroism; of men, from boys in teens to men with one foot in the grave, flinging away their lives for freedom; of warriors defying the invaders from fortresses for months, sometimes for years, in one case, with intermission, for a century; of women in thousands courting fire to save their honour; of children whose bodies were flung into the wells by their parents so that they might escape slavery; of fresh heroes springing up to take the place of the dead and to break the volume and momentum of the onrushing tide of invasion.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mongols had already established themselves in Afghānistān. In A.D. 1254, they had taken Lahore; in A.D. 1255 they had entered Sindh. With his retreat to the original homeland thus cut off, the Turk, compelled to look to India as his permanent home, clung to the precariously held kingdom of Delhi with tenacity. However, in spite of military operations conducted for a century, the core of the Sultanate only comprised the central military base of Delhi and the surrounding districts within a radius of about 250 miles of it. The frontier districts were no better than garrison outposts from which the Turkish

satraps carried on raids against the Indian chiefs, who held the rural areas. But even when the resistance was overcome, the satraps had to administer the conquered areas with the aid of hereditary Indian chiefs and officers, who were always on the look out for an opportunity to revolt. Some of the Indian chiefs carried their expeditions to the walls of Delhi and even across the Yamunā into the Doāb. From the Indian point of view, therefore, the territory of the Sultanate in the thirteenth century was only an arena of resistance which neither wavered nor tired.

VI

This resistance was nowhere more characteristically symbolised than in the epic heroism associated with the Chāhamānas of Ranthambhor. From A.D. 1192, when Pṛithvīrāja Chāhamāna lost the battle of Tarain, till A.D. 1301 when his descendant, the heroic Hammīradeva, fell fighting in the battlefield and the fortress fell to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, they defied the Sultanate year after year and generation after generation. And so did the Katehrs who were no less unyielding in their resistance.

The Indian kings, steeped in their tradition of tolerance, could scarcely envisage the danger to which their policies towards Islam exposed them. In spite of what was happening in North India, Indian kings permitted foreigners to settle freely in their kingdoms and granted them free exercise of their religious pactices. Even before the Turkish invasion, some sects of Islam had drifted into the country and their religious and proselytising activities had not been interfered with. Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Gujarāt (A.D. 1094-1143) punished some of his subjects for interfering with the worship of Muslims. Proselytising activities were freely carried out in the days of the Yādavas by a Sūfī teacher, Mūmin 'Ārif, who settled near Devagiri in the South, and by Jalāl-ud-dīn Ganjrawān (died in A.D. 1254) another Sūfī from Irān. Sāraṅgadeva (A.D. 1294-1297) of Gujarāt gave a grant for a *masjid* to the local Muslim community of Prabhāsa Pattana with the blessings of the high-priest of Somanātha when, for decades, the Turks had been destroying thousands of temples in Vārāṇasī and other sacred places.

Once the Turkish Sultanate was installed at Delhi and Islam came to be enthroned in political power, wherever the writ of the Sultāns ran, the proselytising activities of Islam became active; the Hindus were denied the right to public worship and were subjected to civil disabilities and other indignities; and many communities, particularly in the lower strata of society, took to the new faith in

order to escape these hardships. This led to the emergence of a distinct element in the population of the country, termed 'Mussalmans'. This community comprised the Turkish conquerors and their retainers; the foreign mercenaries pressed into their service from time to time; the divines, scholars and adventurers who migrated to India from foreign lands; the men taken prisoners in war or forced into slavery; the converts who sought the new faith to secure royal favour or protection; the Hindu women captured in war or abducted and their progeny.

This element in the population, which had behind it the political and military support of the Sultanate and its governors, slowly acquired the conquistador spirit of the Turks. Ever on the increase, it began to look down upon the people from whom most of its members had come, as infidels to be despised and converted or killed, and in any event to be fought and overcome. It was this element that in opposition to the ruling Turkish 'Forty', supported the Khaljīs, who were not considered pure Turks, to capture the Sultanate in A.D. 1290.

The aggressive attitude of this new element in the population led to the religious, cultural and psychological resistance on the part of the people of the country, who, in contra-distinction to it, came to be referred to as 'Hindus'. The Hindus fought the conquistador spirit of the Muslims by developing a challenging superiority complex. They made compromises with the rulers when compelled to do so; they served them when they could not help doing so. But they would not let them defile the sanctity of their homes or castes, social and religious observances by encouraging indiscriminate contact with the Muslims.

The people while countering the invader by armed resistance to the best of their ability succeeded in confining his authority wherever he had acquired it, within the narrowest limits. They also tried to protect religion, culture and social order, rebuilding on the old foundations wherever they could. The Dharmaśāstras were given a higher sanctity; the edge of social ostracism was sharpened. Women were segregated in their homes; infant marriages became almost universal. Self-immolation by heroic women on the funeral pyre, when their husbands lost their life in battle, became the supreme form of martyrdom, which kept a sense of religious and cultural superiority at white heat. Caste divided and sub-divided, but remained unmixed. Even the process of social betterment through which lower castes were progressively raised to a higher status was slowed down or halted.

At the same time, the conflicts and tensions, bitter and persistent though they were, provided areas of contact, and therefore of adjustment. The slaves captured in war and women acquired as wives or mistresses, were Muslims only in name. The new converts and their children wore Islam more as an official badge, rarely giving up all the inhibitions and practices of the Hindus. Even the Sultān or his satrap, however intolerant, had to adjust himself to his Hindu feudal chiefs and officials, and, in spite of frequent protests from the *'Ulamā*, framed his policies so as not to create strong disaffection among them.

Rebels from either camps sought refuge with the other. There was intercourse between the two communities in courts, fairs and festivals. Hindu artists, musicians and dancers thronged the courts and the camps of the Sultāns and their governors and reaped a rich harvest. Hindu and Muslim saints, not unoften, had a common appeal to both the communities, and the sects of both the religions, by way of action and re-action, and sometimes by challenge, influenced each other. The Mahānubhāva sect, a non-idolatrous Kṛishṇa Cult, founded by Chakradharasvāmī (died in A.D. 1272) about the time the first Sūfī saints settled in Aurangābād, is an instance in point.

The Hindus remained in the spheres of trade, commerce and banking. The Muslims, however intolerant, therefore, had to treat the Hindu mercantile community with consideration, though it was inspired by self-interest and often grudging. The foreign trade, on which the Sultanate depended, was mostly in the hands of Hindus of the west coast, who traded with Persia and Arabia. The extravagant young Muslims also found it impossible to indulge in a life of gaiety without the money, which the Hindu banker was not unwilling to provide in order to secure freedom from harassment or indignity.

These areas of contact would have hastened far-reaching adjustments had not the perennial streams of Muslim adventurers and divines continued to flow through the North-Western passes. To feed their rapacity or fanaticism these immigrants kept alive virulent antagonism for the people whom they had come to exploit.

Except for a few buildings like the Qutb-minar, there is nothing to relieve the dreary military character of the thirteenth century Sultanate. It made no contribution to the sphere of culture, except a little in the field of historiography and Persian literature. Some of the Sultāns, it appears, encouraged some new ideas and modes in architecture, paving the way for the Indo-Saracenic style

of the future. They also made some crude experiments in administrative policies as well as the fiscal revenue and currency systems. In self-interest they also began to build a line of defence against the Mongols in the North-West, halting their irresistible march. But the harvest of whatever little they sowed was to be gathered in the next Age in the reigns of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Muhammad bin Tughluq.

VII

Even within the areas in which Turkish armies operated, the India of the Age belonged to the heroes of resistance; outside this area lay considerable parts of the North and the whole of the South—in fact, three-fourths of the country, where India followed its unbroken way of life, where the Dharmaśāstras were honoured and obeyed and where Hinduism flourished unobstructed.

Where the Indian kings ruled, their regional pride, exaggerated though it was, had its compensatory feature. They vied with each other in making their courts brilliant centres of art, learning and literature. They gave generous grants to the poor and the learned, built beautiful temples and lavished patronage on poets. People lived within the regulated order which, though circumscribed by ancient customs, was in no way oppressive.

In North India, girdling the area of military resistance, were the old kingdoms of Ḍāhala, ruled by the Kalachuris (11th century to 1212); Jejākabhukti, ruled by the Chandellas (9th century to 1315); Mālwā, ruled by the Parāmaras (10th century to A.D. 1305); and Gujarāt, ruled by the Chaulukyas and Vāghelas (A.D. 940-1299), the most opulent and powerful of them all.

In the South, the Western Chālukyas (A.D. 973-1189), the Yādavas (A.D. 1185-1317), the Kākatīyas (c. A.D. 1050-1322), the Eastern Chālukyas (A.D. 999-1271) and later, Pāṇḍyas (A.D. 11th to 14th centuries) and Hoysalas (c. A.D. 1106-1343) ruled over flourishing kingdoms and in the middle of the thirteenth century the Pāṇḍyan conqueror Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya established hegemony over several of them. Some of these kingdoms, at one time or the other, were more powerful than the Sultanate except perhaps during the reign of Iltutmish and Balban. If the prosperity and welfare of the people, the patronage of art and literature provide any test, most of them were decidedly great.

But the most important of them in extent and power—not excluding the Sultanate at its best—and the most brilliant in cultural achievements, was the empire of the Choḷas of Tanjore (A.D. 985-

1250). When North India was being raided by Mahmūd, Rājarāja Choḷa (A.D. 985-1014), one of the greatest rulers in Indian history, was laying the foundations of an empire. A pious man, he conquered far and wide, set up an efficient administration and ruled his people wisely and well. A great patron of art and literature, he built the Bṛihadīśvara (or Rājarājeśvara) temple at Tanjore, the most beautiful of Tamil edifices in the country. His empire at his death included the whole of South India up to the Tuṅgabhadrā, the Maldives and a part of Ceylon, with Andhradeśa in feudatory alliance.

Under his son, Rājendra Choḷa Gaṅgaikoṇḍa (A.D. 1012-1044), the empire reached its zenith, comprising, besides the territories that had been acquired by Rājarāja, parts of what is at present Madhya Pradesh, the whole of Andhra, Ceylon, and parts of Orissa, Bengal and Bihār. The Choḷa Emperors were the first to recognise the value of naval power. Their navy controlled the Bay of Bengal, which became a 'Choḷa-Lake', and won a colonial empire which embraced Ceylon, the Nicobar Islands, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Their administrative organisation had a strong centralised machinery and an efficient system of audit. They constructed the famous anicuts across the Kāverī in the Tanjore District; had land surveys made of their territories; built magnificent temples; established schools of Vedic and Sanskritic learning. Under them literature blossomed and art flourished and the south contributed valuable works in the field of philosophy, Dharmaśāstras, Śaivism, dramaturgy, music and dancing.

During this period, the Hindu kingdoms of Suvarṇadvīpa, which comprised the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, kingdom of the Śailendras, Pagan and Kambuja in South-East Asia, formed part of Dvīpāntara-Bhārata, 'India beyond the Seas'. They had close contacts with India, and South India and Bengal influenced them considerably.

Within fifty years of the conquest of the great Śailendra empire of Malaya by the Choḷa conquerors, the royal dynasty re-established its power to some extent, which came to an end only about A.D. 1264. The empire of Kambuja (Cambodia) reached its zenith in the twelfth century, when Sūryavarman II built the great temple of Angkor Vat, reckoned as one of the wonders of the world. At the end of the twelfth century, the Hindu kingdom of Champā (Indo-China) under Jayavarman VIII, extended from the Bay of Bengal on one side to the Sea of China on the other; it continued to flourish till A.D. 1312 when the Emperor of Annam reduced it to vassalage. Java also continued to be a powerful Hindu kingdom till the fifteenth century.

When overpowered by the Muslims, the Hindu rulers, rather than renounce Hinduism, migrated with a large number of people to the small island of Bali, which had already been colonised by the Hindus. Hinduism flourishes in Bali even now. Several massive monuments like Angkor Thom in Kambuja and Barabuḍur in Java attest to the grandiose art of this glorious period of Dvīpāntara-Bhārata.

In A.D. 1044, the Hindu king, Aniruddha, ruling from Pagan or Arimardanapura in Burma, brought the whole country, excluding Tenasserim, under his rule. One of his successors, Narasiṁhapati, in A.D. 1271, defied Kublai Khan for many years, till about the end of the thirteenth century, a grandson of Kublai Khan marched to Pagan which 'perished amidst the blood and flame of the Tartar's terror'.

As a result of the resilience of the social order as had been developed under the influence of the Dharmaśāstras, most of the social activities were in the hands of autonomous groups outside the sphere of royal authority. The king waged wars. He lost battles or died fighting. His army was massacred. But the villages, more or less self-sufficient economic and social units, continued to lead their own life; the local panchayats continued to dispense justice; the Brāhmaṇas, to impart education and direct religious rites and duties; the Kshatriyas, to give protection; and the autonomous castes, to provide social security and to safeguard human relations.

During this age, therefore, in spite of the ravages of the Turks, India was still the land of great achievements.

VIII

By the end of the tenth century, Hinduism, with its vigorous cults inculcating the worship of Śiva, Śakti and Vishṇu, had absorbed Buddhism; asserted its universal supremacy; re-interpreted its popular doctrines, charging them with high philosophy, and thrown up vast movements of the spirit.

The Brāhmaṇas continued to exercise tremendous influence in the mind and faith of the people. In the main devoted to learning, rituals, worship, they led the renaissance, which can appropriately be called Puranic. Sanskrit, which remained their passport to a semi-divine status and their instrument of unifying the country, continued to be the language of religion, philosophy and sciences; of the courts where learning was lavishly patronised; of the Universities where the Śāstras were studied and re-interpreted. The Indian kings of the period, whatever their other faults, never failed to promote

or to honour learning. But by the end of the thirteenth century, intellectual expansion of North India halted abruptly. This can only be traced to the vast destructions of the Universities and centres of learning in North India by the Turks.

In spite of the destruction of some great shrines and Universities in North India, literature in Sanskrit flourished in most parts of India. Whatever of it has come down to us includes *mahākāvyas* and *kāvyas,* lyrical, didactic, satirical and historical poems; dramas of different varieties; prose romances and *champūs;* tales, romantic and didactic; treatises on metrics, poetics and dramaturgy, on politics, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, architecture and philosophy.

It was the age of polymaths: of Kshemendra, Bhoja and Hemachandra. Though Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Meghadūta* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* provided the model for many of the creative works, they tended to be learned, rather than living. The fashion of the time required that even epics should be so composed that every word had a double or treble *entendre.* For instance, every verse of the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* of Hemachandra illustrates rules of grammar as also the history of the Chaulukyas.

Though most of the *kāvyas* were second-rate, *Naishadhīya* can stand comparison with the best of them. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is the best work on history in Sanskrit. The greatest creative work of the period—Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*—in which sound, sense and emotion have been mingled in exquisite harmony, and the beauty of words is invested with the intensity of erotic emotions, is a unique poem in the literature of the world, rare and exquisite, though oppressively scintillating.

IX

In the tenth century the castes were comparatively fluid and reconversion to Hinduism not impossible. But in this Age the fundamental values of Dharmaśāstras were readjusted not only to restore continuity and stability to the social order, but to provide defensive ramparts in order to present a solid front to an aggressive alien culture and religion. The dynamic outlook of Medhātithi and *Devala-smṛiti,* therefore, gave place to a conservative outlook.

During this period, the great Dharmaśāstra texts—*Mitāksharā, Dāyabhāga, Smṛiti-chandrikā* and *Aparārka ṭīkā*—reinterpreted the regulatory canons of life laid down by the earlier texts. Their authority, as judicial decisions show, held good till yesterday when in parts

it was superseded by the amendments of the Hindu Code. *Chātur-varṇya,* as envisaged by these texts, was the ideal pattern for the society to conform. Lapses might be many and varied, but provision was made to condone or remedy them by appropriate rituals. These law-texts, universally accepted as authoritative, more than any single factor, helped to conserve the social structure and the pattern of conduct in all human relations, which were held traditionally sacrosanct from the days of Manu.

XI

Sanskrit had been placed on a pedestal of scholarship and sanctity, assuming a more learned character. Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa had receded in the background. Some of the dialects of the regions—*deśabhāshās*—thereupon had become the vehicles of the living thought and emotions of the people. This Age saw the literary activities in these dialects which laid the foundation of the modern Indian languages and their literature, including Marāṭhī, Bengali, Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu, as also Old Gujarāti, sometimes called the Western Rājasthāni, of which modern Gujarāti, Jaipuri, Mārwāri and Mālvi are the descendants.

With miraculous adaptability Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas also carried to the masses the vision and the hope of the Epics and the Purāṇas, through the media of these languages. This brought about the later phase of the Puranic Renaissance, which kept ancient ideals and traditions through the *deśabhāshās.* This movement spread over many parts of the country. To the poets it gave fresh inspiration; to the Paurāṇikas, the readers of the Purāṇas, a new vocation; to the philosophers, a new outlook; to the village sects, something to live for. It made the glamour of the past, of which the people were already proud, live again. It displaced cumbrous ritual and abstruse doctrine, to make way for the *bhakti*—devotion—associated with joy, dance and prayer.

Before the rise of Śaṅkarāchārya, the Vaishṇava mystics and saints, known as Āḻvārs in the South, had invested *bhakti* with the attributes of earthly love. When the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* one of the literary masterpieces of the world, recreated Śrī Kṛishṇa as the supremely loveable child, youth, lover—God Himself—*Śrī Kṛishṇas-tu Bhagavān svayam,* out of the statesman, World Teacher and *avatāra* of the Epic and the earlier Purāṇas, it was accepted as the gospel of *bhakti* throughout the country.

During this period, an aspect of *bhakti* also received a new emphasis. After A.D. 1000, Yāmunāchārya began his apostolic

career under the Choḷa kings. He propagated *prapatti* "Surrender to God". Rāmānujāchārya, who succeeded him, not only developed the doctrine by providing it with a philosophic background, but raised it to the level of a monotheistic religion. In this *bhakti* school of thought, which challenged the supremacy of the Vedānta of Śaṅkara, living dedication to God became the master idea giving the powerful emotional content to the *bhakti.*

When Rādhā came to be associated with Śrī Kṛishṇa in the popular imagination, the *bhakti* movement received a still more powerful impetus. About A.D. 1150, Nimbārka founded a new school in Andhradeśa, stressing the *bhakti* both of Śrī Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. "We worship", he says, "Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛishabhānu, the goddess who joyfully adorns the left lap of the great deity Śrī Kṛishṇa, as beautiful as Śrī Kṛishṇa Himself, surrounded by thousands of damsels. She is the one who fulfils all desires". Madhva in Karnātak laid the foundation of a yet more vigorous Vaishṇava cult.

These Āchāryas were not merely philosopher saints. They were ardent evangelists, with an inspired sense of their mission. They and their followers travelled from one place of pilgrimage to another; worshipped at holy places or well-known shrines, particularly those associated with Śrī Kṛishṇa; established contacts, composed philosophic treatises, held discourses and made disciples who wandered from countryside to countryside, singing the praises of the Lord.

The concept of *bhakti,* to which shape had been given by Śrī Kṛishṇa in the *Bhagavad-gītā,* and by the early founders of the Pañcharātra doctrines, had already contributed a vital element in the Puranic renaissance. Later romantic and emotional elements were added to it by the devotional songs of the Āḻvārs, the human appeal of the *Bhāgavata* and the glamour of the Rādhā-Kṛishṇa sports of *Gīta-govinda* setting the imagination of the people aglow. Slowly, it penetrated, though often unperceived, into the dark undergrowth of frustration which had been taking possession of the Collective Unconscious of the people. Ever a vibrant force, in a hundred and fifty years, it was to blaze forth as the Bhakti Renaissance to give India the raptures of a fresh joy, which enabled her to save her soul.

XI

We have a fairly reliable picture of the economic condition of Gujarāt in the ample materials which are available. Similar conditions are likely to have prevailed in some other parts of the country where the Turkish armies did not operate. The evidence shows that

the soil of Gujarāt was fertile; its people adventurous, hard-working and well-behaved. Agriculture yielded bountiful harvests; industries flourished; internal trade and maritime commerce was brisk and profitable. In general, the masses in the country lived simply but well, drawing sustenance from a rich soil. The middle classes lived in comfort; the upper classes in wealth, plenty and pomp. Imporant shrines and Universities were richly endowed.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the textile industry of Gujarāt had reached its high-water mark; *Baroji* and *Kambayati*, manufactured in Broach and Cambay respectively, are referred by Marco Polo and Al-Newayri as the outstanding varieties of textile. It was also famous for its tanning and leather industries. "What more shall I tell you", writes the astonished Marco Polo, "you must know in very truth that in this kingdom are made the best and finest leather goods in the world and the most costly."

No less important were its industries of manufacturing *gur* and sugar, and the building industry. The flourishing condition of the latter is evidenced by the large residential quarters in the cities like Aṇahillapāṭaka, Dholka, Cambay and Broach; by the magnificent temples of Somanātha, Abu and Moḍhera; by the forts, the remnant of one of which can still be seen at Dabhoi; by the elaborate step-wells of the period which still survive. The use of iron implements of extreme fineness is also indicated by the exquisite stone carvings.

Trades were organised into guilds with a department of the State to look after them. Broach and Cambay, the two ports of Gujarāt, carried on a large international trade. Idrīsī speaks of the residents of Broach as being rich and engaged in trade. "They freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for vessels coming from China and is also for those of Sind." Spices, dyes, leather goods and textiles formed the principal items of export; and so were locally made perfumes, which had a world wide demand. Imports comprised gold, silver and other commodities, particularly horses, of which 10,000 are recorded as passing annually through the port of Cambay alone. Prabhāsa was also an entrepôt and its religious importance invested it with great prominence.

Large part of the overseas trade of Gujarāt was controlled by Indians, though merchants of Arabia settled in different parts of the land had also a share in it. Jagaḍu, a merchant of international renown, is stated to have traded regularly with Persia and trans-

ported goods to and fro in his ships. A brisk trade was carried on with Sumatra and Java. The wealth brought from the latter country has passed into a proverb: "He who goes to Java never returns; but if he does, he brings so much wealth that his grand-children's grand-children will not be able to exhaust it." Al-Idrīsī testifies that Indian merchants were known for justice, good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements. Merchants of Lāṭa (South Gujarāt) received special encomium from Marco Polo, who says: "I assure you that these Brāhmaṇas are among the best and most trustworthy merchants in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie and all that they say is true."

There is also evidence, though not so complete, of the conditions in other parts of the country. Date and cocoanut trees grew at Sandan and the latter were found in abundance at Saymur. Magadha was rich in rice, and Kaliṅga produced its best varieties suitable for the royal kitchens. Ginger and cinnamon came from the Pāṇḍya kingdom; camphor, from the mountain slopes between Quilon and Madurā; cardamom and pepper, from Malabar. Bengal produced spikenard and other spices, ginger, sugar and cotton. The Malaya hills supplied sandal-wood, while from Kāshmir came yellow sandal, saffron and grapes. Indigo of a fine quality was produced in Quilon. The Choḷa-*maṇḍala* abounded in ivory.

The textile industry also flourished in Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, the Choḷa-*maṇḍala* and Multān. Mālwā provided large quantities of cotton cloth; Malabar manufactured "very beautiful and delicate buckrams;" Warangal, fine cotton fabrics and carpets; cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads formed part of the products of Choḷa-*maṇḍala*. The temples at Bhuvaneśvara, Purī and Konārak testify to the skill of the ironsmiths in manufacturing iron-beams of unwrought iron. The iron pillar at Dhārā is reputed to have been the highest pillar of its kind in the world. Palnad in South India specialised in iron manufactures including arms.

Malabar had important centres of pearl fisheries. Warangal produced diamonds of large size in abundance. At many centres in the country, articles of gold and silver of high artistic value were manufactured, and the art of jewellers had reached a high degree of specialised skill.

Malabar also had international centres of trade, visited by ships from the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea as also from South China.

Its imports included metals, textiles, fabrics, frankincense, etc. Spices, precious stones, pearls, cloths of silk and gold, and ivory figured among the exports. Horses constituted by far the largest item among the imports. Chau Ju-Kua refers to the Arabs taking their horses to Quilon for trade. The merchants of Quilon and the officials of the Choḷa government employed in the port have been praised for their integrity by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela.

XII

The pall of the purdah had not yet descended upon the land. Men and women, simply dressed but richly ornamented, moved about freely. Fairs and feasts were held in plenty. Flowers were in general use as personal ornaments. Dance, drama and music, vocal and instrumental, were very popular. So was wrestling and duel. Fights between birds and quails were often staged to popular delight. Large temples, built by kings or the pious rich were community centres where the humbler folk gathered, received instructions, held their fairs and festivals; where dramatic performances were held. Apart from the Sanskrit dramas, there were also entertainments of a popular variety. Hemachandra tells us that sometimes during such entertainments "even the sophisticated townsmen were impelled to laugh like villagers, at fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair; by ash coloured men, by men with buttock-bells, by the musicians of the armpit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of the speech of other people."

After the Classical Age, this Age was the most glorious epoch of Indian art, particularly in the spheres of architecture and sculpture, though their traditions had grown up in the earlier period. This was India's great age of temple-building. In several parts of North India, remnants of some of the magnificent temples of the period survive; many of the important ones in the South are still intact. More than anything else, they bear eloquent testimony to the faith and opulence of the times; to the high degree which artistic execution had attained in the country; above all, to the inspiring and conditioning factors in the social and emotional life of the people which nourished such a great art.

At the close of the Age, or perhaps a decade or two later, when the armies of the Turkish and Khaljī Sultāns overran the country, the creative vitality in terms of plastic art came to an end.

These remains also indicate the vigour of the religious movements which sustained the life of the people. Though the worship of Vishṇu was popular among the well-to-do and the intellectual classes, the worship of Śiva and Śakti, more than any other cult, exercised the most active influence and claimed the devotion of the bulk of the people. Most of the great temples of this Age, which survive to-day, are dedicated to Śiva. Perhaps the shrines of the twelve *jyotirliṅgas,* to the deity, as the guardian deity of the universe, situated in different parts of the country, began to command the veneration of the whole country during this period. Anyway two of them—the one of Somanātha at Prabhāsa, and the other of Mahākāla at Ujjain—were shrines held in such veneration before Mahmūd of Ghaznī invaded the country. Temples dedicated to Śiva also abounded on the banks of most of the rivers and in villages; for, he was the god whom the poor universally loved.

Śiva and Pārvatī, with their colourful family, entered into the life of the people as devoted lovers, as affectionate parents, as dread destroyers, as the defenders of the righteous. As the destroyers of the demons Tripura and Mahishāsura, they were not only the powers who supported the righteous in their crusade against the wicked, but were the presiding deities of conflict, whether of attack or defence.

Śiva, as the wielder of the mighty trident, therefore, had an unchallenged place in the Indian heart not only in these three centuries but in the preceding and the succeeding centuries as well. His name was a challenging refrain in all heroic appeals. From before the medieval period, the warriors generally went to battle with his name on their lips. And they were to do so not only throughout the Era of Resistance, which began with this Age, but even till 1857, when Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and her heroic followers, in their fight against the British, courted martyrdom with 'Hara Hara Mahadev' on their lips.

XIII

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PREFACE

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar
General Editor

This volume covers the period, roughly speaking, from A.D. 1000 to 1300. But there has been a slight departure from these limiting dates both at the beginning as well as at the end. In the First Chapter the rise of the Ghaznavids has been traced from the very beginning in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. In Chapter V the history of the Delhi Sultanate is brought to a close with the accession of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh in A.D. 1290. In both the cases the departure has been made with a view to giving a complete account of the Ghaznavids in this volume and of the Khaljīs in the next. For a similar reason the history of some Hindu ruling dynasties has been brought down to the fourteenth century A.D. when they were incorporated in the Delhi Sultanate. The most notable instances are the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, and the Hoysalas and the Pāṇḍyas of South India. But only a very brief outline is given in this volume of their history after A.D. 1300. More detailed account will be given in the next volume in connection with their Muslim conquerors. In some cases all controversial issues have been omitted in this volume and reserved for the next. For instance, the current and generally accepted views of the date of the first invasion of Devagiri by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and the name of the crown-prince who opposed him have been stated, but different views on both these points will be discussed fully with reference to authorities in the next volume.

This volume deals with the transition period that marks the end of independent Hindu rule and the beginning of the dominance of Turkish tribes over a large part, if not the whole, of India. Such dominance of foreign peoples, even from the same region in Central Asia, was no new thing in Indian history. Successive waves of Turkish hordes submerged a great portion of Northern India during the period that intervened between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta Empire. And all these, like the later Turkish invaders, came to stay in this country. Nevertheless, they did not mark any turning-point in the history of India, nor any sudden break in the continuity of her history and culture. For they slowly and silently merged themselves into the population of the country, and became one with them in all respects without leaving any trace of their separate entity. This was, however, not the case with the

later invaders. They not only kept severely aloof, and formed a distinct unit, politically, socially and culturally, but drew into its vortex a considerable number of indigenous people to swell their ranks. The result was the emergence of a new element of considerable power and magnitude, having hardly anything in common with the old, excepting the land which they adopted as their own.

This was solely due to the religious faith, Islam, professed by these peoples, which fundamentally differed from the religion they found in India. Al-Bīrūnī, who flourished at the very beginning of the period under review, tersely, but very correctly, observed: "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect. We believe in nothing in which they believe, and *vice-versa*." This radical difference in religion and social usages and customs operated as an almost insurmountable barrier between the two which even nine hundred years' residence as close neighbours failed to break down. Henceforth this difference constitutes the underlying thread which wove the Indian history into an altogether new pattern.

The intrusion of Islam and its existence as a separate unit in India introduced, for the first time, the generic name Hindu. The alien Muslim conquerors used this name, along with *Kāfir* (infidels), to denote the conquered peoples of India as a separate unit distinct from them. It bore the same connotation as the term 'non-Muhammadan' used in the Indian constitution during the last days of British rule. The use of the term Hindu in a narrower sense, to denote the followers of orthodox Brahmanical faith, belongs to a later date.

The efforts of the Muslim Turks to obtain a permanent footing in India and the resistance which the Hindus offered, or failed to offer, to avoid this great catastrophe, forms the principal subject-matter of this volume in so far at least as Northern India is concerned.

The first Muslim invasion, ending in the conquest of Sindh, was merely a passing phase, which hardly affected the history of India. The triumphant progress, which marked the career of Islam in other regions of the world, was checked by the powerful rulers of India at this frontier state for more than four hundred years, and even then the Arab rule in Sindh was more nominal than real. But the advance of the Turks from Ghaznī, with which this volume opens, led to a very different result. They had their base much nearer to India and were led by two distinguished generals of considerably more than average military skill and ability. On the other hand, India lacked any powerfully organised empire like that of the Pratīhāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Shāhi rulers, who guarded the frontier of India, offered heroic resistance to the foreign invaders,

and were loyally supported by the Indians from the interior. But nothing availed against the repeated and stubborn onslaughts of Sabuktigīn and Mahmūd. The resistance collapsed, and then the horrors of barbarian invasions, fired with the fanatic zeal for demolishing idols and temples, born of the crusading spirit of Islam, were let loose on the fair plains and cities of Hindusthān. It is not possible to recount fully the sad tales of those dark and evil days, as we have no record from the side of the Indians; but the picture depicted by the victors themselves enables us to get a faint echo of the great tragedy which befell India during the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. It was a tragedy big with future consequences. Not only was India drained of enormous wealth and manpower, but, what was far worse, the Muslims obtained a permanent footing in the Punjāb which commanded the highway to her interior.

But a still more sublime tragedy was the comparative indifference of the Indian chiefs to this growing menace and the fancied security in which they chose to repose during the period intervening between the death of Mahmūd and the next invasion by the Ghūrīs. Some Indian kings defeated the Muslims, and checked their further aggressive campaigns. One of them even claims to have exterminated the Mlechchhas (Muslims) so that Āryāvarta again became true to its name, *i.e.* abode of the Āryas. But this rare evidence of a sense of national consciousness makes it all the more a matter of surprise, that instead of uttering such vain boast the Indian chiefs should not have taken concerted action in removing the thorn in their flesh by driving the Turkish conquerors out of India. Innumerable opportunities offered themselves to render this task a comparatively easy one. The kingdom of Ghaznī passed through critical days and was overtaken by many dangers, both internal and external, till the nemesis overtook it, and its beautiful capital city, built on the ruins and plunder of India, perished in flames. But the powerful Indian chiefs, far from taking advantage of any such opportunity during the long period of a century and a half, were more intent upon aggrandising themselves at the cost of their neighbours than turning their whole-hearted attention to the great national task of freeing the Punjāb from the yoke of the foreigners of an alien faith.

An attempt has been made to delineate the essential features of the political history of India during this eventful period on the basis of reliable data. But our sources of information are scanty, and the picture is necessarily incomplete. Enough remains, however, to make this history a painful reading to every Hindu. Instances are not wanting that when a Hindu state was invaded by

Muslims, a neighbouring Hindu ruler seized the opportunity to invade it from the rear. It may appear ungracious to emphasise this humiliating and degrading aspect of Hindu character, but no nation can hope to survive if it seeks to avoid truth or fears to face it, and fails to learn the lessons of history. A genuine endeavour has been made to tell the unvarnished truth of the past, and to point to the morals that history teaches us, though it may appear unpalatable to some. The haze of glory in which Pṛithvīrāja lives in Indian memory is considerably dimmed, if one realizes the effect of his failure to take full advantage of his great victory at Tarain for removing the imminent danger which involved him and his country in a common ruin within a year. But it is the noble, though somewhat painful, task of history to demolish the false in order to enthrone the true.

On account of the vast size of India, its history cannot always be brought within one general category. The same period that saw the debacle of North India before the hammering blows of the Ghaznavids, witnessed the rise of a great power in full glory in the South. The Choḷas established a vast empire that stretched along the eastern coast of India from the banks of the Gaṅgā to Cape Comorin, and even beyond to Ceylon. But they did more than this. They fitted out a naval expedition that crossed the Bay of Bengal and laid low the mighty empire of the Śailendras in Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. Such an oversea campaign by an Indian ruler against a powerful foe is an achievement of outstanding importance, with immense possibilities for the future, but unfortunately it remains a unique event, almost a passing episode in the history of India, that has left no trail behind. It adds one more to the number of puzzles or insoluble riddles of Indian history.

It appears to us as passing strange that India, south of the Vindhyas, seems to have lived in a world apart from the rest of the country. Undisturbed by the ominous tidings of Muslim aggression, the ruling powers in the Deccan and South India were as busy as before with their petty domestic quarrels and dissensions, and military campaigns of aggrandisement against one another. During the hundred years that kept the Muslims fully engaged in consolidating their power in the North, the South went on in fancied security, as if nothing had occurred to disturb its equanimity or threaten the continuity of its history and culture. So little was the Muslim danger thought of even in the region immediately to the south of the Vindhyas that the powerful Yādava rulers of the Deccan attacked from the south the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt at the very moment when they were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Muslim invaders from the North. Such incidents give a rude shock to the idea of fundamental unity of India.

But the fact has to be clearly recognised that India south of the Vindhyas was under Hindu rule during the thirteenth century. Even in North India, during the same century, there were powerful kingdoms, not yet subjected to Muslim rule or still fighting for their independence. As has been clearly shown in Chapter V, even in that part of India which acknowledged the Muslim rule there was continual defiance and heroic resistance by large or small bands of Hindus in many quarters, so that successive Muslim rulers had to send well-equipped military expeditions, again and again, against the self-same region, though the patriotic Muslim chroniclers construed every one of them as a decisive victory against the infidels. As a matter of fact, the Muslim authority in Northern India, almost throughout the thirteenth century, was tantamount to a military occupation of a large number of important centres without any effective occupation, far less a systematic administration, of the country at large.

In view of all this, we feel justified in including the history of the Mamlūk or Slave Dynasty in this volume, rather than relegating it, in conformity with the normal convention of the historians of India, to the next volume which deals with the Muslim period of Indian history. Even the long-standing usage and practice can hardly make the epithet Muslim appropriate to a period of Indian history in which the Muslims had no hold over more than half of India, and exercised a very limited political authority over only a part, however large, of the rest of the country.

The period covered by this volume is marked by the unsuccessful efforts of the early Turkish invaders in North India, of the Chālukyas in the Deccan, and of the Choḷas in South India, as well as of individual rulers both in the north and in the south, to found an empire in India. Hence the title 'Struggle for Empire' has been adopted for this volume. It closes with the accession of the Khaljīs to power. Though the new dynasty was a short-lived one, it was destined to establish the first all-India Muslim empire on the ruins of the Hindu kingdoms, and usher in a new era in Indian history in which the Muslims played the dominant role for more than four hundred years. That era had its own glory and triumph, in full measure, as will be described in the next two volumes.

The three centuries dealt with in this volume witnessed not only the gradual decay of the political authority of the Hindus, but also a definite set-back in the progress of their culture. Except in the domain of art, particularly the temple architecture, we find a steady process of decline and decadence, which had already set in in the preceding period, in almost all spheres of cultural activity.

The process was perhaps accelerated by the intrusion of Islam as a new element. The effect of the impact of aggressive Islam on Hindu religion and society cannot be clearly perceived during the period under review; at least our sources of information do not indicate that any great change took place in Hindu society and religion. Nevertheless, the destruction of temples and other seats of culture, and the proselytising activities of the Muslims, of which we have clear evidence, must have had their repercussion on the minds of the Hindus, and henceforth their main energy was directed to conserve rather than to create. But, on the whole, the picture of Hindu civilization given in this volume represents its final phase before it came into close contact with, or was affected by, Islam.

The progress of temple architecture is an index of the effect of aggressive Islam on Indian culture. The period under review witnessed the most brilliant epoch in the development of this art. But, as will be shown in Chapter XX, so far as extant monuments indicate, this art flourished mostly in those regions which were at a safe distance from centres of Muslim power, *viz.*, in India south of the Vindhyas, and in Orissa and territories ruled over by the Chandellas and Chaulukyas who resisted the Muslim invasion till the end of the period under review. It is not merely an accident that the rich valleys of the Sindhu, the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, dominated by the Muslims, have nothing to show that could bear any comparison with the temples built in the regions just mentioned. The temples that existed there were ruthlessly destroyed, and the Hindus evidently did not feel inclined to build new temples which they were unable to protect. The obvious inference, which holds equally true for succeeding centuries, may be stated in the form of a general statement that the progress of temple architecture was in inverse ratio to the establishment of effective Muslim authority in any particular region in India.

Although the period dealt with in this volume is, generally speaking, one of decline and decadence, still it serves a very useful purpose in the study of Indian history. It holds out before us a complete picture of Indian culture and civilization just before it came into contact with Islam. If we compare it with the culture of the Hindus before the impact of Western influence gave it a new character, we can form a reasonable idea of the extent to which it has been influenced by Islam. Such a comparison alone would enable us to answer the question whether there is any such thing in present-day India which we may regard as 'Hindu' culture, or the present culture should more properly be called an 'Indian' culture which is neither Hindu nor Muslim, but a composite of both.

The Muslims, generally, are under no illusion in this respect, and they speak of Islamic culture in India as a distinct entity, separate from Hindu culture. It is for the Hindus to judge, in a dispassionate manner, free from prejudice or conventions engendered by recent politics, how far the main aspects of Hindu culture, *viz.* religion and philosophy, social conditions, art, language and literature, law and legal institutions etc., as described in this volume, were left intact at the end of the Muslim rule. Of course, additions or alterations in non-essential features, and among restricted groups of peoples or in limited localities, should be regarded as negligible factors when we think broadly of Hindu culture in India as a whole. The result of such a comparison is of great value in determining whether the Hindu culture, such as it was towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D., continued substantially in the same form, with normal evolutions, till it came under the influence of Western civilization, or lost itself by the impact of Islam into an all-embracing Indian culture. From this point of view the present volume is bound to be of absorbing interest to every student of Indian history.

For reasons, already explained in the Preface of Volume IV (p. xxxvii), the Chapter on Art in this volume contains the survey of the whole period from A.D. 750 to 1300. As this period is the most important so far as the temple architecture is concerned, the subject has been treated at some length with the result that this volume has been much bigger in size than any of the preceding ones. The Muslim architecture of the thirteenth century A.D. has not been included in this chapter as it will be more convenient to treat the Muslim art from the very beginning to the end of the Sultanate in the next volume.

The policy and the principles of editing referred to in the preceding volumes remain unchanged. I am grateful to the contributors for their sincere co-operation. I have to record, with deep regret, that one of our most valued contributors, Prof. H. D. Bhattacharyya, passed away while this volume was in the press. His profound knowledge of Indian philosophy and religion is evident in the sections which he has contributed to the different volumes of this history. His death has left a void in Indian scholarship which will be difficult to fill up. Death has also snatched away another eminent scholar, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. He contributed the section on the Parsis in the preceding volume and promised to continue their history in the subsequent volumes. He was a great scholar in Comparative Philology and his death is a distinct loss to Indian scholarship. I take this opportunity to place on record my deep sorrow

at the death of these two scholars and my appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history.

My esteemed colleague Dr. A. D. Pusalker, who has been working as Assistant Editor since the conception of the plan of this History, has intimated his desire to retire after the publication of this volume. I take this opportunity of placing on record my deep obligations to him for the valuable assistance which he has rendered to me in preparing the first five volumes of this series. His industry, scholarship, honesty, and amiable temper have not only been of inestimable value but rendered our close association in this work a source of great pleasure to me. On behalf of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan and on my own behalf I offer my most cordial thanks to him, and have no hesitation in saying that whatever success *The History and Culture of the Indian People* has attained is, to a large extent, due to his valued co-operation.

In conclusion I beg to thank the editors of the various journals for their appreciative reviews of the preceding volumes. I also express my gratitude to those who have helped us by lending photos and blocks for illustration. Reference has been made in details separately under 'acknowledgments'.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAI.	*Art and Architecture of India, by Benjamin Rowland. London, 1953.*
AANG.	*Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, by James Burgess. London, 1903.*
AAWI.	*Architectural Antiquities of Western India, by Henry Cousens. London, 1926.*
Abh.	*Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi of Hemachandra.*
ABIA.	*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Leyden.*
ABORI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*
AG.	*Archaeology of Gujarat (including Kathiawar), by H. D. Sankalia. Bombay, 1941.*
AIOC. (also PAIOC).	*All-India Oriental Conference, Proceedings and Transactions of.*
Apar.	*Aparārka.*
Ap.-p.	*Aparājita-Paripṛichchhā (MS. in S. K. Roy Collection).*
AR.	*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times, by A. S. Altekar. Poona, 1934.*
ARSIE.	*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.*
ASC.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Reports by Sir Alexander Cunningham.*
ASI.	*Archaeological Survey of India (Annual Report).*
ĀSS.	*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.*
ASWI.	*Archaeological Survey of Western India.*
AUS.	*Allahabad University Studies.*
BDCRI.	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona.*
BEFEO.	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.*
BG.	*Bombay Gazetteer.*
Bh. List.	*A list of Inscriptions of Northern India, by D. R. Bhandarkar (Appendix to EI, XIX-XXIII).*
BI.	*Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.*
BISM Quarterly.	*Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly, Poona.*
Br. I.A.	*Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu, by Percy Brown. 2nd Ed. Bombay, 1949.*
Briggs.	*Ta'rīkh-ī-Firishta, Eng. trans. by J. Briggs.*
B.S.	*Bengali Saṁvat.*
BSOS.	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.*
BSS.	*Bombay Sanskrit (and Prakrit) Series, Bombay (and Poona).*
BV.	*Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay.*
CAKD.	*Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Dis tricts, by Henry Cousens. Calcutta, 1926.*

CHI.	*Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Ed. by Wolseley Haig. Cambridge, 1928.*
Ch. SS.	*Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras.*
CII.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
COS.	*Calcutta Oriental Series, Calcutta.*
CP.	*Copper-Plate.*
Cult. Her.	*Cultural Heritage of India. Published by Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta.*
CW.	*Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*
DHNI.	*Dynastic History of Northern India, by H. C. Ray. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1931, 1936.*
DLJ Series.	*Seth Devchand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhara Series, Bombay.*
DUS.	*Dacca University Studies.*
EC.	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EHD.	*Early History of the Deccan, by R. G. Bhandarkar. 3rd Ed. Calcutta, 1928.*
EHI.	*Early History of India, by V. A. Smith. 4th Ed. Oxford, 1924.*
EI.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EIM.	*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
EISMS.	*Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, by R. D. Banerji. Delhi, 1933.*
EZ.	*Epigraphia Zylanica.*
FAS.	*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, by V. A. Smith. 2nd Ed. Oxford, 1930.*
GIL.	*Geschichte der Indischen Literatur, by M. Winternitz. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1905, 1909, 1920.*
GOS.	*Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.*
GSPP.	*Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Bombay.*
HAL.	*History of Alaṅkāra Literature, by P. V. Kane. Bombay, 1923.*
HAS.	*Hyderabad Archaeological Series.*
HBR.	*History of Bengal, Vol. I, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar. Dacca, 1943.*
HCSL.	*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, by M. Krishnamachariar. Madras, 1937.*
HIEA.	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by J. Fergusson. 2nd Ed. Revised by J. Burgess and R. P. Spiers. London, 1910.*
HIED.	*History of India as told by its own Historians. Trans. by H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson.*
HIIA.	*History of Indian and Indonesian Art, by A. K. Coomaraswamy. London, 1927.*
HIL.	*History of Indian Literature, by M. Winternitz. Eng. trans. by Mrs. S. Ketkar. Calcutta University.*
HISI.	*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, by R. Sewell. Ed. by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Madras, 1932.*

Hodivala	*Studies in Indo-Muslim History, by S. H. Hodivala. Bombay, 1939.*
HOS.	*Harvard Oriental Series.*
HPL.	*History of Pali Literature, by B. C. Law. 2 vols. London, 1933.*
HSI.	*History of South India, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Madras, 1955.*
HSL.	*History of Sanskrit Literature.*
HSP.	*History of Sanskrit Poetics.*
HTB.	*Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang, by Samuel Beal. London, 1906.*
IA.	*Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
IB.	*Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar. Rajshahi, 1929.*
IC.	*Indian Culture, Calcutta.*
ICPB.	*List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Hiralal. 2nd Ed. Nagpur, 1932.*
IHQ.	*Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.*
IMP.	*A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, by V. Rangacharya. 3 vols. Madras, 1919.*
IND.	*A collection of the Inscriptions on copper-plates and stones in the Nellore District, by A. Butterworth and V. Chetty. 3 vols. Madras, 1905.*
ISGDP.	*Īśānaśiva-guru-deva-paddhati of Īśānaśivaguru-deva Miśra.*
IT.	*Indian Thought, Benares.*
JA.	*Journal Asiatique, Paris.*
JAHRS.	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.*
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JAS.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.*
JASB.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
JASS.	*Jain Atmananda Sabha Series, Bhavnagar.*
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.*
JBORS.	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.*
JBRS.	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.*
JBTS.	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.*
JDL.	*Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.*
JGIS.	*Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.*
JGRS.	*Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay.*
JIH.	*Journal of Indian History.*
JISOA.	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.*
JKHRS.	*Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir.*
JOR.	*Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.*

JPASB.	*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
JPTS.	*Journal of the Pali Text Society.*
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.*
JRASB, L.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Calcutta.*
JSML.	*Journal of the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore.*
JUB.	*Journal of the University of Bombay, Bombay.*
Kashi SS.	*Kashi Sanskrit Series, Banaras.*
K.E.	*Kalachuri Era.*
KHDS.	*History of Dharmaśāstra, by P. V. Kane. 4 vols. Poona, 1930-53.*
KHT.	*Hindu Temple, by Stella Kramrisch. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1946.*
KIS.	*Indian Sculpture, by Stella Kramrisch. Calcutta, 1933.*
KL.	*List of Inscriptions of Southern India, by F. Kielhorn (Appendix to EI, VII-VIII).*
KM.	*Kāvyamālā, NSP, Bombay.*
KRT.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Ed. and trans. by M. A. Stein.*
KSS.	*Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, NSP, Bombay.*
MAR.	*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department.*
MASB.	*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.*
MASI.	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
Mhvs.	*Mahāvaṁsa.*
M.S.	*Mahārāshṭra Sārasvata (in Marāṭhī) by V. L. Bhave.*
MTD.	*Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan, by Henry Cousens. Calcutta, 1931.*
NGGW.	*Nachrichten Göttingischer Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.*
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.*
NIS.	*New Imperial Series.*
NPP.	*Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā (in Hindi), Banaras.*
NS.	*New Series.*
NSP.	*Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay.*
NUJ.	*Nagpur University Journal, Nagpur.*
OHRJ.	*Orissa Historical Research Journal, Bhubaneswar.*
OS.	*Old Series.*
PAIOC. (also AIOC.)	*Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.*
PIHC.	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
PRASI, WC.	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
PTS.	*Pali Text Society, London.*
Pud. Ins.	*Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, 1929.*

PWSBTS.	*Princess of Wales Saraswatī Bhavana Text Series, Banaras.*
QJMS.	*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.*
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.*
SBH.	*Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad.*
SC.	*Smṛiti-chandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Mysore, 1914.*
SI.	*Stone-Inscription.*
SII.	*South Indian Inscriptions.*
SIS.	*Sino-Indian Studies, Calcutta.*
SJS.	*Singhi Jain Series.*
Somnath	*Somnath and other Mediaeval temples of Kathiawad, by Henry Cousens. Calcutta, 1931.*
SP.	*Sanskrit Poetics.*
SR.	*Śilpa-ratna of Kumāra.*
SS.	*Sanskrit Series.*
SSG.	*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, by S. K. Belvalkar. Poona, 1915.*
SSP.	*Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta.*
TA.	*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad.*
THK.	*History of Kanauj, by R. S. Tripathi. Benares, 1937.*
TN.	*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Minhāj-ud-dīn bin Sirāj.*
TSS.	*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.*
Vaij.	*Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa.*
Vij.	*Vijñāneśvara.*
VJV.	*Vividha-jñāna-vistāra (in Marāṭhī), Bombay.*
VRS.	*Varendra Research Society.*
VS.	*Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, by R. G. Bhandarkar.*
V.S.	*Vikrama Saṁvat.*
WZKM.	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Yāj.	*Yājñavalkya.*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

CHAPTER 1

GHAZNAVID INVASION

1. THE RISE OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

It has been shown in the preceding volume that the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs was merely a passing episode in the history of Islam. The Arabs established one or more principalities in this region at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. and maintained a precarious hold over them for nearly three hundred years. But Islam, which had conquered a large part of the world from the Pyrenees to the borders of China, had not extended much beyond the Sindhu, and had an uncertain footing even in the valley of that river. But what even the mighty 'Abbasid Caliphs failed to achieve was accomplished by petty Turkish dynasties that arose from the ruins of their empire. In order to understand this properly it is necessary to pass in rapid review the great political changes that took place in the eastern regions of the Caliphate since the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

The powerful 'Abbasid Caliphate, founded in A.D. 749, began to show signs of decline even before the end of the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. Tahir, the trusted general of al-Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833), was rewarded in 820 with the governorship of Khurāsān, which comprised all the territories east of Baghdād. He, however, soon assumed independence for all practical purposes, and his successors extended their dominion to the frontiers of India.

In A.D. 872 the Tahirids were superseded by a new dynasty founded by Ya'qūb ibn-Layth al-Ṣaffār who started life as a coppersmith in Sijistān. His conduct as the head of a band of brigands attracted the attention of the local governor who placed him in command of his troops. Ṣaffār succeeded his patron as governor and soon ruled over almost the whole of Persia. He also conquered Kābul, Zābul and Sindh as already mentioned above.[1]

Towards the close of the ninth century A.D. the Sāmānids of Transoxiana rose into importance. They were descended from Sāmān, a Zoroastrian noble of Balkh, and in A.D. 903 seized Khurāsān from the Ṣaffārids. During the reign of Nasr II (A.D. 913-43) the Sāmānid empire embraced Sijistān, Karman, Jurjan, Tabaristān, Transoxiana, and Khurāsān. Though nominally vassals of the 'Abbasids, the Sāmānid rulers were virtually independent. The

Sāmānids finally brought the whole of Transoxiana under Muslim rule, and their capital Bukhārā, together with the city of Samarqand, rivalled and sometimes almost eclipsed Baghdād, the renowned capital city of the Caliphs, as centres of learning and culture.

The mighty kingdom of the Sāmānids experienced the usual fate. In the last decade of the tenth century A.D. two Turkish families divided it between themselves. The Īlak Khāns of Turkistān, who captured Bukhārā in 990 and nine years later gave the final blow to the Sāmānids, became masters of all their territories lying to the north of the Oxus. The portion of the Sāmānid kingdom lying to the south of that river passed into the hands of the Yamīnī dynasty, better known to the modern students of history as the Ghaznavids. As it was the rulers of this dynasty that repeatedly invaded India and paved the way for the final Muslim conquest of the country, their history requires a fuller treatment.

2. SABUKTIGĪN

The Yamīnī dynasty claimed descent from Yazdijurd-i-Shahryār, the last of the Persian monarchs. During the Caliphate of 'Usmān Yazdijurd-i-Shahryār lost his life at the hands of his enemies in a water-mill in the vicinity of the town of Marv. The family of the deceased fled to Turkistān and settled in the district of Nakhistān. They intermarried with the people of that country, and after two or three generations the descendants passed as Turks. While residing there, Sabuktigīn, the founder of the Yamīnī dynasty in Ghaznī, then only twelve years old, was taken prisoner by a neighbouring tribe. He was sold as a slave to a merchant named Nasr, the Hājī, who after three or more years' time brought him to Bukhārā. There he was purchased by Alptigīn, the Lord Chamberlain of the Sāmānid ruler of Khurāsān, who took a fancy to him. Sabuktigīn accompanied his new master to Tukhāristān and Khurāsān of which places the latter was governor. Subsequently Alptigīn quarrelled with the Sāmānids and left Tukhāristān. He seized Zābulistān together with its capital Ghaznī from the Amīr Abū Bakr Lawīk in c. A.D. 963, and there established an independent kingdom. He raised Sabuktigīn to the position of a general. According to an authority quoted by Firishta[2] Sabuktigīn was engaged in frequent wars with the Indians and defeated them during the fifteen years' rule of Alptigīn. But as the latter did not rule for more than a year, the statement about frequent raids into India by Sabuktigīn can only refer to the interval between the death of Alptigīn and his own accession to the throne which really covers a period of 15 years. Dr. Nazim says that Alptigīn conquered a part of the kingdom of Kābul,[3] but quotes no

authority. It may be presumed from subsequent events that the Shāhi kingdom did not suffer any material loss before the reign of Sabuktigīn.

Alptigīn died in A.D. 963, and was succeeded by his son Is-hāq. After the death of Is-hāq, in A.D. 966, Balkātigīn, the commander of the Turkish troops, succeeded to the throne. Sabuktigīn, who had married the daughter of Alptigīn, served both Is-hāq and Balkātigīn. When the reign of Balkātigīn came to an end in A.D. 972, Pīrāi,[4] a slave of Alptigīn, succeeded to the throne. Pīrāi was a cruel king. So the people invited Abū 'Alī Lawīk, son of Abū Bakr Lawīk, to invade Ghaznī. The Shāhis of India, whose kingdom extended up to the Hindu Kush, and who looked with disfavour upon the establishment of a powerful Muslim kingdom just on the border of their own, made a common cause with Abū 'Alī Lawīk against Pīrāi. The Shāhi king, who in all probability was Jayapāla, sent his son with an army to assist his ally in the invasion of Ghaznī. When the allied forces reached near Charkh, a place on the east bank of the Lohgar river on one of the routes from Kābul to Ghaznī, they were suddenly attacked by Sabuktigīn who killed a large number of them and took many prisoners to Ghaznī together with ten elephants. This victory greatly enhanced his prestige. Misdeeds of Pīrāi brought about his downfall in A.D. 977, and Sabuktigīn was raised to power. Sabuktigīn's accession received approval from the Sāmānid king Nūh II of Bukhārā. Sabuktigīn obviously enjoyed an independent political status, though perhaps he nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Sāmānids.[5]

Shortly after his accession Sabuktigīn added to his kingdom Bust, Dāwar, Qusdār, Bāmīyān, Tukhāristān, and Ghūr. He also led frequent expeditions against the kingdom of the Shāhis of Udabhāṇḍa, which, as has already been noted, extended as far as the Kābul Valley. 'Utbī regards these military campaigns as holy wars for the propagation of Islam. Sabuktigīn plundered forts on the tops of hills in the outlying provinces of the Shāhi kingdom, captured many cities, and acquired immense wealth. The Shāhi Jayapāla obviously could not ignore these incidents. He organised his forces, which included huge elephants, and set out to punish Sabuktigīn. At some place between Lamghān and Ghaznī he met with Sabuktigīn and his young son Mahmūd. The battle between the two armies continued for several days.[6] According to Muslim chroniclers the Hindu army was rapidly gaining ground, and so Sabuktigīn took recourse to unchivalrous means. There was near Jayapāla's camp a lofty mountain, called the 'Ukba Ghūzak, in one of whose ravines there was a fountain of water. There was a popular superstition that if it

was contaminated with any filth, "black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, the summits of the mountains became black, rain fell, and the neighbourhood was filled with cold blasts, until red death supervened." At the instance of Sabuktigīn his men secretly threw dirty substance into the fountain and the dreadful consequences followed. There were hail storms, blast, and thunder; black vapour collected around the Hindu army impeding their progress, and many of them perished in the cold. Jayapāla saved himself by concluding an ignominious treaty with the Amīr. But as soon as he safely reached his own country he repudiated the treaty. Enraged at this treacherous conduct of the Shāhi king, Sabuktigīn forthwith led an army against him. After a strenuous fight Sabuktigīn defeated his enemy, and succeeded in establishing his authority as far as the city of Lamghān, which was famous for its immense wealth and strong fortifications. Jayapāla decided to make a determined effort to re-establish his control of it, and collected an army consisting of more than one hundred thousand troops. Firishta states that the Rājās of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjara, and many other neighbouring countries supplied contingents to help the Shāhi king on this occasion. This statement of Firishta is very important, as a confederacy of Indian rulers, united in opposition to foreign invasion, is a rare event in Indian history. If Firishta's statement could be accepted as true, it would go a long way in absolving the Indian rulers of the charge commonly levelled against them that they could not unite even in the face of a common danger threatening the safety of their motherland. Unfortunately, we have no independent testimony corroborating Firishta's statement, and, meagre as it is, it does not enable us to identify the rulers who joined Jayapāla in defending their motherland against the onrush of Islam. The three capital cities mentioned by Firishta seem to suggest that the Tomaras, Chāhamānas and the Chandellas sent troops to the aid of Jayapāla. Even though we do not know the names of any of the "many other neighbouring countries" which joined the holy war against Islam, it is legitimate to conclude from Firishta's statement that Northern India was fully aware of the grave peril caused by the menace of Islam, and her people gave practical evidence of their love for their country and religion by willingly offering to sacrifice their lives in the bleak hills of far distant Afghānistān which was almost a *terra incognita* to them.

On receiving news of the advance of the Hindu army Sabuktigīn stationed his troops in a strategic position on a lofty hill near Lamghān. Having made a general survey of the countless forces of Jayapāla from his post, he divided his soldiers into batches of five hundred men, and sent them in succession to attack a particular point

of the enemy line. Soon a confusion arose in the Hindu camp, and then all these detached squadrons made a united attack. There followed a close fight in which only swords could be used, and Hindus were killed in large numbers. After a short resistance the Hindu army fled in utter confusion leaving behind their property, arms, provisions, elephants, and horses. This is the account handed down to us by the Muslim historians, and we have no means to check it by comparing it with the version of the other side. Sabuktigīn annexed the whole of the territory between Lamghān and Peshāwar and introduced Islam among the people of this region who were probably followers of Buddhism.

During the reign of the Sāmānid king Nūh II, son of Mansūr, Abū 'Alī-i-Sūnjūr, governor of a part of Khurāsān, revolted. Nūh II succeeded in putting down the revolt with the help of Sabuktigīn and the latter's son Mahmūd. In recognition of this service the Sāmānid king conferred the title Nāsir-ud-dīn wa'd-Daulah on Sabuktigīn and Saifu'd-Daulah on Mahmūd. Mahmūd was made the captain-general of the forces of Khurāsān, and his headquarters were fixed at Nīshāpūr. In A.D. 995 Abū 'Alī-i-Sūnjūr made a fresh attempt to capture Nīshāpūr, but Sabuktigīn and Mahmūd succeeded in repulsing the attack.

Sabuktigīn died on the Balkh frontier in A.D. 997 at the age of fifty-six. He was a king of great valour, and ruled his kingdom with equity and moderation. He left behind him four sons, Mahmūd, Ismā'īl, Nasr, and Yūsuf. Before his death he was prevailed upon by Ismā'īl, who was living with him, to nominate him as his successor. Ismā'īl declared himself king, and lavished wealth upon the soldiers to gain their support against his brother Mahmūd. Hearing of this news of Ismā'īl's assumption of the royal power, following the death of his father, Mahmūd wrote a letter to him proposing that he should give up his claim to the throne as he was inexperienced in the art of government, and that he could be given charge of the administration of the provinces of Balkh and Khurāsān if he so desired. Ismā'īl rejected the proposal and advanced towards Ghaznī, but was defeated by Mahmūd. He was subsequently taken prisoner and was kept in confinement till his death. He ruled only for seven months.

3. SULTĀN MAHMŪD

Mahmūd ascended the throne of Ghaznī in A.D. 998. He was born in A.D. 971, and in his youth received education in sacred literature and in the art of warfare and government. It has already been mentioned that he fought under his father against Jayapāla and

Abū 'Alī-i-Sūnjūr. After his accession Mahmūd consolidated his position in Herāt, Balkh, and Bust, and was engaged in a conflict with the Sāmānid king 'Abd-ul-Malik and his associates in order to re-establish his authority over Khurāsān. He achieved his end by defeating his enemies in two successive engagements, and in A.D. 999 was recognised as the sovereign of all these countries by the Caliph al-Qādir Billāh, who sent him a robe of investment and conferred on him the titles of Yamīn-ud-Daulah and Amīn-ul-Millah. Mahmūd is said to have made a vow to lead an expedition against India every year, and there is a general consensus of opinion that he had no less than twelve such expeditions to his credit. But the actual number is difficult to determine on account of the conflicting evidence of the different authorities.

In A.D. 1000 he led the first expedition against India, and seized some fortresses, which seem to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. In the following year Mahmūd again advanced with an army consisting of 15,000 picked cavalry, men, and officers, and encamped in the outskirt of the city of Peshāwar. On receipt of this news Jayapāla marched with 12,000 horsemen, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants to resist the invader, and pitched his camp near that city. He avoided taking direct action for some time awaiting the arrival of more troops from the tribal area. Mahmūd realised the situation and attacked the enemy without further delay. The cavalry and elephant forces of Jayapāla, amidst beat of drums, plunged themselves into the thick of the battle, but before noon the Hindus were routed and 5,000 of them lost their lives. Jayapāla was captured together with his sons and grandsons, and they were detained at a place known as Mirand. Mahmūd obtained a huge booty, and succeeded in conquering the province around Peshāwar, which was larger and more fertile than Khurāsān. He next advanced on Waihind, which is to be identified with Udabhāṇḍa, the capital of the Shāhis, and pitched his tent near that city. At his approach the Hindus retreated to the passes in the neighbouring hills and the forests and jungles. While they were devising plans for an effective resistance, Mahmūd despatched an army against them, and dispersed them with a great deal of slaughter. He released Jayapāla on his promise to pay 250,000 *dīnārs* and to deliver 25 elephants, and detained a son and a grandson of his as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty. After Jayapāla's return to his own kingdom his son Ānandapāla, who was at that time residing somewhere to the east of the Sindhu, sent the stipulated sum of money and elephants to Mahmūd, and secured the release of the Shāhi princes. But Jayapāla, having suffered three successive defeats at the hands of the Muslims, considered himself unworthy of the throne and burnt himself on a

funeral pyre, which he is said to have kindled with his own hands. Ānandapāla succeeded him shortly after A.D. 1001.

Mahmūd devoted the greater part of A.D. 1002 and A.D. 1003 to the war in Sīstān and during these two years India enjoyed a respite from his attacks.

In A.D. 1004 Mahmūd renewed his invasion of India. He passed through Walishtān, modern Sibi, in Baluchistān, crossed the Sindhu near Multān, and reached Bhātiya. The city was surrounded by a wall of unusual height and a moat of great depth and breadth. It possessed enormous riches and was well-equipped with armaments and troops. The place has been variously identified with Bhera under the Salt Range, Uch, and Bhātinda, but none of these identifications can be regarded as certain. It was at this time ruled by Bajī Rāy. Firishta says that Bajī Rāy, who was a vassal under Ānandapāla, antagonised the latter by refusing to pay him tribute. He is said to have also enraged Mahmūd by his hostile activities against the Muslim governors, whom the latter appointed to rule his Indian possessions. But these informations are not supplied by the early authorities. Bajī Rāy was a brave general. He came out of the walls of the city with his elephant forces and took the aggressive. The battle continued for three days and nights. The Muslims lost heavily and were on the verge of defeat, when, on the fourth day, the Sultān made a last desperate attack, and succeeded in capturing some elephants which were defending the centre of Bajī Rāy's forces. Bajī Rāy resisted at every point, but by the evening was forced to withdraw into the fort. Mahmūd forthwith occupied the gates of the city, filled up the moat, and widened the entrances. When Bajī Rāy realised that the city could not be defended any longer, he fled to a forest on the bank of the Sindhu, and took refuge on the top of a hill with a few of his followers. As soon as Mahmūd learnt of the enemy's flight, he sent off a contingent in hot pursuit. Bajī Rāy was soon taken by surprise, and surrounded by the Muslim army. As there was no way out of this impasse left for him, he put an end to his life by plunging his dagger into his heart, and his attendants fell fighting bravely with the enemy. Mahmūd took Bhātiya easily by storm, and pillaged the city. All the wealth there, together with hundred and twenty elephants, fell into his hands. He stayed there for some time, making arrangements for the permanent annexation of the country and for the conversion of the Hindus to Islam with the help of some competent teachers. He started for Ghaznī in A.D. 1005 during the rainy season. As the rivers of the Punjāb were full and surging at that time, he lost almost all his booty while crossing them. His passage was also obstructed from time to time by his enemies in the mountainous country.

In A.D. 1005-6 Mahmūd resolved to lead an expedition against Multān to punish its ruler Abu-'l-Fath Dāūd for his heretical activities. Dāūd's grandfather Shaikh Hamīd Lodī had entered into a friendly relation with Sabuktigīn, and the alliance between the two families was maintained for some time. But Dāūd's acceptance of the doctrine of the Ismā'īlī sect made him hostile to Mahmūd, who was a zealous defender of the Islamic faith. Mahmūd, as he marched towards Multān, found the Sindhu in a flooded condition after the rain, making it difficult for his cavalry to cross it. So he requested Ānandapāla to allow him a passage through his kingdom. Ānandapāla, who was an ally of Dāūd, refused to comply with the request. This led to a battle near Peshāwar in which Mahmūd severely defeated Ānandapāla who fled to the Kāshmir hills. The Sultān now found an easy route to Multān through the Shāhi kingdom. Dāūd lost all courage to meet the Sultān when he heard that a powerful king like Ānandapāla had failed to cope with him. The Sultān reached Multān without encountering any opposition, besieged the city for seven days, and forced the defenders to capitulate. The people, who had endured extreme hardship, were forced to pay 20,000,000 *dirhams*. Dāūd was, however, allowed to rule over the kingdom on his promise to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 golden *dirhams*, and to follow the tenets of Islam.

About this time the Sultān received news of the invasion of the northern part of his kingdom by the Turks under their leader Īlak Khān. He left Sukhapāla, grandson of Jayapāla, who was formerly converted to Islam under the name of Nawāsa Shāh, to look after the affairs of Hindustān, and himself rushed to Khurāsān to meet the invader. When he was engaged in fighting with Īlak Khān, Nawāsa Shāh declared independence, dismissed all the Muslim officers, renounced Islam, and made an alliance with the Indian chiefs. After the termination of his battle with the Turks in A.D. 1007 the Sultān marched to India to punish the rebel. Nawāsa Shāh fled to the hills, but was captured. The Sultān took possession of his treasures, amounting to 400,000 *dirhams*, and after settling affairs in Hindustān returned to Ghaznī.

In the following year (A.D. 1008) Mahmūd led an army against Ānandapāla to punish him for his conduct during the invasion of Multān. Mahmūd was opposed on the bank of a river near Waihind (Udabhāṇḍa) by Brahmapāla, son of Ānandapāla. The Shāhi army was well equipped with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and huge elephants. According to Firishta many Rājās of Hindustān despatched, on the appeal of Ānandapāla, big contingents to his aid, as they did, about thirty years earlier, during the reign of

his father, on a similar occasion. The Khokars or the Gakkhars of the Punjāb also joined the Shāhis in full strength. The contending parties did not engage in any struggle for forty days. Mahmūd did not think it wise to take the offensive, and wanted his enemies to attack his entrenchments. He engaged six thousand archers to incite them to make the first move, and his plan met with success. The Khokars, 30,000 in number, with various weapons advanced swiftly against the enemy line and made a vigorous attack on it. In the dreadful battle that ensued 5,000 Muslims lost their lives within a short space of time, and it seemed as if the Sultān was on the point of losing the battle with disastrous consequences. But suddenly the battle took a different course, when a number of the Sultān's personal guards attacked the rear of the invading Hindu army. There was confusion and the Hindus fled in panic. Firishta says that an untoward incident led to the final defeat of the Hindus on this occasion. The elephant, which carried the leader of the Hindu army, *i.e.* Ānandapāla, was struck by arrows showered by the enemies, got out of control, and fled from the battlefield with its riders. This was taken as the signal for flight by the Hindu army, which then deserted the battlefield in confusion. The same authority relates that 'Abdullāh Tā'ī with 6,000 horse and Arsalān Jāzib with 10,000 soldiers pursued the Hindus and killed 20,000 of them. The Sultān himself joined in the pursuit, and followed the remainder of the fleeing Hindu army up to Bhīmnagar, also known as Nagarkot, modern Kot Kāngra. The fort of Bhīmnagar was built on the top of a steep and lofty hill surrounded by deep water. Great riches, presented by neighbouring chiefs and devotees from different parts of India during successive generations, had been accumulated there. Such an immense quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls was not to be found in the treasury of any king in India. The Sultān besieged the fort and made a vigorous onslaught with his archers. The Hindus inside the fort lost heart at the sight of the vast host of Muslims spreading over the spurs of the hills. After three days' resistance they surrendered and threw open the gates of the citadel. The Sultān entered it without any opposition, and seized control of the treasury which consisted of 70,000,000 royal *dirhams,* gold and silver ingots, 7,00,400 *mans* in weight, jewelleries, and precious stones. Among the booty were superfine, soft, and embroidered cloths and garments, a house of white silver, 30 yards in length and 15 yards in breadth, parts of which could be disjoined at will, a canopy made of fine linen, 40 yards in length and 20 yards in breadth, provided with two golden and two silver poles, and a very costly throne. The Sultān himself took charge of the jewels and placed his two chamberlains Altūntāsh and Asightigīn in charge of the gold, silver and other valuables. He

appointed one of his reliable officers to take charge of the fort, and returned to Ghaznī carrying the booty and the treasure on the backs of camels. He could not keep Nagarkot under his control for any length of time. But on this occasion he succeeded in annexing all the territories to the west of Sindhu including the Shāhi capital Udabhāṇḍa. On reaching Ghaznī he held an exhibition of the jewels, pearls, rubies, emeralds, diamonds and other articles, secured from Nagarkot, in the court-yard of the royal palace. Even ambassadors from Turkistān and other foreign countries came to see this fabulous wealth which he had acquired.

In A.D. 1009 Mahmūd led an army against Nārāyan, situated in the heart of Hind. The place is identified by Cunningham with Nārāyanpur, in the old Alwar State, Rājputāna. The king of Nārāyan fought bravely in defence of his country, but was defeated. The Sultān broke the idols and returned to Ghaznī with his booty, the captured elephants and horses. In the following year Mahmūd invaded the small country of Ghūr, situated between Ghaznī and Herāt, took its ruler Muhammad *bin* Sūrī prisoner, and placed on its throne the latter's brother Abū-'Alī.

In the latter part of A.D. 1010 Mahmūd had to lead an expedition against Multān to bring it finally into a state of subjugation. Dāūd, the ruler of the country, had turned hostile again, and the Ismā'īlī sect was increasing in popularity. The Sultān killed a large number of the heretics, took Dāūd prisoner, and re-established his authority over that country.

These successive victories of Mahmūd made Ānandapāla realise the futility of carrying on further wars against him. He entered into a treaty with the Sultān agreeing to send him annually 50 big elephants, laden with valuables, and accompanied by 2,000 men for service at the court of Ghaznī. The Sultān on his part promised not to lead any more invasion against the Shāhi kingdom. Both parties strictly observed the conditions of the treaty till Ānandapāla's death. The relations between the two kingdoms became so cordial during this period that the caravans moving between Khurāsān and Hind enjoyed full security.

Mahmūd received information that Thāneswar possessed elephants of Ceylon breed, which were very useful for military purposes. There was also an idol in a temple there, which was held in high veneration by the people of Hindustān. In A.D. 1011 Mahmūd started with his army from Ghaznī with a view to plundering that city. Ānandapāla, in accordance with the treaty he had concluded, allowed Mahmūd a safe passage through his kingdom, though the latter rejected his fervent appeal to spare the sacred city of Thāneswar

from plunder in return for adequate compensation. The Sultān, in course of his march, reached the bank of a river, where he was opposed by a Rājā named Rāma, the chief of Dera, who was also anxious to save the sacred city from pillage. The river, which is identified by some with the Sutlej, flowed swiftly through a mountain pass. Its banks were precipitous and its bottom was full of large stones. Rāma, together with his elephants, cavalry, and infantry, took up his position in the ravines. At the Sultān's command two contingents of the Muslim army forded the river at two points and attacked the enemy on both sides. While the battle was in progress a third contingent marched up the stream, crossed the river, and attacked the vital position of the enemy. The fight continued fiercely till evening, when the Hindus fled from the battlefield leaving their elephants behind. After gaining complete victory over his enemies, the Sultān resumed his march. On receipt of the news of Mahmūd's advance, the Rājā of Delhi, in whose kingdom Thāneswar was situated, sent messengers to other chiefs of Hindustān requesting them to join him in defence of the sacred city. It was emphasised that if the invader was not checked at Thāneswar, the whole of Hindustān would be overwhelmed by the Muslims. But before the Hindus could rally their forces, Mahmūd reached Thāneswar, plundered the city, and broke a large number of idols, sparing the principal one, which was carried to Ghaznī and placed in a public square for defilement.[7] He intended next to invade Delhi, but had to abandon this project as he could not rely fully on the co-operation of Ānandapāla. So he marched back to Ghaznī, and on his way received due hospitality from the Shāhi chief.

After the death of Ānandapāla (c. A.D. 1012) Mahmūd renewed his hostility against the Shāhis, whose capital at this time was Nandana, in the Salt Range. In the winter of A.D. 1013 Mahmūd advanced with his army towards Nandana to crush the power of Trilochanapāla, son and successor of Ānandapāla. As soon as he reached the border of Hind his passage was blocked by a heavy fall of snow. The roads, passes, and valleys were all lost under the snow drifts. He had to wait there until spring, securing additional supplies and army from the neighbouring provinces. After two months' troublesome journey over the hills and dales, and across torrential and deep rivers, the Sultān reached the vicinity of Nandana. He now divided his cavalry into three groups placing Amīr Nasr, Arsalān Jāzib, and Abū 'Abdullā Muhammad in charge of each of them. The central part of the army was placed under the leadership of Altūntāsh. Trilochanapāla, who was not prepared for this sudden invasion, put the whole of his army under the command of his son Bhīmapāla, and sent invitations to his vassals to join him with their forces.

Bhīmapāla posted himself together with his forces behind large blocks of stone in a narrow mountain pass, barring the entrance with elephants and awaiting the arrival of the vassals. On learning the design of the enemies, Mahmūd all on a sudden attacked them in that position with his Dailamite warriors and Afghān spearmen. The battle continued without a break for several days. But the Sultān could not dislodge the Shāhis from their strategic position. At this time Tuṅga, the general of the Lohara king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kāshmir, who was sent with an army to help Trilochanapāla, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Sultān for his injudicious movement. As soon as reinforcements came, Bhīmapāla left the pass and came out into the plain to give battle against the Muslims. The elephant forces under him made a violent attack on the enemies, but were repulsed by the showers of arrows. Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad, while fighting bravely in the midst of the enemies, received many wounds in his head and body, but was rescued by the Sultān's personal guard. An all-round battle continued for some time, and though the Shāhis fought bravely and contested every inch of ground, they were ultimately routed. A large number of them lost their lives on the slopes of the hills and in the valleys and ravines, and a host of elephants, which protected their defence lines, fell into the hands of the Muslims. Bhīmapāla, along with his father, withdrew to the valley of Kāshmir, leaving a strong garrison behind for the defence of the capital. The Sultān readily marched to the capital and besieged its fort. Having failed to capture it by ordinary means, he ran mines under the walls and forced the defenders to surrender. He then entered into the fort without opposition, seized the treasure and other valuable articles, and appointed Sārūgh as its Superintendent. The western and central portions of the Shāhi kingdom were annexed to the Empire of Ghaznī.

From Nandana Mahmūd marched towards the Kāshmir valley where Trilochanapāla had rallied his surviving forces. Trilochanapāla resisted him but, when he was defeated, he fled to the Eastern Punjāb, probably Sirhind. Mahmūd plundered the Kāshmir valley, took many prisoners, converted some to Islam, and returned to Ghaznī with a large amount of booty. On this occasion he carried with him such a large number of Indians as prisoners that they were sold as slaves at a very cheap price in Ghaznī. Men, who occupied high positions in India, were seen to serve the shopkeepers there as slaves.

In A.D. 1015 Mahmūd came back to the Kāshmir valley in order to put down some refractory chiefs, and also to capture some forts which he could not conquer on the previous occasion. The hill-fort of Lohkot, modern Loharin, on the southern slopes of the central

Pir Pantsal, was his first objective. The fort was famous for its invincibility. The Sultān made a fruitless effort to capture it before the end of the summer season. The situation became worse for the Muslim army when, as winter approached, there was a heavy fall of snow. In the mean time the Kāshmirians made their position stronger by fresh reinforcement of troops. In this circumstance the Sultān had no other alternative but to raise the siege and retreat towards Ghaznī. On his return journey he suffered incalculable miseries. Once, his guides misled him and his army into a big marsh, and a large number of men were lost. After struggling hard for several days he succeeded in extricating the surviving portion of his troops.

Mahmūd could not lead any expedition against India in A.D. 1016 and 1017 as he was engaged in putting down revolt in Khvārazm. As soon as he was free from that trouble he formulated a plan to penetrate further into the heart of Hindustān, and to attack the imperial city of Kanauj. For this ambitious enterprise he raised a big army of 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, recruited from Turkistān, Māwarāu-n nahr, Khurāsān, and other neighbouring provinces. Towards the end of A.D. 1018 he started from Ghaznī and, marching through the Punjāb, crossed the Sindhu, Jhelum, Chenāb, Rāvi, Beās, and Sutlej. The chiefs of the countries through which he passed submitted to him. Jānkī,[8] son of Shāhī, grandson of Bamhī, who controlled the southern passes leading into Kāshmir, offered his services to the Sultān as a guide. The Shāhi Trilochanapāla, who was ruling in the Eastern Punjāb, refused to pay allegiance to the Sultān, and fled to the Paramāra kingdom of Mālava. After a long and tedious journey through forests and jungles, the Sultān reached the Yamunā and crossed it on 2nd December 1018. Having overcome some hill-forts on the way he reached Baran, modern Bulandshahr, in U.P. The ruler of the place, Hardat, who was filled with alarm at his approach, did not put up any resistance against him. 'Utbī states that Hardat surrendered to Mahmūd with 10,000 men and was even willing to embrace Islam to save them from disaster. Gardīzī and Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, however, relate that Hardat fled away, leaving the fort in charge of his followers. The garrison found their position untenable and purchased peace by paying the Sultān 1,000,000 *dirhams* and 30 elephants. From Baran Mahmūd advanced to attack Mahāban, on the Yamunā, in the Mathurā District. It was at that time ruled by a chief named Kulachand, who owned a large number of forts and maintained a strong army. Many neighbouring rulers had to submit to his military power. It is known from some epigraphic records that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Mahāban and its environs were ruled by the

Yadu dynasty, and Kulachand was possibly a member of this family. As soon as Mahmūd invested Mahāban, Kulachand, along with his army and elephants, retreated to a fort in a dense forest, and kept every thing ready for battle. The Sultān, after a careful search, discovered the fort where Kulachand had concentrated his forces. A hand to hand fight with swords and spears ensued between the two armies. The Hindus, having failed to defend their position, jumped into the Yamunā and tried to cross it over in search of safety. Kulachand, finding no other way to escape, killed his wife first and then killed himself. Nearly 5,000 Hindus lost their lives, and the Sultān secured a large booty together with 185 war elephants.[9]

The Sultān next directed his attacks against the sacred city of Mathurā. The city was surrounded by a massive stone wall, in which were two lofty gates opening on to the river. There were magnificent temples all over the city and the largest of them stood in the centre of it. The Sultān was very much struck by its grandeur. In his estimate it cost not less than 100,000,000 red *dīnārs,* and even the most skilful of masons must have taken 200 years to complete it. Among the large number of idols in the temples, five were made of pure gold, the eyes of one of them were laid with two rubies worth 100,000 *dīnārs,* and another had a sapphire of a very heavy weight. All these five idols yielded gold weighing 98,300 *miskāls.* The idols made of silver numbered 200. The city is said to have been within the kingdom of the Rājā of Delhi, but the Sultān captured it without meeting any opposition. He seized all the gold and silver idols and ordered his soldiers to burn all the temples to the ground. The idols in them were deliberately broken into pieces. The city was pillaged for 20 days, and a large number of buildings were reduced to ashes.

From Mathurā the Sultān marched on Kanauj. On his way he conquered many forts and obtained much booty. Sometimes he encountered strong resistance from the Hindus, but he triumphed over them. Kanauj, which served as the capital of so many successive imperial ruling dynasties, was a well fortified city, defended by seven lofty forts, and contained 10,000 temples. At Mahmūd's approach king Rājyapāla of the Pratīhāra dynasty fled to the other side of the Gaṅgā, and took refuge in a place known as Bari. Kanauj was deserted by a large number of its citizens, who were anxious to save themselves from the fury of the Muslims, and in the absence of any strong resistance, all the seven forts fell easily into the hands of the Sultān. At his command the city was plundered, the inhabitants put to the sword, and the idols destroyed.

After plundering Kanauj Mahmūd invaded Munj, which is identified by some with Manjhawan, 10 miles south of Kānpur (Cawnpore), and by others with the place of this name, 14 miles north-east of Ētāwah. It was known as the fort of the Brāhmans. The garrison resisted the invader for 25 days, but it was of no effect. At last a large number of inhabitants threw themselves into fire together with their wives and children. Some sallied forth from the fort and dashed towards the enemy, only to be killed by the latter. Others threw themselves down from the battlements to embrace death. It was eventually found that not a single soul survived in the fort. Mahmūd took possession of all the valuables there and then advanced towards Āsī, which is identified with Asni, 10 miles north-east from Fatehpur. The fort of Āsī was surrounded by a wide and deep moat, and around it lay dense jungle full of venomous reptiles. Its ruler, Chandrapāl Bhūr, was one of the most powerful chiefs of Hindustān, and earned a great reputation as a military leader by inflicting defeats on many kings. He even succeeded in repulsing an attack of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj after a prolonged fight. But his courage failed when Mahmūd invaded his fort, and he fled, leaving it to the mercy of the latter. At the Sultān's order the fort was plundered and demolished, and the inhabitants were put to death. The Sultān next marched with his army to Sharva, which is identified by Cunningham with Sirsawa to the east of the Yamunā, near Sahāranpur. The fort there, made of massive stone, was of immense height. Its chief, Chānd Rāi, held a high position among the rulers of Hindustān. Hearing the news of Mahmūd's advance, Chānd Rāi stealthily went out of his fort with his army and treasure, withdrew to a lofty hill, and hid in a thick forest. The Sultān plundered the fort of Sharva, and then pushed his way through the jungle, in pursuit of Chānd Rāi. After covering a distance of 15 *parasangs* he succeeded in detecting the place where the enemy was residing. In the action that followed a large number of Hindu soldiers lost their lives. Chānd Rāi seems to have fled away leaving his treasure behind. The Sultān secured for himself a huge amount of gold, silver, and pearls worth 3,000,000 *dirhams*, and many elephants. A large number of Hindus, rich and poor, were carried off as slaves, and eventually sold to the merchants of Māwarāu-n nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān. After his victory over Chānd Rāi, which took place in January, 1019, Mahmūd returned to Ghaznī with a huge booty and a large number of war prisoners. The expedition against Kanauj made the Sultān master of wealth amounting to 20,000,000 *dirhams*, 53,000 prisoners of war, and 350 elephants. Firishta states that after this glorious expedition the Sultān founded at Ghaznī the famous Jāmi Mosque, which was universally known

as 'Celestial Bride.' Adjacent to this mosque the Sultān established a University well equipped with books in various languages, and a Museum full of natural curiosities.

Before we resume the story of Mahmūd's invasion of India we may refer briefly to his great adversary, the Shāhi king Trilochanapāla, whose dominions were now confined to the Eastern Punjāb. As Kalhaṇa says, he "displayed great resolution even after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants, endeavoured to recover victory." In his new retreat at Sirhind, Trilochanapāla secured a respite from Muslim invasion for about five years. But during this period he had to fight a series of battles against Chānd Rāi, ruler of Sharva, mentioned above. These engagements resulted in a heavy loss of men and warriors on both sides. A peace was ultimately concluded between the two kings and, in order to make it a lasting one, Trilochanapāla sought the hand of his rival's daughter for his son Bhīmapāla. As soon as the Shāhi prince reached Sharva for marriage, Chānd Rāi put him into prison and demanded retribution for the losses he had to suffer in the previous engagements. Trilochanapāla could not lead any big expedition against Chānd Rāi lest any serious harm was done to his son. Stray battles, however, took place from time to time between the two kings, until Mahmūd, on his way to Kanauj, reached that part of the country in A.D. 1018. Trilochanapāla left his kingdom and took shelter with the Paramāra Bhoja of Mālava.

As mentioned above, Mahmūd, after plundering Kanauj, returned to Ghaznī in A.D. 1019. But in A.D. 1020-21 he again came to Hindustān to chastise the Chandella Vidyādhara, who had attacked the Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla and killed him for his cowardly submission to Mahmūd. On that occasion Trilochanapāla made an alliance with the Chandellas. So, when in A.D. 1020-21, the Sultān advanced with his army to punish Vidyādhara, and after some time reached the banks of a big river, he was opposed by the Shāhi Trilochanapāla. 'Utbī mentions the name of this river as Rāhib, and Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad call it Yamunā. Trilochanapāla camped on the eastern bank of the river with his infantry and elephants, and showed grim determination to fight. The Sultān hesitated to make an attempt at crossing the river as it was very deep and its bottom full of mud. He ordered eight men of his camp to swim over to the other bank on inflated skins. As these men were approaching, Trilochanapāla sent a contingent with five elephants to prevent them from landing. But these few Muslim soldiers succeeded in forcing their way through, throwing their enemies into wild confusion as they discharged their arrows. When the Sultān's plan had achieved this result, he ordered his troops to follow the same process. The

Muslims readily jumped into the river and reached the other bank without any loss of life. Trilochanapāla attacked them with all his forces, but being defeated, fled from the battlefield. Many Hindus lost their lives in the encounter, and 270 elephants fell into the hands of the Sultān. Trilochanapāla now made an attempt to join Vidyādhara, but, on his way, was killed by some Hindus. His son Bhīmapāla, who had obviously effected his escape from Sharva at the time when Mahmūd plundered the fort in A.D. 1019, survived him for five years without holding any royal position. The entire Shāhi kingdom now formed a part of Mahmūd's dominions.

The Shāhis bravely resisted the Muslims for more than twenty-five years. The collapse of their power made a deep impression upon the minds of the people of that age. Al-Bīrūnī remarks with a note of pathos: "The Hindu Sāhiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing." The same sentiment is also echoed by Kalhaṇa in the twelfth century in his book *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

After defeating Trilochanapāla Mahmūd advanced towards Bari, where the Pratīhāras had shifted their capital after the sack of Kanauj. But before the Sultān reached that place the Pratīhāra Trilochanapāla, son and successor of Rājyapāla, fled away in fear. The Muslims entered into the city without any opposition, and at the Sultān's command razed it to the ground.

After the capture of Bari Mahmūd directed his attack against Vidyādhara who was ready to meet him on the border of his kingdom with 45,000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry, and 640 elephants.[10] The Sultān sent an envoy to Vidyādhara asking him either to embrace Islam or to agree to pay an annual tribute, but the Chandella king rejected both the proposals with scorn. The Sultān, before issuing order for the attack, went to an elevated place to make an estimate of the strength of the enemy. His courage failed when he saw the vast gathering of Vidyādhara's army, and he repented of undertaking this perilous expedition. In his despair, he fell flat on the ground, praying to the Almighty for assistance. In the evening there was a skirmish between Mahmūd's general Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad at-Tā'ī and a detachment of the Hindu army, in which the latter suffered a reverse. Greatly disheartened by the defeat, Vidyādhara, being panic-stricken, fled away with his army during the night under cover of darkness, leaving his bags and baggages behind. On the following morning the Sultān was surprised to hear that his enemies

had fled. At first he suspected foul play, but when no trace of the enemy could be discovered in the neighbourhood, he entered the deserted camps and seized everything of value including elephants numbering 580.

Shortly after his return to Ghaznī the Sultān led expeditions against Qīrāt and Nūr, places situated between the borders of India and Turkistān. Elliot identifies these places with Swāt, Bājaur, and part of Kāfiristān. The inhabitants of these places, along with their rulers, were worshippers of idols. The chief of Qīrāt surrendered to Mahmūd without a struggle, and adopted Islam. Mahmūd's general Amīr 'Alī overcame the ruler of Nūr, sacked his territory, demolished a Hindu temple of great antiquity, and forced the people to embrace Islam. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1021, the Sultān led an army against Lohkot, in Kāshmir, which he had failed to capture on a previous occasion. However, he did not fare better this time. After making a fruitless attempt for a month to take possession of it, he raised the siege.

In A.D. 1021-22 Mahmūd again launched an expedition against the Chandella Vidyādhara. On his way he attacked the fort of Gwālior, which was then in possession of the Kachchhapaghātas. The chief of the Kachchhapaghāta dynasty. who seems to have been Kīrttirāja, after successfully defending his position for four days, lost courage and sued for peace. The Sultān received some valuable presents and 35 elephants from his adversary, and then resumed his march. He soon reached his destination and laid siege to the fort of Kālañjara. The siege had continued for a long time when Vidyādhara sent an emissary to the Sultān with the proposal for peace. He offered 300 elephants and other valuable presents for raising the siege. Hearing that the Sultān agreed to his terms Vidyādhara, to test the bravery of the Muslim soldiers, let loose the elephants, without riders, outside the gate of the fort. At the Sultān's command his Turkish soldiers brought them all under control and mounted them. The Hindus in the fort were amazed at this bold feat of their opponents, and no longer had any desire to fight. Vidyādhara sent over to the Muslim camp a verse in the Indian language in praise of the Sultān, who was very much pleased with the compliment paid him. He reciprocated this friendly gesture by bestowing on the Chandella king the government of 15 fortresses, and returned to Ghaznī. It would appear from the above account in the Muslim chronicles that Mahmūd came all the way from Ghaznī to Kālañjara only to be satisfied with a few hundred elephants and some rich presents. It would be more rational to hold that his invasion of Kālañjara was not a great success, and possibly a failure.

India enjoyed respite from the invasion of Mahmūd in A.D. 1023 because the Sultān in that year was busy fighting in Transoxiana. In the following year (A.D. 1024) he resumed his expedition against Hindustān. The object of his attack this time was the famous temple of Somanātha on the sea-shore, in Kāthiāwār, containing a Śiva-*liṅga*. The temple stood on huge blocks of stone, and its roof was supported by 56 wooden pillars "curiously carved and set with precious stones". The pyramidal roof was made of 13 stories, and was surmounted by fourteen golden domes. The girth of the *liṅga* was 4 feet 6 inches, and its height above the base was 7 feet 6 inches.[11] A portion of the *liṅga*, 6 feet in height, was hidden beneath the base. Adjacent to it under its pedestal there was the treasury containing many gold and silver miniature idols. The canopy over it was set with jewels and was decorated with rich embroidery. The dark chamber in which the *liṅga* was installed was illumined by jewelled chandeliers. In front of the chamber there was a chain of gold, 200 *mans* in weight, attached to a bell, which was rung by shaking the chain from time to time for specific purpose. One thousand Brāhmaṇas were appointed to perform the worship of the *liṅga* and for conducting the devotees into the temple. There were three hundred barbers for shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred and fifty persons, both male and female, were employed to sing and dance before the *liṅga* every day. All these people received daily allowances from the temple funds. The income of the temple was derived from the 10,000 villages endowed to it, and from the offerings of the devotees. The temple possessed vast wealth in gold, silver, pearls, and rich jewels, which had been accumulated in course of centuries.

The Hindus entertained a belief that Mahmūd could demolish so many idols in Northern India simply because these deities had forfeited the sympathy and support of Somanātha. It is stated that when Mahmūd heard of this belief of the Hindus he decided to destroy Somanātha with a view to striking at the root of their faith in the divinity of their chief idol. Mahmūd marched from Ghaznī to Multān at the head of 30,000 cavalry and a multitude of volunteers. Thence he decided to advance along the desert route to reach his destination. Soldiers were provided with food, water, and forage for many days. Two hundred camels were employed to carry additional water and provisions to meet any contingency. In course of his wearisome journey the Sultān first reached Ludrava, modern Lodorva, 10 miles north-west of Jaisalmer, which was defended by a strong citadel and a body of brave soldiers. The Sultān captured it, and then, after a prolonged march through Mallani, reached the Chīkūdar (?) hill, which is identified with Chiklodarmata hill, 17

miles north of Pālanpur, in Gujarāt. Next he advanced towards Nahrwāla, identical with Aṇahillapāṭaka, the capital of Gujarāt. At the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Sultān, the king of the country, Bhīma I, who belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty, fled, probably to Kaṇṭhakoṭ, 16 miles north-east of Anjar, in Kutch (Cutch). The Sultān occupied the city and collected fresh provisions there. From this place he marched to Mundher and thence to Dewalwāra, modern Delvada, 40 miles east of Somanātha. In the course of his advance through the desert between Mundher and Dewalwāra, he had to fight his way through 20,000 enemy troops. He also met with stiff resistance at Dewalwāra, which he succeeded in breaking down after a short encounter. The people of the place were put to the sword and their temples demolished.

Mahmūd reached Somanātha in the middle of January, 1025, and found there a strongly defended fortress on the sea-shore. The Hindus, who assembled on the rampart of the fort, were passing their time in merry-making, fondly believing that Somanātha had drawn the Muslims there only to annihilate them for the sins they had committed in demolishing idols elsewhere. Their morale was high even though their leader had fled away in cowardice with his family to a neighbouring island. The following day the Sultān began the assault, and forced the Hindus to leave their position on the wall by discharging showers of arrows at them. The Muslims then speedily placed a ladder and climbed up to the battlements. This action was followed by a fierce fight in which a large number of people lost their lives. But before the Muslims could consolidate their position they were attacked violently by a fresh batch of Hindus, who came out of the temple of Somanātha after a prayer for strength and courage. The Muslims were unable to withstand this onslaught, and were forced to retreat from the city. Next day the Sultān renewed the operation with greater intensity, against which the brave resistance offered by the Hindus was of no avail. Having failed to check the enemy's advance, they all crowded in front of the gate of the temple of Somanātha. The Muslims pursued them there, and then followed a terrible carnage. Bands of Hindus in succession entered the temple to pray with all their hearts for victory, and then coming out of it rushed against their enemies, only to be killed. In this way more than 50,000 Hindus sacrificed their lives to defend the honour of their deity. The few survivors, who attempted to escape by sea, were pursued by the Muslims and put to the sword. The Sultān made a triumphal entry into the temple, broke down the Śiva-*liṅga* into pieces, and took possession of the vast wealth it contained, said to have been worth 20,000,000 *dirhams*. The temple was then razed to the ground. The fragments of the

Śiva-*liṅga* were carried to Ghaznī, where they were made to serve as steps at the gate of the Jāmi Mosque—an act of profanity imitated by later Muslim rulers.

Mahmūd halted at Somanātha for a fortnight. He was very much concerned about a safe return journey to Ghaznī with the vast wealth he had acquired. The iconoclastic zeal which he showed at Somanātha deeply wounded the religious susceptibility of the neighbouring chiefs, who, under the leadership of Paramadeva, were now ready to obstruct him *en route*. So, to avoid any major clash, he decided to follow the way through Kutch and Sindh. In the course of his homeward march he arrived at an inlet of the sea between Kāthiāwār and Kutch. He forded it where it was shallow, at the risk of being submerged, and came in front of the fort of Kandahat, identified with Kaṇṭhakoṭ, in Kutch, where the Chaulukya Bhīma I had taken shelter.[12] Bhīma fled when he heard the news of the Sultān's advance. The Sultān took over the fort and continued his march through Kutch.[13] He crossed over to Sindh, and engaged a guide to conduct him safely over the desert. The guide, who was a devotee of Somanātha, and was looking for an opportunity to avenge himself of the wrong done to his god, led the Muslim army to a dreary part of the desert where there was no water available for miles around. The treachery was immediately detected, and the guide was put to death. The Sultān, in despair, resumed his march praying to the Almighty for deliverance, and luckily reached a place where he got the necessary supply of water. He proceeded from that place to Mansūrah, about 43 miles north-east of Haidarābād, defeated its ruler Khafīf, an apostate Muslim, and then, following the upper course of the Sindhu, advanced towards Multān. On his way thither he was greatly troubled by the Jāts. His long and perilous journey ended in A.D. 1026 when he reached Ghaznī. Countries far and near showered praise on him for his success at Somanātha. The Caliph sent him a congratulatory letter, and conferred titles on him and on his two sons and brothers. He further communicated to him that whoever among his sons would be nominated by him as his successor to the throne of Ghaznī would receive his recognition.

In A.D. 1027 Mahmūd again came to India to punish the Jāts, who gave him so much trouble on his return journey from Somanātha. As soon as he reached Multān he realised that a strong navy was necessary to overcome these enemies. So he ordered 1,400 boats, each to be provided with three projected iron spikes, one in the prow and one at either side. These iron bars were fixed up in order to smash into pieces the enemy's boats making an attempt to strike against them. Twenty soldiers with bows and arrows were placed in each boat. The Sultān advanced with this flotilla in the Sindhu

to attack his enemies. The Jāts also made great preparations to meet the invader. They sent their women and children to the islands for safety, and themselves boldly came forward with 4,000 boats, each filled with valiant fighters. The battle between the two armies began with terrible intensity. Almost all the boats of the Jāts were broken into pieces as they dashed against those of the Sultān. A large number of Jāts were drowned in the river, and those who survived were killed by the Muslim archers. The Sultān next plundered the islands where the families of the Jāts were kept with their valuables, and then returned to Ghaznī. This was the last expedition of Mahmūd launched against India, and he died three years later, in A.D. 1030.

The Muslim chroniclers naturally regard Mahmūd as one of their greatest kings and a great champion of Islamic faith. His well-deserved title to fame rests on the great military skill he displayed on innumerable occasions. Even making allowances for the flattery of the court historians, his repeated invasions of India, carried out with consummate ability and success, and his brilliant victories mark him out as the greatest general of his age, comparable with the military leaders of the first rank that have appeared in the world from time to time. His patronage of art and literature in his own kingdom also distinguishes him as a great king. But his iconoclastic zeal and avarice, beyond measure, which figure so conspicuously in his Indian expeditions, inevitably loom large in Indian eyes, and all his great qualities pale into insignificance. By his ruthless destruction of temples and images he violated the most sacred and cherished sentiments of the Indian people, and his championship of Islam therefore merely served to degrade it in their eyes such as nothing else could. He drained India of enormous wealth and destroyed much of India's manpower by his repeated expeditions. This exhaustion of economic resources and manpower told upon the future political destiny of India. In particular the destruction of the Shāhi kingdom, which barred the gates of India against foreign invaders, dealt a severe blow to its future independence. The inclusion of the Punjāb and Afghānistān in the kingdom of Ghaznī made the Islamic conquest of India a comparatively easy process. It was no longer a question of whether, but when, that mighty flood would overwhelm the country as a whole.

1. Vol. IV, p. 125.
2. Briggs, I. 23.
3. *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna* by M. Nazim, p. 26.
4. This is the form of the name according to *CHI*, III. 11, but according to Dr. Nazim it should be Pirī or Pirītigīn (*op. cit.*, p. 27).
5. The Muslim chronicles differ regarding the history of Ghaznī as given above. Cf. *HIED*, edited from Aligarh (1952), pp. 264 ff; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 190, and the authorities cited therein.
6. The battle probably took place about A.D. 986-7 (Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 29).
7. 'Utbī gives an incomplete description of Mahmūd's conquest of Thāneswar after narrating his invasion of Nandana, which took place in 404 A.H. = A.D. 1013. Ibnu'l-Athīr puts the date of Mahmūd's conquest of Thāneswar in 405 A.H. = A.D. 1014. But Gardīzī, a contemporary authority, fixes the date of this invasion in 402 A.H. = A.D. 1011. According to this authority the invasion of Thāneswar took place three years prior to that of Nandana. This finds corroboration in the chronicles of Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad. Elliot, W. Haig, and M. Nazim accept the chronology of Mahmūd's invasion as given by 'Utbī. W. Haig, however, points out that "al-'Utbī's topography is faulty, and he appears to be confounding this (*i.e.* Thāneswar) expedition with another" (*CHI*, III, 18 fn.). That 'Utbī had a confusion in his mind on this particular matter is also suggested by the fact that he abruptly closes his narrative after describing Mahmūd's victory over Rāma, a chief of the Punjāb, on his way to Thāneswar. So the chronology of Mahmūd's invasion as given by Gardīzī, Firishta and Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, mentioned above, has been adopted.
8. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Elliot calls him Sabli (*HIED*, II, p. 42).
9. The names Hardat and Kulachand evidently stand for Haradatta and Kulachandra.
10. According to Firishta. Nizām-ud-dīn gives the number of infantry as 145,000 and that of elephants as 390 (*Bib. Ind.*, p. 12). But according to some manuscripts of this work the numbers are respectively 105,000 and 640.
11. The description of the temple is based on Muslim chronicles which differ in details. On the ruins of the particular temple destroyed by Mahmūd several others were erected by later kings, as often as they were demolished by the fury of the Muslims. Steps are now being taken to erect a magnificent temple on the same spot. Cf. *Somanatha, the Shrine Eternal*, by K. M. Munshi. The description of the temple broken by Mahmūd, as given here, is based on the views of M. Nazim (*op. cit.*, pp. 209 ff.).
12. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 119. The site is described as an island in *CHI*, III. 25.
13. The Muslim chroniclers give conflicting accounts, both of Mahmūd's march to Somanātha and of the part played by Bhīma. Thus Firishta states that Mahmūd came to Somanātha by way of Ajmer (Sāmbhar), and returned to Ghaznī *via* Aṇahillapāṭaka, where he went from Kaṇṭhakoṭ. W. Haig has accepted this view (*CHI*, III. 23, 25).

    Firishta also says that Bhīma joined in the fight against Mahmūd in front of the temple at Somanātha. But this is not corroborated by any other authority. There are, however, reasonable grounds to believe that Bhīma, after leaving the capital city, organised his forces to resist Mahmūd, and it was mainly to avoid him that Mahmūd chose for his return journey a shorter and less frequented, but more difficult, desert route. The army which opposed Mahmūd at Kaṇṭhakoṭ was perhaps sent by Bhīma for this purpose, but it is doubtful whether Bhīma was there in person (*DHNI*, II. 953 ff).

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

I. THE PĀLAS

1. *Mahīpāla*

When Mahīpāla I ascended the throne after the death of his father Vigrahapāla II about A.D. 988, the once mighty empire of the Pālas had been shattered to the dust, and the territory ruled over by them was confined to Magadha or South Bihār. By a strange irony of fate they had lost their ancestral kingdom in Bengal and were forced to seek refuge outside its border. This is frankly admitted in the Bāngarh Grant which extols Mahīpāla for having recovered his paternal kingdom which was usurped by others. Who these usurpers were the inscription does not tell us, but other evidences indicate, as noted above,[1] that the rulers belonging to Kāmboja family were in possession of North and West Bengal, and the Chandras were ruling in South and East Bengal.

The details of the struggle by which Mahīpāla recovered Bengal or at least a large part of it are not known to us. An inscription found on an image in a village in the Tippera District is dated in the year 3 of the reign of king Mahīpāla. There are good grounds to identify this king with Mahīpāla I, though there is no conclusive evidence in support of it. But if we accept this identification we must hold that Mahīpāla re-established his authority in East Bengal during the first two or three years of his reign. It also indirectly proves his hold over North Bengal before that time, for without it he could not have proceeded to East Bengal from his base in South Bihār. His possession of North Bengal is, however, definitely proved by his Bāngarh Grant dated in his 9th regnal year. But although we are thus on sure grounds in respect of the recovery of Northern and Eastern Bengal by Mahīpāla, we cannot estimate the amount of success gained by his endeavour, if any, to reassert his authority over the other parts of Bengal. On the other hand, it would appear from the account of the Choḷa invasion, referred to below, that Mahīpāla had no hold over either South or West Bengal except perhaps a portion of the latter.

But Mahīpāla was more successful in his attempt to re-establish Pāla suzerainty outside Bengal. His inscriptions have been found

in North Bihār while those of his three predecessors have been found only in South Bihār. It may be concluded, therefore, that he also recovered North Bihār. We learn from an inscription dated A.D. 1026, found at Sārnāth near Banaras, that Mahīpāla built and repaired many sacred structures in that holy site of the Buddhists. It has been inferred from this record that Mahīpāla's kingdom extended up to Banaras. It may be argued that Banaras or Sārnāth, being sacred places of almost international reputation, the construction of sanctuaries therein does not necessarily imply political control over them. But as the whole of Bihār was certainly included within the kingdom of Mahīpāla, it is not an unreasonable assumption that the neighbouring region in the West up to Banaras was also part of it, so long as we do not find any evidence to the contrary.

It was during the reign of Mahīpāla that Rājendra Choḷa invaded Bengal. This Choḷa invasion has been dealt with more fully in Chapter X. It appears that the Choḷa king successively defeated Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of Southern Rāḍhā and Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla, and then fought with Mahīpāla and conquered Northern Rāḍhā. Daṇḍabhukti corresponds roughly to the present district of Midnapore, and Rāḍhā, the rest of the Burdwān Division. Vaṅgāla denotes Southern, and probably also a part of Eastern, Bengal where two inscriptions of Govindachandra have been found. The Choḷa records seem to indicate that Daṇḍabhukti, Vaṅgāla, and Southern Rāḍhā were independent kingdoms at the time of the Choḷa invasion (*c.* A.D. 1021), but Northern Rāḍhā formed a part of Mahīpāla's dominions.

The object of Rājendra Choḷa's invasion was to take sacred water of the Gaṅgā in order to purify his own country. According to some Choḷa records the vanquished kings of Bengal were made to carry the water of the Gaṅgā on their heads. As Prof. N. Sastri has observed, this is probably a mere boast without any foundation. He seems to be also correct in his assumption that Rājendra Choḷa's campaign "could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country." In any case there is no reason to suppose that it made any deep impress upon the political condition of the country. Towards the close of his reign Mahīpāla had to face the invasion of another powerful enemy, the Kalachuri ruler Gāṅgeyadeva. The latter claims to have defeated the ruler of Aṅga who cannot be any other than Mahīpāla I. This claim is indirectly supported by a statement of the Muslim writer Baihaqī, that when Ahmad Niyāltigīn invaded Banaras in A.D. 1034 it was in possession of Gang, who has been plausibly identified with the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva. As noted above, Mahīpāla was probably in possession

of Banaras in A.D. 1026. It may be reasonably inferred, therefore, that the conflict between Mahīpāla I and Gāṅgeyadeva, resulting in the conquest of Banaras region by the latter, took place some time between A.D. 1026 and 1034.

As we have seen above, the reign of Mahīpāla I coincides with the period of repeated incursions of the Ghaznavid rulers against India. Mahīpāla's name, however, does not figure in the confederacy of Hindu rulers organised by the Shāhi kings to defend their country against the Muslim onslaught. Some writers have severely criticised Mahīpāla for this lack of patriotism, or indifference to the cause of Hinduism on the part of a Buddhist ruler. But such criticism does not take into account the difficulties he had to confront almost throughout his reign. His early life was spent in recovering his ancestral dominions, and before he had completed this task, he had to face invasions of his territory by two most powerful rulers of India of his time. Threatened by disruption within and invasion from abroad, Mahīpāla can hardly be blamed for not frittering away his strength and energy by sending a military expedition to the distant corner of the Punjāb or North-West Frontier.

Nobody can dispute the fact that Mahīpāla not only saved the Pāla kingdom from impending ruin, but also restored to a large extent the old glory and power of the Pālas, and that this was achieved against tremendous odds. His success in this great task is highly creditable, and it is idle to regret that he had not done more. His achievements are remarkable and he rightly takes his rank as the greatest Pāla Emperor since Devapāla. It is not without reason that of all the Pāla Emperors his name alone figures in popular ballads still current in Bengal.

Indeed Mahīpāla may justly be regarded as the founder of the second Pāla Empire. This revival of the glory of the Pālas was fittingly demonstrated by Mahīpāla by constructing and repairing a large number of religious buildings in such important places as Banaras (including Sārnāth) and Nālandā. We learn from contemporary records that "hundreds of pious works" were made and some old famous Buddhist monuments of Sārnāth were repaired by the orders of Mahīpāla. Further we hear that two temples were constructed at Bodh-Gayā, and several monuments at Nālandā, after they were damaged or destroyed by fire, were repaired and restored during the reign of Mahīpāla. His name is also associated with a large number of tanks and towns in Bengal. The long reign of Mahīpāla extending over nearly half a century was thus a memorable period in the history of Bengal.

2. *Successors of Mahīpāla*

After the death of Mahīpāla I in *c.* A.D. 1038 his son Nayapāla ascended the throne. Nayapāla's kingdom extended on the west up to Magadha, beyond which lay the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. He is referred to as the king of Magadha in the Tibetan record. The Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva's son Karṇa cherished an ambition for pushing the boundary of his Empire further to the east at the cost of the Pālas. This involved the Kalachuris and the Pālas in a protracted war. Karṇa marched his army into Magadha and tried to capture a city, which may be taken as identical with Uddaṇḍapura, modern Bihār, in the Patna District. Having failed to achieve his end he sacked the Buddhist monasteries in the open country, and destroyed the foodgrains. Nayapāla soon rallied his forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on the invading army. At this time Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, also known as Atīśa, the Rector of the Vikramaśīla monastery, was residing in the Mahābodhi monastery at Vajrāsana. He gave shelter to Karṇa and his vanquished forces and made arrangements for their safe departure to their own country. The great Buddhist teacher, who was in indifferent health, took the risk of travelling into the Kalachuri kingdom to the west of a great river more than once in order to establish peace between the two kings. A treaty was eventually concluded on condition of mutual restitution of the captured articles and payment of compensation except for the foodgrains which were destroyed. This battle between Karṇa and Nayapāla took place in the early part of the reign of the former. In this battle Nayapāla seems to have been materially helped by a Brāhmaṇa named Śūdraka. Probably in recognition of this service he conferred on him the charge of the Gayā-*maṇḍala.*

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, a Somavaṁśī king of Kosala, who flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century, raided Gauḍa and Rāḍhā. His adversary in Gauḍa seems to have been Nayapāla. Nayapāla ruled at least for fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son Vigrahapāla III in *c.* A.D. 1055.

During the reign of Vigrahapāla the Kalachuri Karṇa renewed hostility with the Pālas. He invaded Gauḍa but was ultimately worsted by the Pāla king. A treaty seems to have been concluded between the Pālas and the Kalachuris in accordance with which Karṇa gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vigrahapāla III. Shortly before A.D. 1068 Vigrahapāla had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, who invaded Gauḍa on behalf of his father Someśvara I, king of the Deccan.

Inscriptions of Vigrahapāla's reign prove that he was in possession of both Gauḍa and Magadha, and that he ruled for more than thirteen years. Besides the Kalachuri princess he had another queen, who was the sister of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva, chief of Aṅga. He had three sons, Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, and Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla is known to have been born of the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess. It is not unlikely that Mahīpāla II was the son of the Kalachuri princess. Vigrahapāla died in *c.* A.D. 1070, and was succeeded by Mahīpāla II.

Mahīpāla II ascended the throne at a time when the foundation of the Pāla kingdom had been shaken by the successive foreign invasions. Taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority the feudatories became very powerful. One of them was Viśvāditya, son of Śūdraka, the ruler of Gayā-*maṇḍala.* The other seems to have been Īśvaraghosha, the chief of Ḍhekkarī. The situation became worse when Mahīpāla took some drastic measures against his two younger brothers. Mahīpāla was on the whole a good and a generous monarch, and was at first affectionate towards Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. But on the report of some mischievous people that his brothers were conspiring against him, and without verifying the truth of it, he threw them into prison and made them suffer all sorts of indignities. Thus Mahīpāla, "heedless of protecting truth and polity," deprived himself of the support of his brothers which he needed very badly in that critical period. When he was thus embroiled in his domestic affairs, a large number of vassals formed a confederacy and advanced to crush his power. Disregarding the advice of his competent ministers, he advanced with a small body of ill-equipped soldiers to meet the rebels, but had to pay very dearly for this impolitic action. The rebels inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. It follows from Sandhyākaranandī's *Rāma-charita,* which deals in detail with the history of the Pālas of this period, that this invasion of the feudatories was part of a general revolt and not undertaken in protest against the incarceration of Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. Mahīpāla's suffering, however, did not end with his defeat. An officer of the State named Divya, who was a Kaivarta by caste, and "who took to fraudulent practice as a vow," brought about the death of the forlorn king, and occupied Varendrī (North Bengal). Divya, obviously to screen his nefarious action, put forward the pretension that he undertook the heavy responsibility of the State from a paramount sense of duty. During this period of disorder and confusion, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla succeeded in escaping from the prison. After the loss of Varendrī the Pāla kingdom was limited to Northern and Central Bihār. Śūrapāla ruled there for about a couple of years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Rāmapāla in *c.* A.D. 1077.

3. *Rāmapāla*

Divya ascended the throne of Varendrī in c. A.D. 1075. He could not assert his supremacy over any other part of the Pāla dominions, though he made violent attacks on Rāmapāla, apparently for the extension of his kingdom. He was himself attacked by Jātavarman of the Yādava dynasty of East Bengal, who claims to have won a victory over him. Divya was succeeded by his brother Rudoka, and the latter by his son Bhīma. The fact that the three kings of the Kaivarta family ruled Varendrī one after the other indicates that they succeeded in consolidating their power and position there. Even Sandhyākaranandī, who was inimical to the Kaivartas, candidly confesses in his book that Varendrī became prosperous under the happy rule of Bhīma. The poet further states that Bhīma maintained excellent cavalry and elephant forces, and possessed great wealth; he was a man of learning, properly rewarded the virtuous men, and was a sincere devotee of Śiva. Bhīma, however, could not enjoy his prosperity for long. The Paramāra Lakshmadeva invaded his country. Rāmapāla was not also inactive. The Pāla king realised that the army, which he commanded, was not strong enough to cope with Bhīma. Moreover he was confronted with a fresh danger, probably due to the establishment of a new Karṇāṭaka dynasty in Mithilā in the northern border of his kingdom. So he approached his feudatories, who were virtually independent, for military assistance. The most important of these allied chiefs was his maternal uncle Mathanadeva, ruler of Aṅga, who joined him with his two sons Kāhṇaradeva and Suvarṇadeva and his nephew Śivarājadeva. The other allied chiefs were—

1. Bhīmayaśas, king of Pīṭhī, and lord of Magadha.
2. Vīraguṇa, king of Koṭāṭavī, in the south.
3. Jayasiṁha, king of Daṇḍabhukti.
4. Vikramarāja of Devagrāma.
5. Lakshmīśūra, the lord of Apara-Mandāra, and the head-jewel of the circle of feudatories of the forest.
6. Śūrapāla, ruler of Kujavaṭī.
7. Rudraśikhara, ruler of Tailakampa.
8. Bhāskara or Mayagalasiṁha, king of Uchchhāla.
9. Pratāpasiṁha, king of Ḍhekkarīya.
10. Narasiṁhārjuna, king of Kayaṅgala-*maṇḍala*.
11. Chaṇḍārjuna of Saṅkaṭagrāma.
12. Vijayarāja of Nidrāvalī.
13. Dvorapavardhana, ruler of Kauśāmbī.
14. Soma of Paduvanvā.

Of all the places mentioned above Magadha (Central Bihār), Aṅga (Bhāgalpur), Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapore District), and Kayaṅgala or Kajaṅgala (south of Rājmahal) can be definitely identified. The other places, though they cannot be located with certainty, were in all probability situated to the south of the Gaṅgā. It was no doubt a great humiliation for Rāmapāla to beg help from his own feudatories, but the result was highly satisfactory. All the chiefs readily agreed to help the Pāla king and sent their forces to fight with the Kaivartas. After making a preliminary survey of the enemy's position with the help of Śivarāja, Rāmapāla, along with the main body of his army, crossed over to the northern bank of the Gaṅgā in Varendrī. Then followed a severe battle between the forces of Rāmapāla and Bhīma. The two kings fought with each other at close quarter, and Rāmapāla ultimately succeeded in taking Bhīma prisoner. This unnerved thousands of Bhīma's soldiers who became panicky and fled, but Hari, a friend of Bhīma, rallied the Kaivarta forces, and made a violent attack on Rāmapāla. Rāmapāla's son won Hari over to his side and this completed his victory. Bhīma, with all his relations, was killed, and Varendrī, after a long time, again passed into the hands of the Pālas.

After the re-conquest of Varendrī, Rāmapāla undertook the work of reconstruction of the houses which were destroyed by the enemies. It is not unlikely that the city of Puṇḍravardhana was also considerably damaged. This might have prompted him to found a new capital city, which was named Rāmāvatī after him. Rāmapāla relieved the people of Varendrī from oppressive taxes, which were imposed on them by the Kaivarta rulers, and normal cultivation of lands was resumed under his patronage. He honoured Hari by raising him to a position of great influence.

After consolidating his position at home Rāmapāla tried to restore the former glory of his family by launching expeditions against the neighbouring states. He pressed heavily on the Varmans (Yādavas) of East Bengal. The Varman king, who appears to have been Harivarman, surrendered to him chariots and elephant forces, and thereby saved his country from devastation. Rāmapāla sent an allied chief, who seems to have been Tiṁgyadeva, to conquer the countries in the east. Tiṁgyadeva conquered Kāmarūpa, and was made the governor of that country. Rāmapāla despatched an elephant force against the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj some time between A.D. 1100 and 1109, but it was repulsed by the Gāhaḍavāla prince Govindachandra. Rāmapāla wanted to assert his supremacy over Utkala where two rival factions were quarrelling for power. One of them was backed by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of the Gaṅga

dynasty, and the other was supported by the Pāla king. Karṇakeśarī, who seems to have been supported by the Gaṅgas, and who was once defeated by Rāmapāla's feudatory Jayasiṁha of Daṇḍabhukti, appears to have secured the throne by superseding the claim of his rival, who belonged to the Somavaṁśa. Rāmapāla took up the cause of the latter and placed him on the throne after defeating Anantavarman. But he could not maintain his influence there for long. Some time before A.D. 1112 Anantavarman succeeded in re-instating either Karṇakeśarī or his successor on the throne of Utkala. Rāmapāla gave protection to a king of the Nāka dynasty, who was harassed by the Nāgas. He is said to have even captured the Nāga capital. The Nāgas, referred to, might have been those of the old Bastar State, whose capital was Chakrakoṭa (Chakrakoṭṭa).

In the latter part of his reign Rāmapāla entrusted the cares of the government to his son Rājyapāla. On hearing the news of the death of his maternal uncle Mathanadeva, who was very dear to him, Rāmapāla committed suicide by drowning himself into the Gaṅgā near Monghyr in c. A.D. 1120.

Such was the tragic end of an eventful and remarkable career. We are indebted to the *Rāma-charita* of Sandhyākaranandī for supplying these details of Rāmapāla's reign. He had passed through strange vicissitudes of fortune, but like Mahīpāla I he succeeded in restoring the fallen fortunes of the Pālas. The circumstantial narrative of how he did it fills our mind with admiration for his strength of mind, resourcefulness and wonderful personality. He had to struggle hard with adversity and tasted the bitter cup of humiliation to the full. But nothing daunted him or swayed him from his grim resolve to recover the dominions and restore the glory of his forefathers. His long life was full of military campaigns, but it was crowned with success. His romantic death was a fitting end to a career which is more suited to a drama than matter-of-fact history.

4. *Successors of Rāmapāla*

Rāmapāla was succeeded by his son Kumārapāla, and it is probable that Rājyapāla, who had acted as his father's deputy, predeceased him. At the time of Rāmapāla's death his kingdom comprised a large part, if not the whole, of Bengal, together with Bihār and Assam. But the signs of disintegration were already visible. Some petty chiefs of Magadha assumed the position of independent monarchs. One of them was Yakshapāla, son of Viśvāditya of Gayā-*maṇḍala*. Another was Varṇamāna, who is described as the lord of Magadha, and whose son Rudramāna is known to have been

ruling in A.D. 1138. Nānyadeva, king of Mithilā, claims to have defeated the king of Gauḍa, who might have been Kumārapāla. Western Magadha up to Dinapore sub-division passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra before A.D. 1124. In their fight with the Pālas the Gāhaḍavālas were helped by their allies, the Kalachuris of Tuṁmāṇa. Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Kalachuri Ratnadeva II (*c.* A.D. 1114-1141), is said to have reduced the king of Gauḍa. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga invaded South and West Bengal. Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumārapāla, resisted the invader for some time, but had to hurry to Kāmarūpa in order to put down the revolt of Tiṁgyadeva. Taking advantage of his absence Anantavarman conquered all the territories up to Hooghly on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Vijayasena of the Sena family, who allied himself with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, grew very powerful in Rāḍhā. Vaidyadeva, after putting down the revolt of Tiṁgyadeva, became the governor of Kāmarūpa, and subsequently, probably in the next reign, became independent. Kumārapāla, who was obviously a weak ruler, was thus engulfed in a sea of troubles, and when he died in *c.* A.D. 1125, he left a tottering kingdom to his son Gopāla III. Gopāla III, who ruled for more than fourteen years, died an unnatural death, but the exact details of the incident are not known. He was succeeded by his uncle Madanapāla, the youngest son of Rāmapāla, in A.D. 1144.

Madanapāla tried to save the Pāla kingdom, but failed. Until the third year of his reign, his kingdom extended up to the Bihār Hill, but some time before A.D. 1146, the Gāhaḍavālas under Govindachandra conquered all the territories up to Monghyr. Madanapāla, however, reconquered Monghyr from the Gāhaḍavālas before the 14th year of his reign, *i.e.* before A.D. 1157, with the help of his relation Chandradeva, son of Suvarṇadeva, and the grandson of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva, who was a *Maṇḍalādhipati* of Aṅga. Madanapāla also destroyed the power of Govardhana, who cannot be identified, but was probably a rebellious feudatory. Madanapāla carried on hostilities with the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and Orissa, who occupied a large portion of Rāḍhā. It is known from the *Rāma-charita*[2] that he was looking for an opportunity to crush the power of the Snake king of Kaliṅga *(Kaliṅga-Phaṇabhujam, i.e.* Ananta, the lord of serpents), who may be identified with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Madanapāla manfully struggled against all these neighbouring rulers. But his greatest enemy was inside Bengal. The growth of the power of the Senas of Rāḍhā, who had already made themselves masters of East Bengal, became a menace to the very existence of the sovereignty of the Pālas. Madanapāla fought a severe battle near the Kālindī river, in the Malda District,

with an enemy, presumably the Senas under Vijayasena. He succeeded in pushing the enemy to the Kālindī river but, some time after the eighth year of his reign, he had to surrender Varendrī to Vijayasena. After being deprived of his home dominion, which never came back to the Pālas, Madanapāla withdrew to the Aṅga country where he ruled till c. A.D. 1161. He is the last known king of the family of Gopāla and Dharmapāla.

A king named Govindapāla, who calls himself the lord of Gauḍa, is known to have been ruling in the Gayā District in the sixth decade of the twelfth century. He was probably related to Madanapāla, but nothing is definitely known. His power seems to have collapsed in A.D. 1162. The colophons of some manuscripts and stone inscriptions bear dates which appear to have been the number of years counted, not from the beginning of the reign, but from the destruction of the kingdom of Govindapāla. Thus the Pāla dynasty, which at one time rose to the rank of the foremost imperial rulers of India, lost its sovereign power after a rule of nearly four hundred years.

II. BENGAL AFTER THE PĀLAS

1. *The Yādavas of Vaṅga*

Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla, who was defeated by Rājendra Choḷa, was probably the last ruler of the Chandra dynasty.[3] After the fall of the Chandras, the Varmans came to power in East Bengal, in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The Varmans claim to have belonged to the Yādava race, which was graced by the birth of Kṛishṇa. The Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman states that the Varmans dominated Siṁhapura. This has led some scholars to suggest that Siṁhapura was the original home of the Varmans wherefrom they came to East Bengal. Attempts have been made to identify the place variously with Siṁhapura near Salt Range in the Punjāb, referred to by Hiuen Tsang, Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga mentioned in the epigraphic records, and Siṁhapura in Rāḍhā mentioned in the Ceylonese Chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* and identified with Singur in the Hooghly District, which bears ancient ruins. But none of these identifications has gained general acceptance. The earliest known member of the Varman dynasty is Vajravarman, who is said to have been "the welfare (itself) of the victorious war expedition of the Yādava armies, and the god of Death to his enemies." This seems to be referring to the conquest of East Bengal by the Varmans under his leadership. It cannot be ascertained from the Belāva inscription, the only record mentioning the name of Vajravarman, whether he was a royal personage.

This epigraphic record does not also mention the successors of Vajravarman definitely as kings in the introductory portion. In the prose portion only Bhojavarman, the author of the inscription, and his father Sāmalavarman are given the title *Mahārājādhirāja*. The fact that Vajravarman belonged to a royal dynasty of Siṁhapura and that he led successful expeditions against his enemies suggest that he occupied royal position. Some scholars, however, think that the Varmans occupied East Bengal after the death of Vajravarman, and that his son Jātavarman was the founder of the greatness of the family. It was probably during the reign of Jātavarman that the Kalachuri Karṇa invaded Vaṅga and conquered it. As Karṇa is known to have given his daughter Vīraśrī in marriage to Jātavarman, it may be presumed that a treaty was eventually concluded between the Kalachuris and the Yādavas. During the reign of Jātavarman there was a great political upheaval in North Bengal, which, as noted above, led to the accession of the Kaivarta Divya on the throne of that country. Jātavarman led an expedition against Divya and won a victory over him. The Vaṅgāla army which, according to a Nālandā inscription, sacked the Buddhist monastery at Somapura, modern Pāhārpur, in the Rājshāhi District, was in all probability the army led by Jātavarman on this occasion. Jātavarman's victory over Divya brought him to the border of the Aṅga country, which was then ruled by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva or his predecessor. Jātavarman is said to have succeeded in asserting his supremacy over the Aṅga country. Though he won victory over Divya and Mathanadeva he could not permanently annex their territories to his kingdom. The anti-Buddhist propaganda carried on by Govardhana, the father of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva, in East Bengal, was probably responsible for the persecution of the Buddhists by the Vaṅgāla army in Varendrī. Jātavarman invaded Kāmarūpa and defeated its king, who may be identified with Harshapāla. Pṛithu and Govardhana, who had to yield to the forces of Jātavarman, cannot be identified.

Jātavarman issued an inscription from Vikramapura which appears to have been the capital of the Varmans. He had two sons Harivarman and Sāmalavarman by the Kalachuri princess, and the former succeeded him on the throne.

Harivarman's minister of peace and war was Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva, who had the curious epithet *Bāla-Balabhī-bhujaṅga*. Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva's grandfather Ādideva was minister of the king of Vaṅga, who may be identified with Vajravarman. Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva studied *Siddhānta, Tantra, Gaṇita,* and Astrology and wrote books on Horoscopy, *Dharmaśāstra,* and *Mīmāṁsā*. He rose against Buddh-

ism and enhanced the cause of the Brahmanical religion in Vaṅga. He built a temple of Ananta, Nārāyaṇa, and Nṛisiṁha. There is now good ground for rejecting the view, unanimously held for a long time, that this temple is identical with that of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara, in Orissa, on whose wall was fixed the slab containing the inscription. It must have been carried there from Bengal.

As noted above, Harivarman was probably subjugated by Rāmapāla. It seems that during his reign Nānyadeva of Mithilā raided Vaṅga. Harivarman ruled for more than forty-six years, and probably died at the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. He had a son, whose name is not known, but was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Sāmalavarman.

Sāmalavarman had a number of queens, the chief of whom was Mālavyadevī, the mother of Bhojavarman. Bhojavarman, who succeeded his father, ruled for more than five years from the city of Vikramapura. He or his successor was overthrown by Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Varmans are not known to have asserted their supremacy on any country beyond East Bengal.

A number of *Kulapañjis* (genealogical books) of the Vaidika Brāhmaṇas mention that a remote predecessor of their family settled in Bengal in Ś. 1001 (= A.D. 1079) during the reign of Sāmalavarman. A single manuscript, however, states that it took place during the reign of Harivarman.

2. *The Senas of Bengal*

The Senas of Bengal call themselves Karṇāṭa-Kshatriya, Brahma-Kshatriya, and Kshatriya. They claim their descent from the mythical Vīrasena and others, who are said to have been the kings of Dakshiṇāpatha. It may, therefore, be held that the original home of the Senas was in the Kannaḍa speaking region in the south. There was in the Dhārwār District, Bombay State, a family of Jain teachers, who belonged to the Sena family *(Senānvaya)*. It cannot be ascertained whether the Senas of the Dhārwār District had any connection with those of Bengal. Nor do we know how and when the Senas came to Bengal from Dakshiṇāpatha. It is known from the records of the Pālas that the kings of this dynasty, from Devapāla downwards, appointed as officers many foreigners among whom were also the Karṇāṭas. It may be that a remote predecessor of the Senas of Bengal, hailing from the Deccan, accepted service under the Pālas, and then his successors gradually rose to power and settled in Rāḍhā. It is not also unlikely that the founder of the Sena

family accompanied one of the Chālukya rulers who invaded Bengal, and ultimately settled there.

The earliest known member of the Sena dynasty of Bengal is Sāmantasena, who is said to have been born in the family of the Rājaputras, who adorned Rāḍhā. Rājaputra means a prince, but also designates an office, and generally scholars have taken the word Rājaputra to mean prince in this case. Sāmantasena, whose home was obviously Rāḍhā, is said to have defeated, in the southern quarter, an enemy who plundered the resources of the Karṇāṭa country. It is generally assumed that Sāmantasena fought this battle in the Deccan on the side of the Chālukyas against the Choḷas. Some are, however, inclined to think that Sāmantasena defended his adopted country against the incursion of the southern king Rājendra Choḷa who, after vanquishing the Chālukya Jayasiṁha, king of the Karṇāṭa country, and many others, invaded Bengal. In his old age, Sāmantasena devoted his time to religious practices, and frequented the sacred hermitages in the forests on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Though he is not definitely known to have assumed royal position, he may be taken to have been a ruling chief in Rāḍhā. He was succeeded by his son Hemantasena, who is given the title *Mahārājādhirāja* in the record of his successor. Hemantasena seems to have consolidated his position in Rāḍhā during the troublous times that followed the occupation of that country by the Kalachuri Karṇa. The epithet, "the skilful protector of kings," given to Hemantasena in the record of his son, may have some reference to his giving shelter to Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla after their escape from the prison of Varendrī. He was succeeded by his son Vijayasena in c. A.D. 1095.

Vijayasena was the greatest king of the Sena dynasty. In the early part of his life he married Vilāsadevī, a princess of the Śūra family, who gave birth to his son Vallālasena (Ballālasena). This Śūra family may be identified with the Śūra dynasty which ruled in Apara-Mandāra about this time under its king Lakshmīśūra.[4] It seems that when the disintegration of the Pāla kingdom began after the death of Rāmapāla, Vijayasena made a bid for the conquest of the whole of Bengal. He strengthened his position by making an alliance with Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, king of Kaliṅga, who extended the boundary of his kingdom up to the Hooghly District. Vijayasena's ambitious military scheme soon brought him into conflict with a number of rulers, and he defeated them all. He subdued Vīra and Vardhana, who may be identified respectively with Vīraguṇa of Koṭāṭavī and Dvorapavardhana of Kauśāmbī, the allies of Rāmapāla mentioned above.[5] He led a naval expedi-

tion in the west along the course of the Gaṅgā, probably against Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj. Most likely it was on this occasion that he invaded Mithilā and inflicted a defeat on its king Nānyadeva. About the middle of the twelfth century he overthrew Bhojavarman of Vikramapura and conquered East Bengal. He also invaded Varendrī, which was then ruled by Madanapāla. Though he seems to have suffered a reverse near the Kālindī, he eventually succeeded in wresting North Bengal from the Pālas. The Deopārā, Barrackpore, and Paikore inscriptions of his reign prove his supremacy over Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Rāḍhā. On the south his kingdom comprised Khāḍī-*maṇḍala* in the Twenty-four Parganas. He invaded Kāmarūpa and drove away its king, but could not establish his supremacy over that country. His adversary was probably Rāyārideva, king of Kāmarūpa, who is said to have resisted the elephant forces from Vaṅga in battle. Vijayasena, who was friendly to Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga, became hostile to his family after his death. In the latter part of his reign he invaded Kaliṅga and defeated Rāghava, the second son of Anantavarman. Vijayasena thus established a powerful kingdom in Bengal and made his influence felt in the neighbouring countries. He assumed the title *Arirāja-vṛishabha-Śaṅkara* and built a temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva in the Rājshāhi District. The poet Umāpatidhara lived in his court and composed the famous eulogy (Deopārā Praśasti) from which we know the details of his reign. His queen Vilāsadevī performed the *Kanaka Tulāpurusha Mahādāna* ceremony in the royal palace at Vikramapura, which was one of the capitals of the Senas. The other one was Vijayapura, which seems to have been identical with Nadiyā. Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallālasena in *c.* A.D. 1158.

Vallālasena assumed the title *Niḥśaṅka-Śaṅkara.* He claims to have defeated the king of Gauḍa, which probably means that he put an end to the rule of Gauḍeśvara Govindapāla[6] in A.D. 1162. It is known from literature of a later period that he invaded Mithilā during the reign of his father Vijayasena, and that his kingdom comprised Vaṅga, Rāḍhā, Bāgḍi, Varendrī, and Mithilā. It is also recorded that Gauḍapura, Vikramapura, and Suvarṇagrāma were the three capitals of this king. The authenticity of these reports cannot be verified. But an inscription, dated in the ninth year of Vallālasena, found at Colgong, on the Gaṅgā, in Bihār, proves that the neighbouring region was comprised in his dominions.[6a] Vallālasena was a man of learning. He learnt all the Purāṇas and Smṛitis under the guidance of his preceptor Aniruddha, and was an author of repute. He completed his book *Dānasāgara* in Ś. 1091 (= A.D. 1169), and had begun the composition of another book named

Adbhutasāgara one year before that. He died before he could finish this book, and it was completed by his son Lakshmaṇasena. Tradition ascribes the introduction of the social system, known as *Kulinism,* in Bengal to Vallālasena, but this does not find corroboration in any contemporary record. Vallālasena married Rāmadevī, the daughter of a Chālukya king, who may be identified with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Vallālasena was a Śaiva, though he was inclined towards Vaishṇavism. In his old age he handed over the reins of administration to his son Lakshmaṇasena, and retired along with his queen to a place known as Nirjarapura on the Triveṇī.

Lakshmaṇasena ascended the throne in A.D. 1178 and assumed the title *Arirāja-Madana-śaṅkara.* Altogether seven copper-plate inscriptions of his reign have been found in different parts of Bengal. Five of them, which were executed within six years after his accession, were issued from Vikramapura. The Mādhāinagar Grant, the date of which cannot be restored, and the Bhawal plate, which is dated in the 27th year of his reign, were issued from Dhāryagrāma. It seems that Lakshmaṇasena passed the early part of his career mostly at Vikramapura, and later resided at Dhāryagrāma. His inscriptions prove that he succeeded in maintaining his supremacy over Gauḍa, Vaṅga, and Rāḍhā during the early part of his reign. Before the sixth year of his reign, probably out of administrative necessity, he separated northern Rāḍhā from the Vardhamāna-Bhukti, and placed it within a newly constituted Bhukti named Kaṅkagrāma.

Lakshmaṇasena was a great military leader and the contemporary records give an account of his victories. While he was still very young he defeated the king of Gauḍa, which probably means that he participated in the battle which was fought by Vijayasena with the Pāla Madanapāla. He is also said to have defeated the king of Kaliṅga in his youth, and it is not unlikely that he fought this battle also under the leadership of his grandfather. During his reign he entered into a war with the king of Kāśī, who must be the Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra. Some time between A.D. 1183 and 1192 Jayachandra succeeded in pushing the eastern boundary of his kingdom at least up to Bodh-Gayā in Magadha. By defeating him Lakshmaṇasena seems to have succeeded in checking the eastward progress of the Gāhaḍavālas. He also invaded Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarūpa, and won a victory over its king. The inscriptions of the successors of Lakshmaṇasena refer to the king's victory over the rulers of Kaliṅga and Kāśī, and add that Lakshmaṇasena set up pillars commemorating his military victory at

Puri, Kāśī and Triveṇī (Allāhābād). This may be an exaggeration of the facts mentioned in the Mādhāinagar and Bhawal copper-plates of Lakshmaṇasena. These two inscriptions, one of which was issued long after the close of Lakshmaṇasena's career of conquest, do not mention any thing about his conquest of Allāhābād.

The kingdom of the Senas began to disintegrate in the closing years of the twelfth century. Khāḍī-*maṇḍala* was under the sway of Lakshmaṇasena in the early part of his reign. But in or before A.D. 1196 one Ḍommanapāla set up an independent kingdom in this region. While the Sena power was weakened by disruption within, it had to face the invasion of the Muslims who had by this time overrun the greater part of Northern India. Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī, a Turkish officer, conquered the city of Bihār, and entered Bengal with a large army. According to the account given by Minhāj-ud-dīn in his *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,* the news of the advance of Muhammad Khaljī created such a panic into the minds of the citizens of Nadiyā, the capital city of Lakshmaṇasena, that most of them took to flight, but the king stayed on in the almost deserted city. Muhammad Khaljī, at the end of his march, advanced with only eighteen soldiers a little forward from the main body of the army, and entered Nadiyā without any opposition, as the guards and inhabitants of the city took them to be horse-dealers. By the time Muhammad reached the royal palace, the main body of his soldiers also got into the city, and Muhammad forced his way through the palace-gate with a drawn sword. The royal guards being attacked unawares, raised a hue and cry which reached the ears of Lakshmaṇasena, when he was taking his mid-day meal. The king at once fled by the back door, and proceeded to Vaṅga. Minhāj does not say from whom he heard this narrative, but it is clear that he had no reliable source of information. The whole story, however, reads like a romance and is hardly credible. It is, for example, very difficult to believe that though Lakshmaṇasena knew that the Muslims were advancing against him, he awaited their arrival in the capital without making any proper arrangement for its defence, or that a body of Muslim horsemen would be admitted into the city without any question. That Nadiyā was conquered by Muhammad Khaljī by defeating Lakshmaṇasena admits of no doubt, but the details of the conquest, as given by Minhāj, cannot be accepted as the whole truth. Even if we accept his story, we must admit that Lakshmaṇasena showed great bravery by not deserting his capital in the company of the other panic-stricken citizens long before the actual attack by the Muslim army, and considering the circumstances which forced him to leave the city, we can hardly blame him or regard it as an act of cowardice.

Muhammad Khaljī conquered Nadiyā in *c.* A.D. 1202, and shortly afterwards wrested North Bengal from Lakshmaṇasena. But East Bengal, and probably also South Bengal, remained under the control of the Senas. In the 27th year of his reign (A.D. 1205), *i.e.* three years after the loss of Nadiyā, Lakshmaṇasena granted lands in the Bhawal *Parganā* of the Dacca District.

Lakshmaṇasena changed his ancestral faith and became a devout Vaishṇava. He was not only a distinguished soldier, but also a great poet, and some verses composed by him found place in Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛita.* It has already been noticed that he completed the text of *Adbhutasāgara,* which was begun by his father. His court was graced by a number of famous poets such as Jayadeva, the author of *Gītagovinda,* and Dhoyī, the author of *Pavanadūta,* as well as scholars like Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva,* and Śrīdharadāsa, the son of the *Mahāsāmanta-chūḍāmaṇi* Vaṭudāsa. Śrīdharadāsa himself was *Mahāmāṇḍalika* under Lakshmaṇasena. The great writer Halāyudha was his chief minister, and Śaṅkaradhara, the minister for peace and war. Lakshmaṇasena had a number of queens, *viz.,* Śriyādevī, Kalyāṇadevī and Chāndrādevī and two sons, Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena.

An era which was in use in Bihār after the downfall of the Senas is associated with the name of Lakshmaṇasena. Different records yield different dates, ranging from A.D. 1108 to 1119, as the initial year of this era. If Lakshmaṇasena was the founder of this era, it is curious that he did not use it in his own records. Moreover, Lakshmaṇasena was probably not even born in A.D. 1119. For Minhāj states that at the time of the Muslim invasion of Nadiyā Lakshmaṇasena was eighty years old, and this fixes the date of the king's birth in *c.* A.D. 1122. *Laghubhārata,* a late work, states that Vallālasena received the news of Lakshmaṇasena's birth when he was marching against Mithilā. If there is any truth in this statement, Lakshmaṇasena was obviously born after the death of Rāmapāla in *c.* A.D. 1120 when alone Vallālasena could have led an expedition against Mithilā. As a matter of fact the origin of the Lakshmaṇasena era cannot be ascertained now.

Lakshmaṇasena probably died shortly after A.D. 1205, his last known date. He was succeeded by Viśvarūpasena, who assumed the title *Vṛishabhāṅka-Śaṅkara.* Viśvarūpasena granted lands in the region of Vikramapura from his victorious camp at Phalgugrāma. Minhāj states that about this time the Muslims ruled Rāḍhā and Varendrī from their capital Lakhnāwatī, and in A.D. 1226 Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwaz, the Sultān of Lakhnāwatī, made an abortive attempt to

conquer Vaṅga. This is corroborated by the Sena records according to which Viśvarūpasena defeated the Yavanas, *i.e.* the Muslims. He had two sons Kumārasena and Purushottamasena, but these princes are not known to have ever ruled. Viśvarūpasena ruled for more than 14 years and was succeeded by his younger brother Keśavasena who assumed the title *Asahya-Śaṅkara.*[6b] He also granted lands in the region of Vikramapura from Phalgugrāma. Minhāj relates that Malik Saif-ud-dīn (A.D. 1231-1233) sent an expedition to Vaṅga where he captured some elephants. Keśavasena, in all probability, succeeded in repulsing this invasion, for he is also stated to have won a victory over the Yavanas. The descendants of Lakshmaṇasena thus frustrated successive attempts of the Muslims to assert their supremacy over Vaṅga. How long Keśavasena ruled cannot be ascertained. It appears from Minhāj that the Senas occupied the throne of Vaṅga at least up to A.D. 1245, if not up to A.D. 1260. They were supplanted in Vaṅga by Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva of the Deva family not long after the middle of the thirteenth century. Both Viśvarūpasena and Keśavasena were devotees of Sūrya. But a king known as Madhusena, who was a devotee of Buddha, is known to have been ruling in some part of Bengal in A.D. 1289. His relation with the Senas of Vikramapura is not known.

3. *The Royal Family of Paṭṭikerā*

The Varmans and the Senas are not known to have ever asserted their supremacy over that part of Bengal which lay to the east of the Brahmaputra. From the eleventh century onward the capital of this region seems to have been Paṭṭikerā, the extensive ruins of which have been discovered on the Maināmati Hills, in the Tippera District. All memory of this kingdom is lost, but even now there is a *Parganā* named Pāṭikerā, or Pāiṭkerā which extends up to the Maināmati Hills. A miniature label in a Nepalese manuscript, copied in A.D. 1015, mentions the city of Paṭṭikerā. According to the Burmese chronicles, the kingdom of Burma, under Anoratha (A.D. 1044-1077), was bounded on the west by Patikkara. These Burmese sources narrate romantic stories which indicate that there was a close and intimate contact between the rulers of Paṭṭikerā and Burma in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Unfortunately the Burmese annals do not mention the name of any king of Paṭṭikerā. We learn from an inscription, discovered in the Maināmati Hills, that a king known as Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla ascended the throne of Paṭṭikerā in A.D. 1202-1203, and ruled there at least up to A.D. 1219. Harikāladeva or his successor was overthrown by the Deva dynasty.

4. *The Deva Dynasty of Samataṭa and Vaṅga*

The earliest known member of the Deva family is Purushottama, who was a headman of a village *(grāmaṇī)*, possibly under the royal dynasty of Paṭṭikerā. His son Madhusūdana, also known as Madhumathana, is described as a king *(nṛipati)*, and seems to have founded an independent principality in the southern part of the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā. His son and successor was Vāsudeva, who was again succeeded by his son Dāmodara. Dāmodara, who claims to have been the overlord of all kings, issued inscriptions dated A.D. 1234 and 1243. He granted the village Mehāra (now in the Chāndpur subdivision of the Tippera District) in the Samataṭa-*maṇḍala*, and seems to have put an end to the rule of Harikāladeva's family in Paṭṭikerā. King Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva of the Deva family, who issued an inscription from Vikramapura, was the son and successor of Dāmodara. He claims to have obtained the kingdom of Gauḍa through the grace of Nārāyaṇa. This probably means that he wrested Vaṅga from the Senas, who claimed to have been the lords of Gauḍa even long after its conquest by the Muslims. As will be noted in Chapter V, Sultān Balban came to Sonārgāon (now a *Parganā*, in the Nārāyanganj sub-division, Dacca District) in A.D. 1283 and entered into an agreement with Danuj Rai to guard against the flight of Tughril Khān by water. There is no doubt that this Danuj Rai is identical with Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva. The *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* mentions an interesting episode connected with the meeting of Balban with Danuj Rai at Sonārgāon. After the reign of Daśarathadeva in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. the kingdom of the Deva dynasty passed into the hands of the Muslims.

III. ASSAM

It has been mentioned above[7] that after the death of king Tyāgasiṁha, the last ruler of the Sālambha or Prālambha dynasty, towards the close of the tenth century A.D., the people elected his kinsman named Brahmapāla as the king of Prāgjyotisha. The capital of this newly established dynasty was at Durjayā, which is identified by some with Gauhati. Brahmapāla may be placed in the first part of the eleventh century. He was succeeded by his son Ratnapāla who granted lands in Uttarakula, which seems to be referring to the north bank of the Brahmaputra river. He is said to have fought successfully with the kings of Gurjara, Gauḍa, Kerala, and Dākshiṇātya, and with the Bāhikas and Tāikas. This seems to be a hyperbole. The kings of Gurjara, Gauḍa, and the Deccan about this time were respectively the Chaulukya Bhīma I of Gujarāt,

Nayapāla, and the Chālukya Someśvara I. Bhīma I and Nayapāla are not known to have led any expedition against Assam, but Someśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI is known to have led a successful expedition against Kāmarūpa shortly before A.D. 1068. Ratnapāla ruled for more than twenty-six years. His son Purandarapāla, who was a poet, predeceased him. So after the death of Ratnapāla Purandarapāla's son Indrapāla ascended the throne. He is described in his own inscription as the light of the East *(Prāchī-pradīpa)*. It was probably during his reign that Jātavarman of the Yādava dynasty of East Bengal invaded Kāmarūpa. Indrapāla was succeeded by his son Gopāla, who was again succeeded by his son Harshapāla. Harshapāla's son and successor was Dharmapāla, who may be taken to have flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Dharmapāla is mentioned as the king of Kāmarūpa-*nagara,* which was probably identical with Durjayā. He was a man of learning, and composed a part of his own inscription discovered on the bank of the Pushpabhadrā. He was the last ruler of the family founded by Brahmapāla and seems to have been overthrown by Tiṁgyadeva, in the reign of Rāmapāla of Gauḍa. As already mentioned, Tiṁgyadeva revolted and was defeated by Vaidyadeva, who subsequently ruled Kāmarūpa as an independent king. Whether he was succeeded by his brother Budhadeva is not known.

A copper-plate inscription from Assam mentions that in the Chandravaṁśa there was Bhāskara, whose son was the king Rāyārideva Trailokyasiṁha. Rāyārideva is said to have vanquished the king of Vaṅga, who may be identified with Vijayasena. He was succeeded by his son Udayakarṇa Niḥśaṅkasiṁha, and the latter by his son Vallabhadeva, one of whose known dates is A.D. 1185. It is probable, therefore, that the three kings Rāyārideva, Udayakarṇa and Vallabhadeva ruled in Kāmarūpa after Vaidyadeva. Vallabhadeva was probably the king who suffered defeat at the hands of Lakshmaṇasena.

Minhāj states that in A.D. 1205 Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī advanced with an army *via* Bardhankot along the bank of the Begmatī river (identified with Karatoyā) for the conquest of Tibet. Before ten days had elapsed he had to cross a stone bridge within the territory of the king of Kāmrūd (Kāmarūpa). While returning from the Tibetan expedition he found the bridge broken by the Hindus of Kāmrūd and, realising the gravity of the situation, ordered his army to take shelter in a neighbouring temple. The 'Rāe of Kāmrūd' attacked the Muslims and killed a large number of them. Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī, with a few followers, jumped into the river and swam to the opposite bank. Mr. Blochmann

places this bridge near Darjeeling. An inscription on a rock at Kanaibarshi, a mile to the north-east of North Gauhati, states that in A.D. 1205 the Turushkas, who came to Kāmarūpa, were slain. There is a broken old stone bridge on the channel of the Barnadi, eleven miles to the west of Kanaibarshi. Some scholars are inclined to identify this bridge with that mentioned by Minhāj. This view does not seem to be convincing as Gauhati lies far off from the normal route to Tibet from Lakhnāwatī. As a matter of fact the genuineness of the Kanaibarshi inscription may be doubted. There is, however, no doubt about a conflict between Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī and the king of Assam in which the former suffered severe losses. It cannot however be said definitely whether Vallabhadeva or his successor was the adversary of Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī.

The chronology of the Kāmarūpa kings after Vallabhadeva cannot be definitely determined, but their conflict with the Muslim rulers continued. In A.D. 1227 Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwaz of Lakhnāwatī made an abortive attempt to conquer Kāmarūpa. In A.D. 1257 Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yuzbak Tughril Khān invaded Kāmarūpa and at first obtained some success. Subsequently the Sultān was defeated and captured. He died of his wounds and his army was destroyed. The invasion of Kāmarūpa by Mahmūd Shāh in A.D. 1337 also ended in disaster for the Muslim army.

In the first half of the eleventh century the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Īśvaraghosha was ruling at Ḍhekkarī. He granted land after bathing in the Jaṭodā river in the Gālliṭipyaka-*vishaya* of the Piyolla-*maṇḍala*. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* mentions that the Jaṭodā flows through Kāmarūpa. The river now passes through Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar. Īśvaraghosha ruled for more than thirty-five years, and was either a feudatory under the Pālas of Gauḍa or a vassal under Ratnapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Kāmarūpa.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a line of kings ruled in the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa. There were kings Kharavāṇa, Gokuladeva, Nārāyaṇa, Keśavadeva, and Īśānadeva, each being the son of his predecessor. Īśānadeva ruled for more than seventeen years. Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet was conquered by Sikandar Khān Ghāzī in A.D. 1303 during the reign of the Sultān Fīrūz Shāh.

The Ahoms, a branch of the Shan tribe, started under their leader Sukāphā from Maulung in A.D. 1215, and crossed the hilly country of Patkai. They came in course of their wandering march to Eastern Assam, and settled at Charaideo in A.D. 1253. Sukāphā was succeeded by his son Suteuphā, during whose reign the Kāchāris gave the country to the east of the Dikhu river to the Ahoms.

Suteuphā, who died in A.D. 1281, was succeeded by his son Subinphā, and the latter by his son Sukhānghphā in A.D. 1293. During this period the Ahoms carried on a protracted war with the *Rājā* of Kāmatā which was concluded by a treaty. Sukhānghphā married Rajanī, the daughter of the *Rājā* of Kāmatā, and died in A.D. 1332. The Ahoms, who thus consolidated their kingdom in the thirteenth century, gave the name Assam to the country which was called Kāmarūpa and Prāgjyotisha in ancient days.

In the thirteenth century the Kāchāris also founded a kingdom along the south bank of the Brahmaputra from Dikhu to Kallang. It also included the valley of Dhansiri and the North Kāchār subdivision.

IV. NEPĀL

As we have seen above,[8] the dynasty of Guṇakāma was ruling in Nepāl at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. and king Nirbhaya was ruling jointly with Rudra in A.D. 1007. Rudradeva was succeeded by Bhoja. It appears from a palm-leaf manuscript, dated A.D. 1015, that when Bhoja was ruling, half the kingdom was enjoyed by Lakshmīkāmadeva. Some take this to mean that Bhoja and Lakshmīkāma ruled conjointly. But an undated manuscript refers to the reign of Bhoja only, and another manuscript, dated A.D. 1039, mentions the name of Lakshmīkāma alone. According to the Tibetan sources, when Dīpaṅkara Atīśa visited Nepāl in c. A.D. 1039, on his way to Tibet, the king of the country was Grags-pa-mtha-yas, which is restored as Anantakīrtti. The relation between Anantakīrtti and Lakshmīkāma is not known. Lakshmīkāma's successor was Jayakāma, also known as Vijaya. Jayakāma revived the worship of Nāga. The tradition runs that he had no issue, and after his death the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot elected one of them, named Bhāskaradeva, as king.

Bhāskaradeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1046. He is stated to have "repaired his paternal crown," which probably means that his remote predecessors were royal personages. He was succeeded by Baladeva, also known as Balavantadeva, who was ruling in A.D. 1059. Baladeva's successor Pradyumnakāmadeva, also known as Padmadeva, is known to have been on the throne in A.D. 1064 and 1065. Pradyumnakāmadeva was followed in succession by Nāgārjunadeva and Śaṅkaradeva. The known dates of Śaṅkaradeva range from A.D. 1068 to 1077. Vāmadeva of the Ṭhākuri family of Patan, a remote descendant of Aṁśuvarman, overthrew the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D.

Vāmadeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1081. He may be taken as identical with Vāmadeva, son of king Yaśodeva, whose inscription on the pedestal of an image of Sūrya, found at Lalitapattana, is dated A.D. 1083. Vāmadeva's successor Harshadeva was ruling in A.D. 1090 and 1093. The *Vaṁśāvalī* of Nepāl mentions a date of Harshadeva as N.E. 219 (= A.D. 1098), which Bendall takes as the year of the king's death. After Harshadeva the throne was occupied by Śivadeva. The *Vaṁśāvalī,* discovered by Bendall, mentions him as the son of Śaṅkaradeva. This shows that the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot again came to power. The known dates of Śivadeva's reign range from A.D. 1118 to 1123. The tradition relates that he built a city named Kīrttipura near Kāntipura and Lalitapattana. He secured a large amount of gold by raiding the neighbouring countries and built with it a new roof for Paśupatinātha. He introduced a new coin, made of copper and iron, and marked with the figure of a lion. His son and successor Indra, also called Mahendra, is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1128. The next king was Mānadeva. An inscription of the *Rājādhirāja* Mānadeva, dated A.D. 1139, has been found near Kātmāndu. He was associated in the government with his son Narendradeva (Narasiṁha), the known dates of whose reign are A.D. 1134 and 1141. Narendradeva's successor Ānandadeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1146 and 1166. Ānandadeva is mentioned as the son of Sīhadeva who may be taken as identical with Narasiṁha (Narendradeva). Ānandadeva was succeeded by Rudradeva who, according to the chronicle, abdicated his throne, after seven years' reign, in favour of his son, and devoted himself to religious practices. Wright's chronicle mentions the name of this son of Rudradeva as Mitradeva. Bendall's chronicle, however, states that Amṛitadeva, who was the other son of Sīhadeva (Narasiṁhadeva), succeeded Rudradeva. Amṛitadeva (A.D. 1176) was followed in succession by Ratnadeva (A.D. 1183) and Someśvaradeva, son of Mahendra. After Someśvara ruled Guṇakāmadeva II (A.D. 1187), Lakshmīkāmadeva (A.D. 1193), Vijayakāmadeva (A.D. 1196, 1197), Arimalladeva (A.D. 1201, 1216), Raṇaśūra (A.D. 1221) and Abhayamalla (A.D. 1223-1252) one after the other. It is probable that Arimalla, referred to above, was the founder of the Malla dynasty in Nepāl. During the reign of Abhayamalla there were frequent earthquakes and a famine in Nepāl. Wright's chronicle mentions that Abhayamalla had two sons, Jayadevamalla and Ānandamalla. Ānandamalla founded a city named Bhaktapura (Bhatgaon), and established his headquarters there. He also founded seven more towns, *viz.* Banapur, Panavati, Nala, Dhankhel, Khadpu, Chankot, and Sanga. Jayadevamalla (A.D. 1255, 1257), who ruled in

Patan and Kāntipura, was followed in succession by Jayabhīma (A.D. 1260), Jayasaha(sīha)malladeva, and Anantamalla (A.D. 1279-1307). Tradition relates that during the reign of Anantamalla the Khaśas and the Magars of the western mountains, under the leadership of Jayatāri and Mukundasena, led a series of invasions against Nepāl, some time between A.D. 1287 and 1290, and carried on depredations and plunder. A pestilence, which broke out there about this time, forced the invaders to withdraw. Anantamalla was followed in succession by Jayānandadeva (A.D. 1318) and Jayarudramalla (A.D. 1320, 1326). Jayārimalla was a co-regent of Jayarudramalla, who died in A.D. 1326. Some time before his death Nepāl was invaded by Harisiṁha of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Simraon. Henceforth Harisiṁha and his successors were the supreme rulers of the Nepāl valley, and Jayarudramalla's successors, Jayarājadeva (A.D. 1347-1355) and Jayārjunamalla (A.D. 1363-1376), ruled Nepāl as their subordinates.

V. BIHĀR

1. *The Karṇāṭaka Dynasty of Mithilā*

The Pālas of Gauḍa, as we have seen above, held sway over Magadha and Tīrabhukti for a long time. Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut), which was also known as Mithilā, was bounded by the Gandak, Kosi, Himālaya, and the Gaṅgā. Some time about A.D. 1097 Nānyadeva of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty established his supremacy over this region, probably with the help of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, who is known to have invaded Nepāl shortly before A.D. 1068. Sylvain Lévi thinks that Nānyadeva at first accepted service under an unknown king and, taking advantage of the weakness of his master, wielded the sovereignty. It has already been noted that the Pālas of Gauḍa had under them many Karṇāṭa officers. It is not unlikely that Nānyadeva was an officer under the Pālas, and established a kingdom in Tīrabhukti during the Kaivarta revolt. "A new danger" which confronted Rāmapāla on the eve of his fight with the Kaivarta Bhīma, mentioned in the *Rāma-charita,* may be referring to this incident. The capital of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty was at Sīmarāmapura, modern Simraon, within the border of Nepāl north of the Champāran District.

Nānyadeva came in conflict with kings of Gauḍa and Vaṅga, who seem to have been respectively the Pāla king Kumārapāla and the Yādava ruler Harivarman. Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty of Rāḍhā invaded Mithilā and won a victory over Nānyadeva. Tradition relates that Nānyadeva conquered Nepāl. If it be true, he could not certainly keep the conquered country under his control for a long time. For the contemporary king of Nepāl, Śivadeva,

and his successors are known to have assumed the title *Rājādhirāja*. According to tradition Nānyadeva ruled for fifty years. He was succeeded by his son Gaṅgadeva. A manuscript of *Rāmāyaṇa* was copied in Tīrabhukti in *Saṁ.* 1076 during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Gāṅgeyadeva of the Soma family. Bendall, referring the date to Vikrama Saṁvat, takes it as equivalent to A.D. 1019, and identifies Gāṅgeyadeva with the king of this name belonging to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, by referring the year to Śaka era, identifies Gāṅgeyadeva with Gaṅgadeva, successor of Nānyadeva. Tradition assigns forty-one years' reign to Gaṅgadeva. He was succeeded by his son Nṛisiṁha, who is said to have ruled for thirty-one years. Nṛisiṁha's son and successor Rāmasiṁha is assigned thirty-nine years' rule. Rāmasiṁha's successor Śaktisiṁha, after a rule of fifty-eight years, was succeeded by Bhūpālasiṁha. Bhūpālasiṁha was succeeded by Harisiṁha, also known as Harasiṁha.

The famous jurist Chaṇḍeśvara, his father Vīreśvara, and his grandfather Devāditya served Harisiṁha as ministers of peace and war one after the other. Devāditya's second son Gaṇeśvara also acted as a minister under the same king. Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī states that in A.D. 1324 Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq invaded Tirhut, whose king submitted without any fight. Firishta relates that after conquering Tirhut Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq handed it over to Ahmud Khān. But it is known from other contemporary sources that Harisiṁha and his minister Chaṇḍeśvara succeeded in repulsing the attack of the Suratrāṇa (Sultān). It seems, therefore, that Harisiṁha was able to resist the Muslims for some time. Chaṇḍeśvara claims that he conquered Nepāl for his master and then performed the religious gift of *Tulāpurusha* in A.D. 1314; but the traditional date of the conquest of Nepāl by Harisiṁha is A.D. 1324. Henceforward the chiefs of Nepāl ruled their territory as vassals of Harisiṁha's family. Tradition relates that Harisiṁha established himself at Bhatgaon and ruled Nepāl from that city. This indicates that, having failed to defend Tirhut along with Simraon against the incursion of the Muslims, he transferred his capital to Bhatgaon. That Tirhut was lost to the Karṇāṭakas is proved by the fact that Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq's son Muhammad Tughluq issued coins from the mint of Tirhut. The *Vaṁśāvalī* of Nepāl mentions Harisiṁha's successors as rulers of Nepāl.

2. *The Guptas of Jayapura*[9]

In the twelfth century A.D., a Gupta dynasty ruled from Jayapura, identified with modern Jaynagar, near Lakhisarai, in the

Monghyr District. King Yajñeśagupta, *alias* Jaya, was succeeded by Dāmodaragupta, also known as Chāmuṇḍarāja, whose son and successor was king Devagupta. These three kings, who may be taken to have flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, were obviously feudatories of the Pālas, for, as mentioned above, Monghyr formed a part of the Pāla kingdom up to the middle of the twelfth century, though for a short period in the fourth decade of that century it was occupied by Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra. Devagupta was succeeded by his son *Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmāṇḍalika* Rājādityagupta. It appears from these titles that after the decline of the power of the Pālas Rājādityagupta assumed independence. His son Rājaputra Kṛishṇagupta seems to have predeceased his father. Rājādityagupta was succeeded by his grandson *Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmāṇḍalika* Saṁgrāmagupta, the son of Kṛishṇagupta. Saṁgrāmagupta may be taken to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasena, as the inscriptions of both have been referred on palaeographic grounds to the same period. He ruled for more than seventeen years. The power of the Guptas seems to have been destroyed by Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī.

3. *The Senas of Pīṭhī*

A Sena dynasty is known to have ruled in Pīṭhī, which included the region round Gayā. Names of only two kings of this family are known. They are Buddhasena and his son Jayasena, who are to be placed in the second half of the thirteenth century.

4. *Khayaravāla Dynasty of Jāpila*

The Khayaravāla dynasty ruled in the Shāhābād District, which formed part of Magadha, in the twelfth century A.D. Sādhava is the earliest known member of this family. His son was king Raṇadhavala, whose son Pratāpadhavala is referred to as a *Mahānāyaka* of Jāpila. Stone inscriptions of Pratāpadhavala dated A.D. 1158 and 1169 have been found in the Shāhābād District. He acknowledged the supremacy of the Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra. Pratāpadhavala's son and successor was king *(narapati)* Sāhasa. He had two sons Vikrama and Indradhavala who occupied the throne of their father in succession. Indradhavala, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1197, is mentioned as a great king *(mahā-nṛipati)* and Jāpilya. Nothing definite is known of the family after Indradhavala. A king named Pratāpa, who is known to have been ruling in the Shāhābād District in A.D. 1223, might have been a successor of Indradhavala.

VI. KANAUJ

1. *The Rāshṭrakūṭas*

As we have seen above,[10] the Imperial Pratīhāras ruled Kanauj up to A.D. 1019, and Rājyapāla was the last king of this dynasty to be associated with that city. After the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghaznī Rājyapāla and his successors ruled from Bari, about 30 miles to the east of Kanauj, which was in ruins even when Al-Bīrūnī visited it some time before A.D. 1030. But an inscription of the Chaulukya dynasty of Lāṭa, dated A.D. 1050, associates a Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty with Kanauj. Another inscription, found at Budaun, gives some account of a Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty ruling in the Pañchāla country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The fourth king of this dynasty Gopāla is mentioned as the ruler of Gādhipura *i.e.* Kanauj, and it may be assumed that the early members of this Rāshṭrakūṭa family were all associated with this imperial city. The first known king of this family is Chandra, who seems to have established his supremacy over Kanauj during the period of disorder that followed the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. He was succeeded by his son Vigrahapāla, and the latter by his son Bhuvanapāla, who may be taken to have flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. During this period Chālukya Someśvara I of the Deccan and the Choḷa Vīrarājendra of South India invaded Kanauj. Bhuvanapāla's son and successor was Gopāla, who, as has already been noticed, is referred to as the king of Gādhipura. It was apparently during the reign of Gopāla that Mahmūd, son of the Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznī, conquered Kanauj. After this disaster the Rāshṭrakūṭas appear to have settled at Vodāmayūtā or modern Budaun which soon grew into importance. Hasan Nizāmī states that Budaun is "one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind." Gopāla was succeeded by his eldest son Tribhuvana. Tribhuvana's younger brother and successor was Madanapāla, who was ruling in A.D. 1119, and whose kingdom extended up to Sahet Mahet, in the Gondā District. Madanapāla repulsed an attack of Sultān Mas'ūd III of Ghaznī. He was succeeded by his youngest brother Devapāla. By the year A.D. 1128 Sahet Mahet passed into the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas. Devapāla was followed in succession by Bhīmapāla, Śūrapāla and Amṛitapāla, each being the son of his predecessor. Amṛitapāla was succeeded by his younger brother Lakhaṇapāla, who ruled in the closing years of the twelfth century. In A.D. 1202 Qutb-ud-dīn conquered the kingdom, probably from Lakhaṇapāla, and made Iltutmish its governor. In the early years of the thirteenth century the *Mahāsāmanta* Bharahadeva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty ruled

somewhere in the country of Kānyakubja (Kānyakubja-*deśa*). He might have been a successor of Lakhaṇapāla. The Gāhaḍavāla Aḍakkamalla was probably his overlord.

2. *The Gāhaḍavālas*

In the latter part of the eleventh century a dynasty known as Gāhaḍavāla came to power in Kanauj. No authentic evidence has hitherto been discovered to support the theory that the Gāhaḍavālas are identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭas or the Rāṭhors. Yaśovigraha, the earliest known member of the family, is said to have flourished when the kings of the Solar race departed from this world. His son Mahīchandra, also known as Mahītala and Mahīyala, is described as a king, and ruled in some part of Uttar Pradesh. Mahīchandra's son and successor was Chandradeva, during the early part of whose reign there was a great upheaval in the kingdom of Kanauj. After the invasion of Northern India by Ahmad Niyāltigīn in A.D. 1034 the Muslims did not launch any military campaign against Hindustān for some time. The cause of this inactivity on their part is not far to seek. During this period the Paramāra Bhoja and Kalachuri Karṇa, who occupied dominant position in Northern India, struck terror into the minds of the Muslims by their military power. Both are known to have led expeditions even into the heart of the Muslim territory of the Punjāb.[11] After the death of Bhoja (*c.* A.D. 1055) and Karṇa (*c.* A.D. 1072) the Muslims again cast their greedy eyes on Hindustān. Some time between A.D. 1086 and 1090 prince Mahmūd, the governor of the Punjāb, plundered Kanauj and Kālañjara and invaded Ujjain.[12] On that occasion he found an ally in Kanauj named Chand Rāi, who may be identified with Chandradeva. During the troublesome period that followed the departure of Mahmūd from Northern India Chandradeva seized the throne of Kanauj from the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Gopāla, mentioned above. The inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavālas, dating from A.D. 1090, mention a tax called *Turushkadaṇḍa*. Some suggest that it was an impost on the subjects of the Gāhaḍavālas to meet the expenses of resisting the invasion of the Muslims. Others think that the Gāhaḍavāla kings realised this tax from the people in order to make annual payment of tribute to the Sultāns of Ghaznī. If Chandradeva really got some political advantage from Mahmūd, the latter view seems preferable. It was probably to enforce the regular payment of this tribute that the Muslims led expeditions against Northern India from time to time.

Chandradeva is said to have defeated the Gajapati, Narapati, Triśaṅkupati, and the ruler of Pañchāla. The ruler of Pañchāla was obviously the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Gopāla. Chandradeva claims

to have protected the holy places of Kuśika (Kanauj), Kāśī, Uttara-Kosala (Ayodhyā) and Indrasthāna. His further progress towards the east was checked by Bhīmayaśas, ruler of Magadha. The inscriptions of Chandradeva, the dates of which range from A.D. 1090 to 1100, prove that he was in possession of Kanauj, Banaras, and Ayodhyā. He conquered all the countries from Allāhābād to Banaras from the Kalachuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, king of Ḍāhala. Banaras (Kāśī) was made the second capital of the Gāhaḍavālas. Some are inclined to identify Indrasthāna with Indraprastha or Delhi, and take it as the western boundary of Chandradeva's kingdom. But this is hardly likely, as about this time the Tomaras were ruling independently in Delhi. There was a city named Indrapura, modern Indor, in the Aramshahar sub-division of the Bulandshahar District. Indrasthāna may be identified with this, but no definite conclusion is possible. Chandradeva was succeeded by Madanachandra, also known as Madanapāla, some time between A.D. 1100 and 1104.

Madanachandra's inscriptions bear dates A.D. 1104 and 1109, and prove that he was in possession of Banaras, Bithaur sub-division of the Etāwah District, and a part of the ancient Pañchāla-country. According to Muslim chroniclers Alā-ud-Daulah Mas'ūd III (A.D. 1099-1115) invaded Hindustān, the capital of which was Kanauj. He took Malhī, king of Kanauj, prisoner, who purchased his release by paying a large sum of money.[13] Malhī is evidently identical with Madanachandra. Govindachandra, son of Madanachandra, is known from Indian records to have defeated the Muslims during the lifetime of his father. It is not unlikely that he forced the Muslim chief to release his father.[14] Govindachandra, who was the *de facto* ruler of the country during the reign of his father, also repulsed an attack of Rāmapāla of Gauḍa. He ascended the throne of his father before A.D. 1114.

About forty-two inscriptions of Govindachandra's reign, bearing dates extending from A.D. 1114 to 1154, have been discovered. They prove that his kingdom extended at least up to Banaras, Fatehpur and Kānpur Districts on the south, Kanauj on the west, Gondā and Gorakhpur Districts on the north, and Dināpur, in the Patna District, in Bihār, on the east. Shortly after *c.* A.D. 1143 he conquered all the countries up to Monghyr from Madanapāla. But he had to surrender Monghyr to this Pāla king some time before A.D. 1158. He conquered the Gondā District from the Rāshṭrakūṭa Madanapāla[15] or his successor before A.D. 1129.

The *Prākṛita-paiṅgalam* states that the king of Kāśī fought successfully with the kings of Gauḍa, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Telaṅga, Mahārāshṭra, Saurāshṭra, Champāraṇa, Nepāla, Bhoṭa, Chīna, Lohāvara (Lahore), Oḍra, and Mālava. There are good grounds to believe that the king of Kāśī, referred to, is Govindachandra. That Govindachandra came into conflict with most of the kings mentioned above can be proved by other evidence. His wars with the Pālas of Gauḍa and the Muslims of Lahore have already been noticed. The king of the West against whom Vijayasena advanced through the upper course of the Gaṅgā was in all probability Govindachandra. It is not unlikely that Govindachandra checked the westward progress of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, king of Kaliṅga and Orissa, who conquered the countries up to the bank of the Gaṅgā. Nānyadeva of Mithilā was the immediate neighbour of Govindachandra, and there might have been a clash between these two kings. Someśvara III, the Chālukya king of the Deccan, who invaded Magadha, must have come into conflict with Govindachandra. It cannot be ascertained whether Govindachandra came into clash with the Kākatīyas of Teliṅgāṇa. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Kalachuri Jājalladeva, king of Dakshiṇa-Kosala, to the south-west of which lies the Teliṅgāṇa country, proudly asserts that he was honoured with fortune on account of his prowess by the king of Kānyakubja. This king of Kānyakubja was evidently Govindachandra. Nayachandra's *Rambhāmañjarī* states that Govindachandra conquered Daśārṇa (Eastern Mālava) on the day of the birth of his grandson Jayachandra. Daśārṇa was in the possession of the Chandella Madanavarman (A.D. 1129-1163), who is known to have been at war with the king of Kāśī. Saurāshṭra formed a part of the kingdom of the Chaulukyas of Aṇahillapāṭaka. Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja of this dynasty is stated to have sent a diplomatic agent to the court of Jayachandra, king of Banaras, which seems to be an error for Govindachandra in view of the fact that the Chaulukya king closed his reign in *c.* A.D. 1143. The statement that Govindachandra invaded Nepāla, Chīna, and Tibet is obviously an exaggeration. It will appear from the above observations that Govindachandra came into conflict with the Pālas, Senas, Gaṅgas, Kākatīyas, Chālukyas, Chandellas, Chaulukyas, the Muslims, and the Karṇāṭakas of Mithilā.

Govindachandra sent his ambassador Suhala to the court of king Jayasiṁha of the Lohara dynasty of Kāshmir. An incomplete inscription at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, the capital of the Imperial Choḷas, which was executed shortly after A.D. 1111, draws the genealogy of the Gāhaḍavālas from Yaśovigraha to Chandra. It seems that the inscription was issued by a Gāhaḍavāla princess,

who was married to a king or a scion of the Choḷa dynasty, with a view to record some grants made by her. This reminds us of the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīdevī, who took scrupulous care to mention in them the names of her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. Gold and copper coins of Govindachandra have been found. The king was acquainted with the various branches of arts. He had a number of queens one of whom was Buddhist Kumāradevī, the daughter of Devarakshita, king of Pīṭhī and daughter's daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva, maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. Govindachandra had three sons, Asphoṭachandra, who was appointed a *Yuvarāja,* Vijayachandra, and Rājyapāla. Asphoṭachandra seems to have predeceased his father, and Vijayachandra succeeded to the throne some time after A.D. 1154.

The known dates of Vijayachandra are A.D. 1168 and 1169. Pratāpadhavala of the Khayaravāla dynasty was his vassal in western Magadha. Vijayachandra repulsed an attack of the Muslims, which was probably led by Khusrav Malik. He was succeeded by his son Jayachandra in A.D. 1170.

The inscriptions of Jayachandra bear dates ranging from A.D. 1170 to 1189. They prove that his kingdom included the Gayā District besides the Doāb, Allāhābād, Banaras and Patna. The Gayā District is known to have been ruled by Govindapāla up to A.D. 1162.[16] Probably in his attempt to extend the boundary of his kingdom further east Jayachandra was opposed by Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal. The Sena king claims to have defeated the king of Kāśī, who was obviously Jayachandra. The bards narrate a romantic story about the marriage between Jayachandra's daughter Saṁyogitā and the Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III of Ajmer, but its authenticity has rightly been doubted by modern scholars. Jayachandra was a patron of poets, and according to some scholars, Śrīharsha, the author of *Naishadha-charita,* lived in his court. Jayachandra ruled his kingdom peacefully for more than two decades, but in the latter part of his reign he met with a severe disaster. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, after conquering Delhi and Ajmer from the Chāhamānas, advanced with a large army against Jayachandra in A.D. 1193. Jayachandra opposed him with all his forces in the vicinity of Chandawar in the Etāwah District. In the battle that followed Jayachandra lost his life when seated on an elephant, and the Gāhaḍavāla army was totally defeated. The Muslims next captured the fort of Asni (in the Fatehpur District) where the treasure of the king of Banaras was deposited. They then proceeded to Banaras and plundered the city. The government of the

country was entrusted to a responsible officer, but the Muslims could not keep their hold on the newly conquered territory for a long time. As Hariśchandra, son of Jayachandra, who was only 18 years old at the time of the battle of Chandawar, was in possession of Kanauj, Jaunpur, and Mirzāpur Districts in A.D. 1197, it is obvious that he succeeded in wresting his paternal kingdom from the hands of the Muslims. The Chandella king Trailokyavarman won a victory over a king of Kānyakubja, who may be identified with Hariśchandra. Aḍakkamalla, who belonged to the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, seems to have been Hariśchandra's successor. During the reign of Iltutmish one Bartu was the ruler of Āwadh. Bartu fought with Iltutmish and is said to have killed one hundred and twenty thousand Muslim soldiers. He was overthrown and killed by Malik Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh, the eldest son of Iltutmish, in A.D. 1226. Bartu might have been a feudatory of Aḍakkamalla, and it is not unlikely that he is identical with Bharahadeva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.[17] Kanauj was finally conquered by Iltutmish. After being deprived of his paternal kingdom Aḍakkamalla settled in the Nāgod State, Central India. His feudatory Mahamandadeva is known to have ruled there in V.S. 1294 (= A.D. 1237). The name of the successor of Aḍakkamalla is not known.

VII. THE YADUVAMŚĪ KINGS OF BAYĀNA-ŚRĪPATHA

Tradition relates that a Yadu dynasty ruled in Bayāna, the modern Bayāna, in the old Bharatpur State, Rājputāna, the ancient name of which was Śrīpatha. The traditional list of kings of this dynasty, as given by the bards, is partly verified by the epigraphic records. These records prove that the kingdom of this dynasty comprised the old Bharatpur State and the Mathurā District. The king Jaitapāla of the traditional list may be placed in the first half of the eleventh century. His successor was Vijayapāla, who may be identified with the king Vijaya of the Bayāna inscription, dated A.D. 1044. Vijayapāla's successor was Tāhanapāla who, according to tradition, built the fort of Tahangarh, 14 miles south of Bayāna. Tāhanapāla was followed in succession by Dharmapāla, Kunwarpāla and Ajayapāla. Cunningham suggests that there is a chronological error in placing Kunwarpāla before Ajayapāla. It is known from the Mahāban *praśasti*, found near Mathurā, that *Mahārājādhirāja* Ajayapāla was ruling in A.D. 1150. The tradition mentions Haripāla as the son and successor of Ajayapāla. An inscription of Haripāla, dated A.D. 1170, has been found at Mahāban. Haripāla was succeeded by Sohapāla. An image inscription of the reign of Sahanapāladeva, dated A.D. 1192, has been discovered at Aghapur,

in the old Bharatpur State. The traditional list describes Anaṅgapāla as the successor of Sohapāla or Sahanapāla. But Sohapāla's successor seems to have been Kunwarpāla who, according to tradition, was the predecessor of Ajayapāla. For *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir* states that in A.D. 1196 Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī defeated Kunwarpāla, the Rāi of Thangarh (Tahangarh), and handed the fort over to Bahā-ud-dīn Tughril. Anaṅgapāla may be taken to have ascended the throne after Kunwarpāla. Anaṅgapāla was followed in succession by Pṛithvīpāla, Rājapāla and Trilokapāla, the last of whom may be placed at the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

VIII. THE KACHCHHAPAGHĀTAS

The Kachchhapaghātas are generally taken to be the predecessors of the Rājput clan Kachwāhā, but this assumption is not based on any historical evidence. Three branches of the Kachchhapaghāta family are known. They ruled in Gwālior, Dubkund, and Narwar.

The earliest known chief of the Gwālior (ancient Gopādri) branch is Lakshmaṇa, but the territory over which he ruled is not known. Gwālior was under the sway of the Chandella Dhaṅga, a feudatory of the Pratīhāra Vināyakapāla of Kanauj, in the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. In or before A.D. 977 *Mahārājādhirāja* Vajradāman, son of Lakshmaṇa, established his supremacy over Gwālior by defeating the king of Gādhinagara (Kanauj), who may be identified with the Pratīhāra Vijayapāla.[18] Vajradāman was followed in succession by Maṅgalarāja and Kīrttirāja. Kīrttirāja repulsed an attack of the king of Mālava, who may be identified with the Paramāra Bhoja. It is probably Kīrttirāja who surrendered to Mahmūd of Ghaznī when the latter invaded Gwālior in A.D. 1021. He was succeeded by Mūladeva, Devapāla and Padmapāla, one after the other. Padmapāla probably had no son and, after his death, his brother (cousin?) Mahīpāla, son of Sūryapāla, ascended the throne. Sūryapāla was probably a brother of Devapāla. Mahīpāla, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1093, was succeeded by his son Ratnapāla some time before A.D. 1104. Names of the successors of Ratnapāla are not known. In A.D. 1196 the Muslims conquered Gwālior after repeated assaults extending over a year, as will be related later.

During the weak rule of Ārām Shāh (A.D. 1210-11), son of Qutb-ud-dīn, the Pratīhāra chief Vigraha established the supremacy of his family in Gwālior by defeating the Muslims. His son and successor Malayavarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1220, married the daughter of the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa of

Nāḍol. Cunningham ascribes some coins, the dates of which extend from A.D. 1223 to 1230, bearing the name Malayavarman, to this king. Iltutmish conquered Gwālior by defeating Dewbul (Devavarma?), probably the successor of Malayavarman. It was probably during the rule of Rukn-ud-dīn, son of Iltutmish, that Gwālior was reconquered by Nṛivarman (Naravarman), brother of Malayavarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1247. Naravarman's successor seems to have been Harirāja, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chandella Vīravarman. Balban conquered Gwālior in A.D. 1258 and placed Malik Nusrat-ud-dīn in charge of it.

A branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family ruled apparently from the city of Chaḍobha, which is to be identified with Dubkund, on the Kunu river, 76 miles south-west of Gwālior. The earliest known ruler of the family is Arjuna, the son of Yuvarāja, and a feudatory of the Chandella Vidyādhara. He killed the Pratīhāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj, and his son and successor Abhimanyu was an ally of the Paramāra Bhoja. Abhimanyu was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla, who was again succeeded by his son Vikramasiṁha, the known date of whose reign is A.D. 1088.

A third branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family ruled in Narwar, the ancient Nalapura. Three generations of kings of this family are known to us. They are Gaṅgasiṁha, his successor Śaradasiṁha, and the latter's successor Vīrasiṁha, who issued an inscription from the Nalapura-*durga* (fort) in A.D. 1120.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the Yajvapāla or Jajapella dynasty established its supremacy over Narwar. The earliest known chief of this dynasty is Ya(Pa)ramāḍirāja, whose son was Chāhaḍadeva. Chāhaḍadeva captured Narwar and established his supremacy there. He was the greatest of the kings in the region of Gwālior, Chanderi, Narwar and Mālava during this period. He had 5000 cavalry and 200,000 footmen. He built a fortress among the defiles and passes near Narwar, and inflicted a severe defeat on Malik Nusrat-ud-dīn Tayasāī, a general of Iltutmish, on the bank of the small river Sindh in A.D. 1234. Tayasāī is said to have never shown his back to the enemies in Hindustān except on this occasion. In A.D. 1251 during the Sultanate of Nāsir-ud-dīn his general Balban inflicted a defeat on Chāhaḍadeva and plundered his fort but could not establish his supremacy there. Chāhaḍadeva's coins bear dates extending from A.D. 1237 to 1254. He was succeeded by his son Nṛivarman, who was again succeeded by his son Āsalladeva. Āsalladeva ruled from A.D. 1254 to 1279 and was succeeded by his son Gopāla, who suffered a defeat at the hands

of the Chandella Vīravarman. The reign of Gopāla's son Gaṇapati covers the period A.D. 1291 to 1298. Gaṇapati conquered Kīrttidurga, which is identified with Deogarh, in the Jhānsi District. Nothing is known of the family after Gaṇapati.

IX. THE CHANDELLAS

The Chandella king Dhaṅga, who raised his family to the rank of the principal ruling dynasties of the age, was succeeded by his son Gaṇḍa some time after A.D. 1002. Gaṇḍa's son and successor was Vidyādhara whose feudatory, Kachchhapaghāta Arjuna, killed the Pratīhāra Rājyapāla. Once in A.D. 1019, and again in A.D. 1022, Mahmūd of Ghaznī invaded Kālañjara, but could not plunder it. He received a large amount of money from Vidyādhara, and established a friendly relation with him. Vidyādhara fought successfully with the Paramāra Bhoja, and Kalachuri-chandra, who seems to have been no other than Kokalla II of Tripurī. Vidyādhara's son and successor Vijayapāla won a victory over the Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Vijayapāla was succeeded by his son Devendravarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1050. After Devendravarman his younger brother Kīrttivarman ascended the throne some time before A.D. 1073. In the early part of his reign the Kalachuri Karṇa defeated him and occupied his kingdom for some time. But eventually Gopāla, the chief of the vassals of Kīrttivarman, succeeded in defeating Karṇa and reconquering the country for his master. Some time before A.D. 1090 Kīrttivarman fought successfully with Mahmūd, governor of the Punjāb under the Ghaznavids, who invaded Kālañjara. Kīrttivarman, who is described as the crest-jewel of Pītaśaila, and who is known to have resided for some time in the Pīta mountain, fought a battle there with an enemy, who was probably Vapullaka, a general of Kalachuri Karṇa. His minister Vatsarāja wrested from the enemy the whole of the Maṇḍala and built the fort of Kīrttigiri, which, as already mentioned, is identified with Deogarh, in the Jhānsi District, where Kīrttivarman's inscription has been found engraved on a rock. Some gold coins of his reign have been discovered. He was succeeded by his son Sallakshaṇavarman, who plundered Mālava after defeating the Paramāra Naravarman, and won a victory over a Chedi king who was probably the Kalachuri Yaśaḥkarṇa. Sallakshaṇavarman crushed the refractory elements in the Antarvedī (the land between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā), which was then ruled by the Gāhaḍavālas. In or before A.D. 1117 he was succeeded by his son Jayavarman who, after a short reign, abdicated his throne in favour of his uncle Pṛithvīvarman, younger brother of Sallakshaṇavarman. Pṛithvī-

varman was succeeded by his son Madanavarman, the extreme known dates of whose reign are A.D. 1129 and 1163. Madanavarman's inscriptions prove that his kingdom included Bhilsa, Mau in the Jhānsi District, Ajaigarh, 20 miles south-west of Kālañjara, and Chhatarpur, besides Khajrāho (also spelt as Khajurāho), Mahobā, and Kālañjara. He annexed Bhilsa by defeating the Paramāra Yaśovarman. He fought with the Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra, who also claims to have conquered Daśārṇa or the Bhilsa region. He vanquished in a fierce fight the king of Chedi, who is to be identified with the Kalachuri Gayākarṇa. The Chaulukya Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja of Gujarāt invaded Mahobā after his conquest of Dhārā. Madanavarman successfully defended his capital, though he had to surrender Bhilsa to the invader. The coins of Jayavarman, Pṛithvīvarman, and Madanavarman have been found. Madanavarman was succeeded by his grandson Paramardī, son of Yaśovarman, shortly before A.D. 1165.

Inscriptions of Paramardī's reign, which bear dates ranging between A.D. 1165 and 1201, prove that he succeeded in maintaining his paternal kingdom intact for a very long time. The fact that he assumed the title "the lord of Daśārṇa" indicates that he was able to recover Bhilsa from the Chaulukyas some time after A.D. 1173, up to which date it is known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Gujarāt. In or before A.D. 1182 the Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III defeated Paramardī and overran Jejākabhukti-*maṇḍala*. In A.D. 1202 Qutb-ud-dīn invested Kālañjara. After offering some opposition Paramardī concluded a treaty with the Muslim general on condition of payment of tribute and elephants. His minister Aj Deo (Ajayadeva) disapproved of the ignominious conduct of his master, killed him before he could fulfil the treaty conditions, and renewed the fight. Ajayadeva had ultimately to surrender after a valiant defence due to shortage of water in the fort. Qutb-ud-dīn plundered Kālañjara and conquered Mahobā. Hazabbar-ud-dīn Hasan Arnal was appointed governor of Kālañjara.

The Muslims could not keep Kālañjara under their control for a long time. Paramardī's son Trailokyavarman, also known as Trailokyamalla, inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslims at Kakaḍādaha, modern Kakadwa, south-east of Bedwara, some time before A.D. 1205, and recovered all the territories including Kālañjara. His inscriptions, which bear dates from A.D. 1205 to 1241, prove that Lalitpur, Chattarpur State, Panna State, Ajaigarh State, and Rewah State were included in his kingdom. In A.D. 1211-1212 he wrested Rewah, in Baghelkhand, and probably the

whole of Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* from the Kalachuri Vijayasiṁha. Ḍāhala formed a part of the kingdom of his grandson Hammīravarman. *Sāmanta* (feudatory) Sallakshaṇavarman of the Kaurava Vaṁśa, whose headquarters were at Kakareḍikā, modern Kakeri on the border of the Panna and the Rewah States, owed allegiance to the Kalachuris. His son Harirāja and his grandson Kumārapāla transferred their allegiance to Trailokyavarman. One Bhojuka overran Bundelkhand and reduced Trailokyavarman to a critical position. Vāśeka, an officer of Jayadurga *i.e.* Ajaigarh, defeated and killed Bhojuka and "made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of the princely families." Kielhorn identifies Bhojuka with the father of Abhayadeva, who is known to have lived in the neighbourhood of Ajaigarh in or before A.D. 1268 during the reign of the Chandella Vīravarman. Vāśeka's brother Ānanda, who was in charge of Jayadurga, claims to have established peace and order in the kingdom of Trailokyavarman by subduing the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Śabaras, and the Pulindas. Malik Nusrat-ud-dīn Tayasāī, a general of Iltutmish, invaded Kālañjara, and obtained vast wealth by plundering the townships of that territory. Trailokyavarman had not, however, to suffer any loss of territory on that occasion. He was succeeded by his son Vīravarman whose earliest known date is A.D. 1254. Vīravarman's inscriptions prove that he succeeded in maintaining intact the kingdom which he had inherited from his father. His officer Mallaya won victories over Harirāja of Gwālior, Gopāla of Nalapura (Narwar), and the king of Mathurā. His subordinate Rauta Abhi showed great valour in a tussle with Dabhyuhaḍavarman in a battle at Sondhi, which is identified with the Seondha fort, now called Kanhargarh, on the bank of the Sindh river in old Datiā State. Vīravarman was succeeded by Bhojavarman, who was probably his son, some time between A.D. 1285 and 1288. Bhojavarman ruled for a very short period and was succeeded in A.D. 1289 by Hammīravarman, who seems to have been his younger brother. Hammīravarman's inscription, dated A.D. 1289, draws the genealogy from Paramardī, but does not mention the name of Bhojavarman. It gives the title Shāhi to all the Chandella kings it mentions. Hammīravarman's inscriptions prove that he was in possession of the Damoh and Jabalpur Districts, which were situated in the ancient Ḍāhala country. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1308. In A.D. 1309 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī wrested Damoh District from Hammīravarman or his successor. The next known king of Bundelkhand is Vīravarman II, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1315. Nothing is known of the successors of Vīravarman II.

X. THE KALACHURIS

1. *The Kalachuris of Tripurī*

The Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, the country round Jabalpur, in Madhya Pradesh, acquired more power and prestige during the reign of Kokalla II's son Gāṅgeyadeva, who assumed the title *Vikramāditya*. He involved himself in a number of wars with his neighbours for the expansion of his kingdom. He made a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhoja and Rājendra Choḷa, and invaded the Deccan, which was then ruled by the Chālukya Jayasiṁha II. But the Chālukyas succeeded in dispersing them. An inscription, dated A.D. 1019, states that Jayasiṁha defeated Bhoja and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava. This indicates that Gāṅgeyadeva came to the throne before A.D. 1019. He invaded Kosala, and defeated its king, who seems to have been the Somavaṁśī Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. It is known from another source that Mahāśivagupta Yayāti laid waste the Ḍāhala country after defeating the Chedis before the 8th year of his reign. His adversary on that occasion was either Gāṅgeyadeva or his father Kokalla II. After victory over the Somavaṁśīs Gāṅgeyadeva conquered Utkala and reached the shore of the sea. He was assisted in that expedition by Kamalarāja of the Kalachuri family of Tuṁmāṇa. It was probably after this that Gāṅgeyadeva assumed the title 'Trikaliṅgādhipati' or the lord of Trikaliṅga. Subsequently he quarrelled with his former ally Bhoja, who inflicted a defeat on him. His attempt to assert supremacy over Bundelkhand was frustrated by Chandella Vijayapāla. On the north-east, however, he achieved a unique success. He was already in possession of Baghelkhand. Some time before A.D. 1034 he conquered Banaras and annexed it to his kingdom. Banaras formed part of the kingdom of Chandella Dhaṅga but, as suggested above, Pāla Mahīpāla I was probably in possession of it in A.D. 1026, and Gāṅgeyadeva conquered it from him. As about this time Pratīhāra Yaśaḥpāla was in possession of the Allāhābād region, Gāṅgeyadeva could not evidently extend his supremacy beyond Banaras on the west. On the east he led a successful expedition against Aṅga or Bhāgalpur, which was within the kingdom of Mahīpāla I of Gauḍa, but could not annex any part of Magadha or Tīrabhukti. In A.D. 1034 Gāṅgeyadeva had to bear the brunt of an attack of the Muslims. Ahmad Niyāltigīn, governor of the Punjāb under the Ghaznavids, plundered Banaras, and carried away immense riches. Gāṅgeyadeva launched a successful expedition against the Kīra country, modern Kāngrā valley in the Punjāb, which was under the sway of the Muslims.

Gold, silver, and copper coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have been found in large number. He is said to have died in the sacred city of Prayāga

(Allāhābād) along with his one hundred wives. He was succeeded by his son Lakshmīkarṇa better known as Karṇa. The latest definite date of Gāṅgeyadeva's reign is A.D. 1034 when, as Baihaqī tells us, Gāṅgeyadeva was ruling in Banaras. The date of the Piawan rock inscription of his reign is read by Cunningham as (K.E.) 789 (= A.D. 1038), but both Kielhorn and Bhandarkar regard it as doubtful. Karṇa performed the annual *śrāddha* ceremony of his father in A.D. 1042 and this has been taken by some to prove that Gāṅgeyadeva died in A.D. 1041. But this inference can hardly be regarded as correct. Attention may be drawn to the fact that Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra performed in A.D. 1117 the annual *śrāddha* ceremony of his father Madanachandra, who died before A.D. 1114. So the date of Karṇa's accession to the throne is to be placed between A.D. 1034 and 1042.

Karṇa was one of the greatest generals of the age. His inscriptions prove that Banaras and Allāhābād were included in his kingdom and that he occupied Rāḍhā (West Bengal) for some time. He wrested Allāhābād from Pratīhāra Yaśaḥpāla some time after A.D. 1037 and, in course of conquest, reached the Kīra country where he won a victory over the Muslims. His kingdom in U.P. was bounded on the west by that of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Kanauj. On the east he led two expeditions, one against the Pāla Nayapāla, and the other against the latter's son Vigrahapāla III. Both these expeditions eventually proved to be abortive. He concluded a treaty with the Pālas by giving his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vigrahapāla. Though he could not assert his supremacy over any part of the kingdom of the Pālas he succeeded in occupying Rāḍhā probably by defeating king Raṇaśūra or his successor. He invaded Vaṅga, and claims to have conquered it. The king of Vaṅga at this time was Jātavarman who concluded a treaty with him and married his daughter Vīraśrī. The Rewah inscription of Karṇa, dated A.D. 1048, states that "the ship of the king of the Eastern country *(Pūrvāvanirājapota)*, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.* Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants." It means that a king of the eastern country led an aggressive campaign against Karṇa but was repulsed by the latter. According to the lexicographers of this age Pūrva-deśa or the Eastern country lay to the east of Banaras. So it is difficult to ascertain whether the king of the eastern country, referred to, was Nayapāla of Gauḍa, Vajravarman or Jātavarman of Vaṅga, or a successor of Raṇaśūra of Rāḍhā. How long Karṇa succeeded in keeping his hold over Rāḍhā cannot be ascertained. After the decline of the supremacy of Karṇa in that country, the Sena dynasty rose into power.

Karṇa led successful expeditions against Oḍra and Kaliṅga. His adversary in Kaliṅga was Vajrahasta V of the Gaṅga dynasty. He overran Kāñchī-*vishaya*, modern Conjeeveram, Madras, which was then ruled by the Choḷa Rājādhirāja or Rājendradeva. He claims to have defeated the Pallavas (of Noḷambavāḍi), the Kuṅgas of Salem and Coimbatore Districts, Madras, the Muralas of the Malabar coast, and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā. It is not unlikely that the chiefs of all these countries formed a confederacy under the leadership of the Choḷa king, and opposed Karṇa. Karṇa won a victory over the king of Kuntala, who was obviously the Chālukya Someśvara I. His invasion of Southern India and the Deccan must have been completed before A.D. 1048, the date of the Rewah inscription, which mentions his fight with the people of those countries. Some time after A.D. 1051 Karṇa captured Bundelkhand by defeating the Chandella Kīrttivarman. Subsequently Gopāla, a feudatory of the Chandellas, drove him out, and helped Kīrttivarman in regaining his throne. Karṇa raided the Hūṇa-*maṇḍala*, which was situated to the north-west of Mālava. He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Bhīma I of Gujarāt for a simultaneous attack on the kingdom of the Paramāra Bhoja from the east and west. When the battle between the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas on one side and the Paramāras on the other was in progress, Bhoja died of a disease in *c.* A.D. 1055, and Mālava was taken possession of by the invaders. In that difficult circumstance Bhoja's son Jayasiṁha appealed to the Chālukya Someśvara I for help. Someśvara I sent his son Vikramāditya VI to render assistance to the Paramāras. Vikramāditya drove out Karṇa and Bhīma and secured the throne of Mālava for Jayasiṁha. Subsequently a quarrel broke out between Karṇa and Bhīma on the division of the spoils of their victory in Mālava. Bhīma invaded Ḍāhala with a large army and forced Karṇa to surrender to him the golden *maṇḍapikā*, which he had wrested from Bhoja together with elephants and horses. Thus though Karṇa fought a number of battles with many powers far and near, throughout the greater part of his life, he did not get much material advantage from them. Allāhābād is the only country which he succeeded in adding to his paternal kingdom.

Karṇa assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. He built a temple at Banaras and founded a city near Jabalpur. He married Āvalladevī of the Hūṇa family, who gave birth to a son Yaśaḥkarṇa. In his old age Karṇa seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of Yaśaḥkarṇa shortly before A.D. 1073.

In the early part of his reign Yaśaḥkarṇa led two aggressive campaigns, one against Champāraṇya, modern Champāran in North Bihār, and the other against the Andhra country, which was then

ruled by Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He had to fight a number of battles in defence of his kingdom. Jayasiṁha, younger brother of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, raided Ḍāhala before A.D. 1081, while Chandradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty wrested Allāhābād and Banaras. Paramāra Lakshmadeva plundered his capital Tripurī, and encamped on the Revā for some time. The Chandella Sallakshaṇavarman claims to have defeated a king of Chedi, who was in all probability Yaśaḥkarṇa. All these successive foreign invasions weakened the foundation of the Kalachuri kingdom. Yaśaḥkarṇa was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇa some time in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

Gayākarṇa suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chandella Madanavarman. Merutuṅga relates a story that Karṇa, king of Ḍāhala, led an army against king Kumārapāla of Gujarāt. Once in course of his march when he fell asleep on the back of his elephant in the night time his necklace, caught in a branch of a tree, hanged him to death. If there is any truth in the narrative, the Ḍāhala king, referred to, is to be identified with Gayākarṇa, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1151. He was succeeded by his elder son Narasiṁha before A.D. 1155. Some time between A.D. 1159 and 1167 Narasiṁha was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasiṁha. The Kauravas of Kakareḍikā, modern Kakeri, on the border of the Panna and Rewah States, were his vassals. In the early part of his reign Jayasiṁha fought successfully with the king of Gurjara, evidently Chaulukya Kumārapāla, and the king of Kuntala, who is to be identified with the Kalachuri Bijjala of the Deccan. About this time he repulsed an attack of the Turushkas. This Turushka invasion is obviously the one led by Khusrav Malik which was repulsed by the Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra. It cannot be said definitely whether Jayasiṁha made a common cause with the Gāhaḍavālas against the Muslims on that occasion. Some time between A.D. 1177 and 1180 Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son Vijayasiṁha, the last known king of this branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. Inscriptions of Vijayasiṁha's reign prove that he succeeded in maintaining his hold over Baghelkhand and the Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala* up to A.D. 1211, but within a year Chandella Trailokyavarman wrested from him Baghelkhand, and possibly the whole of the Ḍāhala-*maṇḍala*. He had a son, named Mahākumāra Ajayasiṁha, but nothing is known of him.

2. *The Kalachuris of Ratanpur*

Kaliṅgarāja, a remote descendant of one of the younger sons of Kokalla I, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī, conquered Dakshiṇa-Kosala and established his capital at Tuṁmāṇa, modern

village of Tumana, in the Lapha *zamindari,* Bilāspur District, Madhya Pradesh, in the early years of the eleventh century. He ruled there as a feudatory of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. His son and successor Kamalarāja helped his overlord Kalachuri Gāṅgeya-deva in conquering Utkala. Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja, who founded the city of Ratnapura, modern Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilāspur. Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Pṛithvīdeva, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1079. It was probably during his reign that Ratanpur was made the second capital of his family. His son and successor Jājalladeva I, who issued an inscription in A.D. 1114, became independent during the latter part of Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign when the power of the Kalachuris of Tripurī began to decline. He was in friendly relation with Gāha-ḍavāla Govindachandra and Chandella Sallakshaṇavarman. He took as prisoner Someśvara, the Nāga ruler of Chakrakoṭa (in the Bastar State), who had occupied a part of Dakshiṇa-Kosala. He invaded Orissa and defeated Bhujavala, the chief of Suvarṇapura, modern Sonpur. He claims to have received tributes from the chiefs of the *Maṇḍalas* of Dakshiṇa-Kosala, Andhra, Khimiḍī, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa. Khimiḍī is Khimidi in the Ganjām District, Orissa; Vairāgara is Wairagarh in the Chāndā District, Madhya Pradesh; Lañjikā is Lanji in the Bālāghāt District, Madhya Pradesh; and Daṇḍakapura may be identified with Daṇḍaka on the border of Seuṇa-*deśa.* It is hardly likely that he levied any tribute from Andhra, which was within the kingdom of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I. Jājalladeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II before A.D. 1126.

Ratnadeva II repulsed an attack of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, who was joined by one Jaṭeśvara, and of Gokarṇa, a feudatory of the Kākatīya Prola II; and his minister Jagapāla conquered for him Talahāra-*bhūmi.* He was succeeded by his son Pṛithvīdeva II some time between A.D. 1128 and 1141. Pṛithvīdeva II also repulsed an attack of king Jaṭeśvara, and his minister Jagapāla conquered the forts of Sarahāragaḍh, Mavakāsiha(vā), and Bhramaravadra-*deśa,* and took Kāntāra, Kusuma-*bhoga,* Kandāse(hva)ra, and Kākayara-*deśa.* His younger son Jājalla II succeeded him after A.D. 1158, and this new king's reign period covered the years A.D. 1161 to 1167. Jājalla II succeeded in averting the trouble created by one Dhīrū, who reduced him to such a critical position that he was about to lose his sovereignty. He was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva who lived, before his accession, in the Eastern country *(prāg-deśa).* Some time before A.D. 1181 Jagaddeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva III, who was followed on the throne by his sons Pṛithvīdeva III and Pratāpamalla in

succession. Pratāpamalla was a boy at the time of his accession and his kingdom seems to have been invaded by Vishṇu, a minister of the Gaṅga Anaṅga-Bhīma III of Kaliṅga. He reigned at least up to A.D. 1218, but nothing definitely is known of his successor.

Petty chiefs of a Kalachuri family are known to have ruled in the region of Kasiā in the Gorakhpur District, U.P., from the ninth to twelfth century A.D.

XI. THE PARAMĀRAS

1. *The Paramāras of Mālava*

The Paramāras, who consolidated their power and position under Muñja and Sindhurāja,[19] rose to imperial rank during the reign of Sindhurāja's son and successor Bhoja, who ascended the throne of Mālava in *c.* A.D. 1000. Inscriptions of his reign bear dates ranging from A.D. 1020 to 1047, and his kingdom extended up to Chitor, Bānswāra, Dungarpur, Bhilsa, Khāndesh, Konkan, and upper courses of the Godāvarī. In the early part of his reign he made a confederacy with the Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva and Rājendra Choḷa of Tanjore for an invasion of the kingdom of the Chālukya Jayasiṁha of Kalyāṇa. Though he and his allies at first won some victories they were ultimately routed by Jayasiṁha. Jayasiṁha's son Someśvara I, who came to the throne of the Deccan in A.D. 1042, avenged himself of the wrong done to his father by plundering Dhārā, Ujjain, and Māndu, and forcing Bhoja to flee away from his capital.

During his southern campaign Bhoja inflicted a defeat on Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, or Nagara, modern Mukhalingam, in the Ganjām District, Orissa. He probably fought this battle in association with Rājendra Choḷa, who also claims to have defeated this ruler of Ādinagara. In A.D. 1020 Bhoja conquered Koṅkaṇa, apparently by defeating the Śilāhāra Keśideva, and annexed it to his kingdom. Kīrttirāja of the Chaulukya dynasty of Lāṭa or southern Gujarāt, whose kingdom lay to the north of that of the Śilāhāras, had also to bear the brunt of his sword. Bhoja's attempt to assert his supremacy over Bundelkhand was frustrated by Chandella Vidyādhara. Bhoja made an alliance with Kachchhapaghāta Abhimanyu of Dubkund and received military assistance from him in his northern campaigns. He tried to capture Gwālior but was stoutly resisted by the Kachchhapaghāta Kīrttirāja. About this time he seems to have come into clash with the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Kānyakubja, but could not gain any material advantage over them. He invaded Śākambharī and forced Chāhamāna Vīryarāma to submit. His endeavour to conquer Nāḍol, in southern Mārwār, by defeating

the Chāhamānas met with disaster. The Chāhamāna Aṇahilla killed his general Sāḍha, and routed the Paramāra army. Bhoja's general Surāditya claims to have stabilised the royal fortune of Bhoja by killing one Sāhavāhana in the battle. In A.D. 1008 Bhoja sent an army to help the Shāhi Ānandapāla against Mahmūd of Ghaznī. About A.D. 1019 he gave shelter to Ānandapāla's son Trilochanapāla, who was hard pressed by Mahmūd. In A.D. 1043 he seems to have joined a confederacy of the Hindu chiefs and conquered Hānsī, Thāneswar, Nagarkot and other dependencies of the Muslims and besieged the fortress of Lahore for seven months.[20] Bhoja's contribution to the defence of Northern India against the incursions of the Muslims was remembered by the Gāhaḍavālas even long after his death.[21]

Bhoja's relation with his western neighbour, the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, was anything but friendly. In the early part of his reign he humiliated the Chaulukya Chāmuṇḍarāja, son of Mūlarāja, by forcing him to give up his royal robe when the latter was passing through Mālava in course of his pilgrimage to Banaras. Chāmuṇḍarāja's two sons Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja naturally assumed a hostile attitude towards the Paramāras. Bhoja sacked Aṇahillapāṭaka, the capital of Gujarāt, during the reign of Durlabharāja's successor Bhīma I, who had wrested Mt. Abu from the Paramāra Dhandhuka, a protégé of Bhoja. Bhīma, probably realising that he alone would not be able to cope with the Paramāras, looked for an ally. Fortunately for him Bhoja also antagonised his eastern neighbour, the Kalachuris of Tripurī, by waging war against his former confederate the Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva, who had to yield to his forces. Now Bhīma found a good ally in Gāṅgeyadeva's son Karṇa against Bhoja, and invaded Mālava. While engaged in conducting the war against his neighbours in the east and in the west, Bhoja died of a disease, and Mālava fell into the hands of the Kalachuris and Chaulukyas in c. A.D. 1055.

Though Bhoja fought numerous battles throughout his reign he could not acquire any new territory except Koṅkaṇa. He was not only a great soldier but also an erudite scholar. The authorship of more than twenty-three books on varied subjects is ascribed to him. He established schools for the education of his subjects. Dhanapāla, Uvaṭa, and many other men of letters lived in his court. He founded a city named Bhojapura and built a large number of temples in honour of Śiva. All these attainments of Bhoja in different spheres of life establish his claim to be regarded as one of the greatest kings of mediaeval India. He was succeeded by Jayasiṁha, who was probably his son.

Jayasiṁha got back his throne with the help of prince Vikramāditya VI of the Deccan, who forced the Chaulukyas and the Kalachuris to leave Mālava. Henceforward Jayasiṁha became a staunch ally of Vikramāditya. He accompanied the Chālukya prince in his invasion of the Andhra country and occupied Veṅgī. The Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII eventually drove them out of the Andhra country with the help of the Choḷa Vīrarājendra. Jayasiṁha, by establishing friendly relation with Vikramāditya, antagonised king Someśvara II, who suspected that his younger brother Vikramāditya was conspiring against him. In order to punish Jayasiṁha king Someśvara II made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa, son of Bhīma I of Gujarāt, and invaded Mālava. In the battle that followed Jayasiṁha lost his life and Mālava was occupied by Someśvara II and Karṇa. In that serious situation Udayāditya, a brother or cousin of Bhoja, sought help from the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī. He recovered Mālava after inflicting a severe defeat on the invaders with the help of the cavalry which the Chāhamāna Vigraharāja III had sent to his assistance.

The inscriptions of Udayāditya's reign bear dates A.D. 1080 and 1086. His kingdom extended at least up to the Nimār District on the south, Jhālawār State on the north, and Bhilsa on the east. He built the famous temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Udepur, in Bhilsa. He had a number of sons and, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1104, two of them, Lakshmadeva and Naravarman, ruled one after the other after his death.

Lakshmadeva's name is not found in any other record. He raided Gauḍa which was then under the supremacy of the Kaivartas, and plundered Aṅga and Kaliṅga, which were respectively ruled by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Mathanadeva and Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. During this campaign he seems to have come into clash with the Choḷa Kulottuṅga I whose kingdom extended up to Andhra. The statement that he conquered Pāṇḍya and Ceylon is an obvious exaggeration. He won a victory over the Kalachuri Yaśaḥkarṇa and repulsed an attack of Mahmūd, governor of the Punjāb, when the latter invaded Ujjain. On the north he is said to have led his army to the Kīra country, *i.e.* Kāngrā valley in the Punjāb.

It is known from various contemporary records that Udayāditya had a son named Jagaddeva, who is mentioned in some Hoysala inscriptions as the Emperor of Mālava. As regards his military achievements it is known that he invaded Dorasamudra in alliance with Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, but was ultimately repulsed by the sons of Hoysala Ereyaṅga. He conquered Chakradurga in old Bastar State, and defeated the kings of Malahara and the Andhra country.

He also defeated near Mt. Abu the king of Gurjara, who may be identified with Chaulukya Karṇa. There are good grounds for assuming that Lakshmadeva and Jagaddeva are identical. Jagaddeva was the youngest of the sons of Udayāditya. After a rule of some years he abdicated his throne, apparently in favour of Naravarman, "for fear of incurring the sin of superseding the elder brother." On being invited by Vikramāditya VI he went to the Chālukya court and lived there for some time. After his abdication he ruled, at least up to A.D. 1112, the southern part of the Paramāra kingdom which included the Yeotmāl District in Berār and Adilābād District in the Hyderābād State. The *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* states that Jagaddeva was given a province to rule by Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddeva's military valour was proverbial and formed the theme of many romantic stories in the folk-lore of Western India in the subsequent ages.

Naravarman, who assumed the title *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa,* ascended the throne of Mālava before A.D. 1094, which is the earliest known date of his reign. His kingdom extended up to old Bundi State on the north, and Chāndā District, Madhya Pradesh, on the south. The Nāgpur region, which was under the sway of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1087, passed into his hands before A.D. 1104. Naravarman had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the Chandella Sallakshaṇavarman and the Chāhamāna Ajayadeva of Śākambharī, who took prisoner Sulhaṇa, the commander of the Mālava army. A Pallava general under Vikrama Choḷa claims to have won a victory over a Mālava king, who was in all probability Naravarman. But Naravarman received the most severe blow from the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt. After fighting for twelve years with Chaulukya Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja he fell a prisoner in his hands. He succeeded no doubt in securing his release, but his discomfiture on this occasion shook the foundation of the imperial power of the Paramāras. He gave shelter to Bhikshāchāra, a fugitive from the court of Kāshmir, in or after A.D. 1128. He was a poet and patron of men of letters.

Yaśovarman, who succeeded his father Naravarman before A.D. 1133, inherited a kingdom which was greatly shattered by the invasion of the Chaulukyas. It produced disruptive forces which he failed to control. One Vijayapāla established an independent principality in the Dewās State in the heart of Mālava. Chandella Madanavarman forcibly occupied the Bhilsa region. Last of all the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, accompanied by the Chāhamāna Āśārāja of Nāḍol, fell on him and took him prisoner. Jayasiṁha annexed the whole of Mālava, and assumed the title *Avantināṭha.* Mālava remained under the sway of Jayasiṁha up to A.D. 1138.

What happened to Yaśovarman is not definitely known, but his son Jayavarman seems to have succeeded in recovering Mālava during the closing years of Jayasiṁha's reign. He issued an inscription from his residence at Vardhamānapura, which cannot be identified. He could not retain Mālava under his control for a long period. Chālukya Jagadekamalla of Kalyāṇa and the Hoysala Narasiṁha I invaded Mālava, destroyed his power, and seem to have placed one Ballāla on the throne of that country. Shortly after A.D. 1143 the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, successor of Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, dethroned Ballāla, and annexed the whole of Mālava up to Bhilsa to his kingdom.

For nearly twenty years Mālava remained a part and parcel of the kingdom of Gujarāt. During this period the princes of the Paramāra dynasty, designated as the *'Mahākumāras,'* ruled Bhopāl and the districts of Nimār, Hoshangābād and Khāndesh as petty rulers. But in the seventh decade of the twelfth century Vindhyavarman, son of the Paramāra Jayavarman, recovered Mālava by defeating the Chaulukya Mūlarāja II.

Vindhyavarman could not rule his newly conquered ancestral kingdom in peace. The decline of the power of the Chālukyas in the Deccan gave him no relief as the Hoysalas and the Yādavas, the successors of the Chālukyas, led successive invasions against Mālava. Some time before A.D. 1190 Vindhyavarman, in alliance with the Choḷas, invaded the Hoysala territory in order to crush the growing power of the Hoysalas, but Ballāla II succeeded in repulsing them. Yādava Bhillama plundered Mālava some time before A.D. 1189.

In spite of all these, Vindhyavarman ultimately succeeded in repulsing his enemies, and when he died, shortly after A.D. 1193, the Paramāra kingdom was firmly consolidated. His son and successor Subhaṭavarman turned his arms against the kingdom of Gujarāt which began to decline after the death of Ajayapāla. He forced the Chaulukya feudatory, Siṁha of Lāṭa, to transfer his allegiance to him. He plundered a large number of Jain temples at Dabhoi and Cambay, stormed Aṇahillapāṭaka, and reached Somanātha with his army. There his progress was checked by Śrīdhara, the governor of that place under Bhīma II. Eventually Bhīma's minister Lavaṇaprasāda forced him to withdraw from Gujarāt. Subhaṭavarman had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Yādava Jaitugi. He was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman before A.D. 1210.

Arjunavarman fought successfully with Jayasiṁha, who had usurped the throne of Gujarāt for some time by dethroning Bhīma II. Arjunavarman's marriage with the daughter of Jayasiṁha, following a battle between the two kings, is the main theme of the drama

named *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī,* composed by Arjunavarman's preceptor Madana. Arjunavarman, like his predecessors, miserably failed in his contest with the Yādavas, who were then led by king Siṅghaṇa. In this encounter Arjunavarman's feudatory Sindhurāja, brother of Siṁha of Lāṭa, lost his life. Arjunavarman wrote a number of books and his court was graced by Madana, Āśādhara, and many other men of learning. Some time between A.D. 1215 and 1218 he was succeeded by Devapāla, son of *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, grandson of *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman, who was the younger brother of Jayavarman.

Devapāla's kingdom extended from Broach District, Bombay, to Bhilsa, and included Nimār and Hoshangābād Districts. Siṅghaṇa, the Yādava king, attacked Lāṭa and took prisoner Devapāla's vassal Saṁgrāmasiṁha, also known as Śaṅkha, son of Sindhurāja. Śaṅkha was released and a treaty was concluded between Siṅghaṇa and Devapāla. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the absence of the Chaulukya minister Vīradhavala, who went to the north to resist an invasion of the Muslims, Devapāla and Śaṅkha, in alliance with Siṅghaṇa, attacked southern Gujarāt. Vastupāla, governor of Cambay under Vīradhavala, averted the danger by bringing about a dissension between Devapāla and Siṅghaṇa with the help of secret emissaries. Subsequently Vīradhavala wrested Broach from Śaṅkha. Mālava was invaded by the Muslims during Devapāla's reign. In A.D. 1233 Iltutmish captured Bhilsa and plundered Ujjain, but the Muslim victory was shortlived. Devapāla was succeeded by his son Jaitugideva before A.D. 1243.

During the reign of Jaitugi Mālava suffered a series of invasions. Kṛishṇa, the Yādava king, raided Mālava; in A.D. 1250 Balban invaded it and, about the same time, Vāghela Vīsaladeva, king of Gujarāt, sacked Dhārā. Jaitugi was succeeded by his younger brother Jayavarman II before A.D. 1256. After Jayavarman II the succession of the Paramāra kings can be traced only with the help of the known dates of the kings who followed him, but their relation with one another cannot be ascertained. The next known king after Jayavarman II is Jayasiṁha II, who was ruling in A.D. 1269 and 1274.[22] The kingdom of Jayasiṁha II was invaded by the Chāhamāna Jaitrasiṁha of Ranthambhor. The Paramāra army was worsted by the Chāhamānas at Jhampāithāghaṭṭa, and Jayasiṁha himself was forced to retire to the fort of Maṇḍapa (Māndu). After his death in *c.* A.D. 1270 a quarrel broke out between his successor Arjunavarman II, who was probably his son, and his minister. After a severe contest each of them occupied a part of Mālava. During the reign of Arjunavarman II the Chāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthambhor, the Yādava Rāmachandra, and the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva in-

vaded Mālava. The next known king after Arjunavarman II is Bhoja II, who came to the throne shortly after A.D. 1283. During his reign Mālava was again plundered by the Chāhamāna Hammīra, and Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī also carried on depredation in that country. After Bhoja II we find Mahlak Deo ruling in Mālava in A.D. 1305 when 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī invaded the country. Mahlak Deo, having lost his general Kokadeva in the battle, took shelter in the fort of Māndu. There he was killed by 'Alā-ud-dīn's general 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Mālava was finally conquered by the Muslims.

2. *Minor Branches of the Paramāras in Rājputāna*

(i) Mt. Abu

In the latter part of the tenth century Vākpati-Muñja, king of Mālava, placed his son Araṇyarāja on the throne of Mt. Abu, Sirohi State, Rājputāna, with its capital at Chandrāvatī. Araṇyarāja's successors were Kṛishṇarāja, Dharaṇīvarāha, Mahīpāla *alias* Dhruvabhaṭa (A.D. 1002), and Dhandhuka. Dhandhuka was dethroned by the Chaulukya Bhīma I of Gujarāt before A.D. 1030, but was subsequently restored to power by the Chaulukya king at the request of Vimala of the Prāgvāṭa family. Dhandhuka had three sons, Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman, and Kṛishṇa II, all of whom ascended the throne one after the other. Pūrṇapāla (A.D. 1042, 1045) declared independence, but Bhīma I brought Mt. Abu again under his control in the later part of his reign. Since then the country remained a part and parcel of the Chaulukya kingdom. Kṛishṇa II was succeeded by Dantivarman's son Yogarāja, who was succeeded by his son Rāmadeva. After the reign of Rāmadeva the throne of Mt. Abu seems to have been usurped by Kṛishṇa II's son Kākaladeva, who was succeeded by his son Vikramasiṁha. Vikramasiṁha revolted against the Chaulukyas but was defeated and thrown into prison by king Kumārapāla, who then placed Rāmadeva's son Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mt. Abu. Yaśodhavala, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1145 and 1150, fought with Ballāla, king of Mālava, on behalf of his overlord Kumārapāla, and killed him. He was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarsha some time before A.D. 1063. Dhārāvarsha helped Kumārapāla in his war against Mallikārjuna of Koṅkaṇa, and his younger brother Prahlādana saved the power and prestige of the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla, by defeating the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha of Medapāṭa. It is stated that Raṇasiṁha, son of the Paramāra Vikramasiṁha, defeated the warriors of Mālava on the banks of the Parlā and obtained Antarā. It is further stated that Dhārāvarsha got back his territory through the favour of Raṇasiṁha. It may only be suggested that Raṇasiṁha, son of the deposed Vik-

ramasiṁha, usurped the throne of Mt. Abu some time after the death of Kumārapāla, but restored Dhārāvarsha to power after a short reign. Dhārāvarsha repulsed an attack of the Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III against Bhīma II of Gujarāt. In A.D. 1197 he suffered a defeat at the hands of Qutb-ud-dīn's general Khusrav near the foot of Mt. Abu. He helped Vīradhavala of Gujarāt in repulsing an attack of Sultān Iltutmish, and was succeeded by his younger brother Prahlādana after A.D. 1219. Prahlādana is the author of the drama *Pārtha-parākrama*. Some time before A.D. 1230 Prahlādana was succeeded by Dhārāvarsha's son Somasiṁha, who declared independence. Somasiṁha's son and successor was Kṛishṇarāja. Kṛishṇarāja's son Pratāpasiṁha, also known as Pātala, reconquered, with the help of the Vāghelas, his paternal throne, which was occupied by Guhila Samarasiṁha. He ruled his kingdom as a vassal of the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva, and was succeeded by his son Arjuna, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1290. Some time before A.D. 1320 Mt. Abu passed into the hands of Chāhamāna Luṇṭiga of South Mārwār.

(ii) Vāgaḍa

In the middle of the tenth century A.D. Dhanika, a remote descendant of Ḍambarasiṁha, younger son of Upendra,[23] founded a kingdom in Vāgaḍa, modern Bānswāra and Dungarpur States, the capital of which was Utthūṇaka, modern Arthuna in the Bānswāra State. Dhanika's successor Chachcha fought on the side of Sīyaka II against Rāshṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga, and lost his life in the battle. Chachcha was followed by Chaṇḍapa and Satyarāja one after the other. Satyarāja assisted Bhoja in his war against the Chaulukyas. After Satyarāja ruled Limbarāja, Maṇḍalika (A.D. 1059), Chāmuṇḍarāja (A.D. 1079, 1100), and Vijayarāja (A.D. 1108-09). About the middle of the twelfth century Vāgaḍa was occupied by the Guhilas.

(iii) Jālor (Jābālipura)

Vākpati-Muñja's son Chandana was the first king of the Jālor branch of the Paramāra family. He was followed in succession by Devarāja, Aparājita, Vijjala, Dhārāvarsha, and Vīsala (A.D. 1117). The last known king of the family is Kuṁtapāla, who had to surrender Jālor to the Chāhamāna Kīrttipāla of Nāḍol in the latter part of the twelfth century.

(iv) Bhinmāl

Sindhurāja's son Dūsala is the founder of the Bhinmāl branch of the Paramāra dynasty. In the early years of the eleventh century Devarāja of this family obtained Maru-*maṇḍala* from the Chāhamāna

Durlabharāja of Śākambharī. Kṛishṇarāja (A.D. 1060, 1066), grandson of Devarāja, was put into prison by the Chaulukya Bhīma I. He was released by the Chāhamāna Bālaprasāda of Nāḍol and ruled as an independent king. After Kṛishṇarāja his son Sochharāja, Udayarāja and his son Someśvara (A.D. 1140, 1161) occupied the throne. Udayarāja's might is said to have spread as far as Choḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Mālava, but his son Someśvara is said to have regained his lost kingdom through the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja. The next known king after Someśvara is Jayatasiṁha (A.D. 1182), who seems to have been succeeded by Salakha. In the early years of the thirteenth century Bhinmāl came under the supremacy of the Chāhamānas of Southern Mārwār.

XII. THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARĀT

By the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the Chaulukyas had firmly established themselves in Gujarāt. In A.D. 1009-10, king Chāmuṇḍarāja, after the death of his son Vallabharāja, handed the sovereignty over to his second son Durlabharāja to whom Chāhamāna Mahendra gave his sister in marriage in a *svayaṁvara sabhā* (an assembly for the selection of bridegroom) at Nāḍol. The chiefs of Mālava, Mathurā, Hūṇa country etc., the disappointed suitors for the hand of the princess, attacked Durlabha on his way back to his own country, but he defeated them all. He plundered Lāṭa, which was then ruled by Kīrttirāja (A.D. 1018), son of Goṅgirāja, and grandson of the Chaulukya Bārappa. Lāṭa was not, however, annexed to the kingdom of the Chaulukyas on that occasion. After Kīrttirāja his son Vatsarāja and his grandson Trilochanapāla ruled Lāṭa at least up to A.D. 1051. In his old age in *c.* A.D. 1022, Durlabha abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew Bhīmadeva I, son of Nāgadeva.

Bhīma had to suffer a great disaster three years after his accession. In A.D. 1025 Mahmūd of Ghaznī overran Gujarāt and plundered Somanātha. Bhīma had fled to Kaṇṭhakoṭ in Kutch at the approach of the Muslim army, but returned to his capital after the departure of the invader. Some time before A.D. 1031 he wrested Mt. Abu from Paramāra Dhandhuka, and appointed Vimala of the Prāgvāṭa family as its governor. Vimala built there the famous temple of Ādinātha. Subsequently Bhīma restored Dhandhuka to power, whose son Pūrṇapāla is known to have been ruling there in A.D. 1042 as an independent chief. The Mt. Abu inscription of Bhīma, dated A.D. 1062, proves that the country again passed into his hands in the closing years of his reign. It remained a part of the kingdom of Gujarāt till the end of the thirteenth century. Bhīma annexed Bhinmāl and threw its ruler, the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja, into prison.

His attempts to assert his supremacy over southern Mārwār were, however, baffled by the Chāhamāna Ahila of Nāḍol and the latter's successor Aṇahilla. Aṇahilla's son Bālaprasāda forced him to release Kṛishṇarāja. The *Dvyāśraya* relates that Bhīma went to the Punjāb, crossed the Sindhu by means of a stone bridge built by him, and defeated Hammuka, ruler of Sindh. Merutuṅga relates that during this time, taking advantage of Bhīma's absence, the Paramāra Bhoja's general Kulachandra plundered Aṇahillapāṭaka. After his return to Gujarāt Bhīma sent batches of soldiers to Mālava from time to time for marauding purposes. It has been noticed above that in the middle of the eleventh century Bhīma and his ally the Kalachuri Karṇa made an organised attack on Mālava. Bhīma's final battle with Bhoja and his subsequent quarrel with Karṇa have been noticed above.[24] The statement in the *Dvyāśraya* that he won victories over Bhadrabhat, the ruler of the distant Gajabandh *deśa,* and defeated the kings of Daśārṇa, Kāśī, Ayodhyā, and Yantri *deśa* does not find support in any other record. The same source relates that the rulers of Puṇḍra and Andhra entered into friendly relation with him.

Bhīma had three sons, Mūlarāja, Kshemarāja, and Karṇa. Mūlarāja predeceased his father, and Kshemarāja, whose mother was of low birth, declined to ascend the throne. So Bhīma handed the sovereignty over to Karṇa in *c.* A.D. 1064, and retired to a place of pilgrimage for penance.

The kingdom of Karṇa, who assumed the title *Trailokyamalla,* extended on the south up to Navsāri, in Bombay State. In alliance with the Karṇāṭas, he conquered Mālava by defeating and killing Paramāra Jayasiṁha, but was ultimately repulsed by the Paramāra Udayāditya. In the latter part of his reign he had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Paramāra Jagaddeva. He subdued a Bhilla chief named Āśā, residing at Āśāpallī, modern Asaval, near Ahmadābād. His invasion of Southern Mārwār was repulsed by the Chāhamāna Pṛithvīpāla of Nāḍol. He married Mayaṇalladevī, the daughter of the Kadamba Jayakeśin, king of Goa, and was succeeded by his minor son Jayasiṁha in *c.* A.D. 1094. Mayaṇalladevī acted as a regent for her son for some time.

Jayasiṁha, who assumed the title *Siddharāja,* was one of the greatest kings of his dynasty. Inscriptions of his reign prove that his kingdom extended up to Bali in Jodhpur and Sāmbhar in Jaipur on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and Kāthiāwār and Kutch on the west. He put down the revolt of the non-Aryan Barbara, who was troubling the ascetics of Siddhapura. After a protracted battle he defeated and imprisoned Navaghana, the chief of the Ābhīras of

Saurāshṭra, and appointed his *Daṇḍādhipati* Sajjana governor of that country. On the north he annexed Bhinmāl by defeating the Paramāras before A.D. 1129, and continued his hereditary fight with the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol. It seems that when Jayasiṁha was young, Chāhamāna Jojalla sacked Aṇahillapāṭaka. Jojalla's successor Āśārāja submitted to Jayasiṁha and ruled his territory as his vassal. Jayasiṁha pushed his arms further north and conquered Śākambharī, modern Sāmbhar, after defeating the Chāhamāna Arṇorāja. He gave his daughter in marriage to Arṇorāja and allowed him to rule his territory as his vassal. He conquered Vāgaḍa, and being assisted by Āśārāja of Nāḍol, invaded Mālava. After a long-drawn battle he took Paramāra Naravarman prisoner, but subsequently released him. Some time before A.D. 1138 he took Naravarman's son Yaśovarman prisoner and annexed Avanti to his kingdom. He invaded Kālañjara and Mahobā, and forced the Chandella Madanavarman to surrender Bhilsa to him. On the south Jayasiṁha came into conflict with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇa and won a victory over him. He was in friendly relation with the king of Ḍāhala, who seems to have been Gayākarṇa. During the closing years of his reign Jayasiṁha could not keep his control over some of the newly annexed territories. The Paramāra Jayavarman, son of Yaśovarman, became independent in Mālava, and the Chāhamāna Āśārāja of Nāḍol, having freed himself from the control of the Chaulukyas, declared hostility against Jayasiṁha.

Jayasiṁha was a devotee of Śiva and built the temple of Rudra-Mahākāla at Siddhapura. He established schools for learning *Jyotisha Śāstra, Nyāya Śāstra,* and *Purāṇa,* and his court was graced by the great Jain scholar Hemachandra. The last known date of Jayasiṁha is V.S. 1200 (= A.D. 1143). He had no son, and Kumārapāla, the great-grandson of Kshemarāja, who was a son of Bhīma I by a concubine, was a claimant to the throne. In view of the low origin of Kumārapāla Jayasiṁha did not approve of his claim, and adopted Bāhaḍa, the son of his minister Udayana, as his successor. Kumārapāla's father Tribhuvanapāla was killed, and he was driven into exile. But after the death of Jayasiṁha, some time between A.D. 1143 and 1145, Kumārapāla secured the throne for himself with the help of the Jains and his brother-in-law Kṛishṇa. Bāhaḍa fled to Śākambharī, and took service under the Chāhamānas.

The inscriptions of Kumārapāla's reign show that his kingdom extended up to Barmer in Mallani, Pāli in Jodhpur, and Chitor in Udaipur on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and Kāthiāwār on the west. Immediately after his accession Kumārapāla put to death the ministers who conspired to kill him, and blinded for insolence his sister's husband Kṛishṇa, who had helped him in securing the throne.

In the early part of his reign he was threatened with invasions by his northern and eastern neighbours. The Chāhamāna Arṇorāja of Sākambharī took up the cause of Bāhaḍa and made an alliance with Ballāla, king of Ujjain, and the chiefs ruling on the banks of the Para river against Kumārapāla. Arṇorāja and Ballāla made a simultaneous attack on Gujarāt from the north and the east. Kumārapāla despatched his generals Vijaya and Kṛishṇa against Ballāla, and himself marched with an army to meet Arṇorāja. Arṇorāja received a severe wound in the battle, and concluded peace which was cemented by the marriage of his daughter to the Chaulukya king. Kumārapāla then attacked Mt. Abu, dethroned Paramāra Vikramasiṁha, who had become hostile to him during his war with the Chāhamānas, and made the nephew of the latter, Paramāra Yaśodhavala, its king some time before A.D. 1145. He, then, along with Yaśodhavala, joined his generals Vijaya and Kṛishṇa, who were fighting with Ballāla. Ballāla was killed in the battle and the whole of Mālava up to Bhilsa was again annexed to the kingdom of Gujarāt. At this time Suṁvara, a chief of Saurāshṭra, revolted, and the Chaulukya minister Udayana lost his life in an attempt to put him down. Kumārapāla sent another contingent to Saurāshṭra and brought Suṁvara under his control. The Chāhamāna Āhlādana, son of Āśārāja of Nāḍol, gave him substantial help on this occasion and probably in recognition of this service he gave him Kirāṭakūpa (near Barmer) and some other territories to rule. Kumārapāla defeated Rājyapāla of Nāḍol and handed the kingdom over to his *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva, who administered it from c. A.D. 1154 to c. A.D. 1159. Paramāra Someśvara of Bhinmāl, whose kingdom extended up to Kirāḍu, acknowledged his sway. In A.D. 1150 Kumārapāla led an aggressive campaign against the Chāhamāna Arṇorāja of Śākambharī, as the latter had insulted his queen, the daughter of the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha. He devastated the Sapādalaksha country and defeated Arṇorāja, but allowed him to rule his territory. Some time between A.D. 1160 and 1162 he despatched his minister Ambaḍa with a large army against Mallikārjuna of Koṅkaṇa, who was killed and whose kingdom was annexed to Gujarāt. The Paramāra Dhārāvarsha and prince Someśvara, second son of the Chāhamāna Arṇorāja, assisted the Chaulukya army in this battle.

The Jain chronicles of Gujarāt claim that Kumārapāla came under the influence of Hemachandra, the erudite Jain scholar and author of a large number of books, who lived in his court, and embraced Jainism. This is corroborated by an epigraphic record which further shows that the king changed his creed before A.D. 1164. The Gujarāt chroniclers state that the king forbade animal sacrifice, and his order was obeyed in Saurāshṭra, Lāṭa,

Mālava, Ābhīra, Medapāṭa, Meru, and Sapādalaksha. The Brāhmaṇas, who were not allowed to violate this order, had to offer sacrifices of grains. There are epigraphic records to prove that Kumārapāla's feudatories in Southern Mārwār issued order prohibiting the slaughter of animals. The inscriptions of Kumārapāla show that though he changed his creed, he was reverential to his family deity Śiva, and built temples for both the Jains and the Brāhmaṇas. He abrogated the law empowering the State to confiscate the property of those who died intestate, and stopped gambling, which was very popular both with the nobles and the common people.

After the death of Kumārapāla in A.D. 1171-72 there was a struggle for the throne between his sister's son Pratāpamalla, who was apparently backed by the Jains, and Ajayapāla, son of Kumārapāla's brother Mahīpāla, who seems to have been supported by the Brāhmaṇas. Ajayapāla came out victorious, and ascended the throne. He maintained his control over the kingdom of Mālava, which extended up to Bhilsa on the east, and Pūrṇa-Pathaka, on the bank of the Purna, on the south. He led an army against Śākambharī and forced its king Someśvara to surrender to him a golden *maṇḍapikā* as a tribute. The Guhila chief Sāmantasiṁha of Mewār invaded Gujarāt and wounded Ajayapāla in the battle. On that occasion the Paramāra Prahlādana, younger brother of Dhārāvarsha of Mt. Abu, saved the prestige of the Chaulukya king by inflicting defeat on the invader. The Jain chronicles allege that Ajayapāla was a persecutor of the Jains, that he demolished Jain temples, mercilessly executed the Jain scholar Rāmachandra, and killed Ambaḍa, a minister of Kumārapāla, in an encounter.

Ajayapāla lost his life at the hands of the Pratīhāra Vayajaladeva in *c.* A.D. 1176, and was succeeded by his young son Mūlarāja II, whose mother, queen Nāīkidevī, the daughter of the Kadamba Paramardin, king of Goa, acted as regent. In A.D. 1178 Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī attacked the kingdom of Gujarāt. Nāīkidevī, "taking her son (Mūlarāja) in her lap," led the Chaulukya army against the Muslims and defeated them at Gadaraghaṭṭa near the foot of Mt. Abu. Though the Muslim historians mention the name of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī's adversary on this occasion as Bhīma (II), the overwhelming internal evidence leaves no doubt that the battle was fought during the reign of Mūlarāja II. About this time the Paramāra Vindhyavarman wrested Mālava from the Chaulukyas. Mūlarāja II died in the early part of A.D. 1178, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīma II, who was obviously a minor.

Bhīma II's inscriptions, the dates of which extend from A.D. 1178 to 1239, prove that he was in possession of Barmer, Godwar in Jodhpur, Dungarpur, and Kāthiāwār. Internal disorder and foreign invasions reduced Bhīma to the position of a titular king, and taking advantage of his young age the provincial governors and the ministers divided the kingdom among themselves. In that predicament Bhīma had to rely on the support of the Vāghelas who rose into prominence in Bhīmapallī under Dhavala of the Chaulukya family, the husband of Kumārapāla's maternal aunt. Dhavala's son Arṇorāja had fought on the side of Kumārapāla against the chiefs of Medapāṭa and Chandrāvatī. In recognition of this service Kumārapāla granted him the village Vyāghrapallī, 10 miles south-west of Aṇahillapāṭaka, where he settled along with his family. It is after the name of this village that the successors of Arṇorāja are called Vāghelas. Arṇorāja came to the rescue of young Bhīma II, and brought the recalcitrant elements under control, but lost his life while thus consolidating the power of Bhīma. Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda then took charge of the administration on behalf of the Chaulukya king. He fixed his headquarters at Dholka, the chief city in Kheṭaka, modern Kaira, and the two brothers Tejaḥpāla and Vastupāla of the Prāgvāṭa family served him as ministers. The weakness of the sovereignty of the Chaulukyas invited the foreigners to invade Gujarāt about this time. The Yādava Bhillama and his son Jaitugi led successive expeditions against Bhīma. The Paramāra Subhaṭavarman annexed Lāṭa and overran Gujarāt, but was ultimately routed by Lavaṇaprasāda. The Muslims under Qutb-ud-dīn occupied Ajmer in A.D. 1193-94. In 1195 Bhīma sent an army to help the Mhers against the Muslims, and the Chaulukya army pursued the Muslims up to the vicinity of Ajmer. In A.D. 1197 Qutb-ud-dīn, with a fresh contingent from Ghaznī, invaded Gujarāt. He forced his way through Mt. Abu by defeating Rai Karan and Dhārāvarsha, and plundered Aṇahillapāṭaka, but shortly after withdrew from Gujarāt. In the early years of the thirteenth century the Chaulukyas under Bhīma established their supremacy over Godwar, in Jodhpur, by defeating Sāmantasiṁha, and posted there the Chāhamāna Dhaṁdhaladeva as their governor.

Some time before A.D. 1210 one Jayasiṁha usurped the throne of Aṇahillapāṭaka. The usurper, who had suffered defeat at the hands of the Paramāra Arjunavarman of Mālava, was dethroned by Bhīma II some time between A.D. 1223 and 1226. Bhīma is not known to have taken any part in defending Gujarāt against the aggression of the foreigners, and all arrangements for defence were made by Lavaṇaprasāda and his able son Vīradhavala. They put Tejaḥpāla in charge of Dholka and posted Vastupāla at Stambha

(Cambay) as a governor to defend southern Gujarāt. Lavaṇaprasāda repulsed a number of invasions led by the Yādava Siṅghaṇa. On one occasion, when Siṅghaṇa reached the Mahi river with his army, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala had to hurry to the north to meet the attacks of some Māravāḍa chiefs, who made an alliance with the Chāhamāna Śaṅkha of Lāṭa and Ghughula, king of Godraha. Though Siṅghaṇa did not press his advantage further, his ally Śaṅkha attacked Vastupāla, but was defeated in the battle at Vaṭakūpa. Lavaṇaprasāda and his son succeeded in repulsing the attacks of the Māravāḍa chiefs and making their position secure on the north. On another occasion Siṅghaṇa, in alliance with Devapāla of Mālava and Śaṅkha, attacked southern Gujarāt, just at the time when the Muslims under Iltutmish had invaded northern Gujarāt. Vīradhavala, leaving Vastupāla in charge of the southern frontier, himself went to the north and repulsed the invaders. Vastupāla also succeeded in dispersing Siṅghaṇa and his allies. Lavaṇaprasāda entered into a treaty with Siṅghaṇa before A.D. 1231, and the two countries maintained friendly relation for some years. Shortly after A.D. 1231 Lavaṇaprasāda retired and Vīradhavala became the *de facto* ruler of Gujarāt. Vīradhavala killed the two rebel chiefs Saṅgana and his brother Chāmuṇḍa of Vāmanasthalī, subjugated Bhīmasiṁha of Bhadreśvara, and took king Ghughula of Godraha prisoner. Vīradhavala had three sons, Pratāpamalla, Vīrama, and Viśvamalla (Vīsala). Pratāpamalla died at an early age leaving behind a son named Arjuna. How long Vīradhavala ruled Dholka cannot be ascertained. *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīrama is found ruling from Vidyutpura as a vassal of Bhīma II in A.D. 1239. A colophon of a manuscript of the *Yogaśāstra* bears the date V.S. 1295 (= A.D. 1238) and is stated to have been written during the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīsaladeva. The Gujarāt chroniclers state that the two brothers were hostile to each other, and Vīsala forced Vīrama to take shelter in Jābālipura (Jālor) under his father-in-law Udayasiṁha, where he was killed at the instigation of Vastupāla. The authenticity of this account cannot be verified. The Sundha Hill inscription (A.D. 1261), on the other hand, states that Chāchiga, son of Udayasiṁha (A.D. 1206-49), destroyed the Gurjara lord Vīrama. It follows from this evidence that Vīrama occupied the throne of Gujarāt, and was defeated by Chāchiga some time after A.D. 1249. This, however, goes against the testimony of the Jain literature, according to which Vīrama never occupied the throne and his brother Vīsala became king in A.D. 1243.

The last known date of Bhīma II's reign from his inscriptions is A.D 1239. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla, who was ruling in Aṇahillapāṭaka in A.D. 1242. It seems that during the reign of

Tribhuvanapāla the Yādava Siṅghaṇa, the Paramāra Jaitugi of Mālava, and the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha of Mewār invaded the kingdom of Gujarāt. Vīsaladeva helped Tribhuvanapāla in routing all these enemies. Tribhuvanapāla seems to have been superseded by Vīrama, who was again deposed by his brother Vīsala before A.D. 1251. Vīsala abdicated the throne of Aṇahillapāṭaka in favour of his nephew Arjuna, son of Pratāpamalla, between A.D. 1261 and 1264. Arjuna had two sons, Rāma and Sāraṅgadeva, and was succeeded by the latter in A.D. 1274. It is known from Sāraṅgadeva's inscriptions that Kaira in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Kutch, and Aṇahillapāṭaka were within his kingdom. Some time before A.D. 1285 he was reduced to a precarious condition by the Muslims under Balban, but succeeded ultimately in repulsing them with the help of the Guhila Samarasiṁha. Subsequently this Guhila chief became hostile to Sāraṅgadeva, who thereupon helped the Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha in reconquering Mt. Abu from Samarasiṁha. Sāraṅgadeva won a victory over Arjunavarman II of Mālava and repulsed an attack of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Devagiri. He was succeeded by his nephew Karṇa, son of Rāma, in A.D. 1296. In A.D. 1299 Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān, two generals of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, wrested the whole of Gujarāt from Karṇa and captured his queen Kowladevi (Kamalādevī) who was subsequently admitted into the harem of 'Alā-ud-dīn. Karṇa fled with his daughter Devaladevī to Bāglān in Nāsik where he ruled for some years. Shortly after A.D. 1306 Alaf Khān, governor of Gujarāt, attacked Bāglān. Karṇa sent Devaladevī, who was betrothed to the Yādava Śaṅkara, to Devagiri under an escort. But on the way she was captured by the Muslims and sent to Delhi. Karṇa fought bravely for some time with Alaf Khān but, having failed to cope with the invader, fled to Devagiri. His subsequent career is not known. He was the last king of the dynasty, and evidently died a fugitive.

XIII. THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

1. *The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī*

The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī, as we have noted above,[25] were already a rising power under Durlabharāja at the close of the tenth century. Govindarāja II, also known as Gaṇḍu, son of Durlabharāja, seems to have come into clash with Mahmūd of Ghaznī, but did not suffer much. Govindarāja II's successor Vākpatirāja II defeated Guhila Ambāprasāda. The next king Vīryarāma, younger brother of Vākpati II, was badly worsted in a battle with the Chāhamāna Aṇahilla of Nāḍol and subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Paramāra Bhoja. Vīryarāma was followed in suc-

cession by his brother Chāmuṇḍarāja, Siṁghaṭa, and Dūsala (Durlabharāja III). Durlabha, the brother of Siṁghaṭa, lost his life in a battle with the Mātaṅgas, *i.e.* the Mlechchhas, and was succeeded by his brothers Vīrasiṁha and Vigraharāja III one after the other. Vigraharāja helped the Paramāra Udayāditya with a cavalry force against the Chaulukya Karṇa. Vigraharāja's son and successor Pṛithvīrāja I, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1105, killed 700 Chaulukyas who went to Pushkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas. From the time of Pṛithvīrāja I's son and successor Ajayarāja, the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī began to launch aggressive campaigns against their neighbours in order to establish an empire. Ajayarāja invaded Ujjain and captured in battle Sulhaṇa, the commander of the army of the king of Mālava, who seems to have been the Paramāra Naravarman. He killed three kings, *viz.* Chāchiga, Sindhula, and Yaśorāja, in engagements, and founded the city of Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. Silver and copper coins of his reign have been found, some of which bear the names of his queen Somaladevī. He was succeeded by his son Arṇorāja, also known as Ānaka and Ānnalladeva, before A.D. 1133.

Arṇorāja defeated and killed a large number of the Turushkas, *i.e.* the Muslims, who attacked the Sapādalaksha country by way of Marusthalī (desert). He overran the kingdom of Kusavaraṇa, which cannot be definitely identified. He had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha, who gave him his daughter Kāñchanadevī in marriage, and suffered two defeats at the hands of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla who married his daughter Jalhaṇā. His wars with these two Chaulukya monarchs have been described above. In addition to Kāñchanadevī Arṇorāja had another queen named Sudhavā, who was the daughter of a chief of Avīchi in the desert. Kāñchanadevī gave birth to a son Someśvara, while Sudhavā had three sons. Arṇorāja was killed by the eldest son of Sudhavā, for some unknown reason, before A.D. 1153. This parricide, who may be identified with Jugadeva, ruled for a short time, and appears to have been supplanted by his younger brother Vigraharāja IV, also known as Vīsaladeva.

The known dates of Vigraharāja extend from A.D. 1153 to 1163. The Chāhamānas established a big empire for the first time during his reign. He conquered Ḍhillikā (Delhi) from the Tomaras, and took possession of Āśikā, modern Hānsī in the Hissār District in the Punjāb. While carrying on conquest in the Punjāb, he fought a number of battles with the Muslims. In the south he plundered Pallikā (Pāli in Jodhpur), burnt Jābālipura, modern Jālor, and sacked Nāḍol. All these territories were in the kingdom of the Chau-

lukya Kumārapāla, and the Paramāra Kuṁtapāla was his adversary at Jābālipura. Vigraharāja is said to have also defeated one Sajjana. Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscriptions of his reign prove that his kingdom extended up to the Siwalik Hill, Sahāranpur, U.P., on the north. The epigraphic records of his reign also establish that Jājpur District, in Udaipur, was within his territory. Vigraharāja composed the *Harakeli-nāṭaka,* fragments of which are found engraved on a stone at Ajmer. The *Mahākavi* Somadeva composed in honour of this king the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka,* some portions of which are found engraved in a mosque at Ajmer. Vigraharāja was a king of great power and strength, and his claim that he made Āryāvarta again the land of the Āryas by repeatedly defeating the Mlechchhas or the Muslims is not an empty boast. He was succeeded by his son Apara-Gāṅgeya, who died young. After Apara-Gāṅgeya Pṛithvībhaṭa or Pṛithvīrāja II, son of the eldest son of queen Sudhavā, occupied the throne. As Pṛithvībhaṭa claims that he defeated the king of Śākambharī, it seems that he wrested the sovereignty from young Apara-Gāṅgeya. His inscriptions bear two dates, A.D. 1168 and 1169. He put his maternal uncle, the Guhila Kilhaṇa, in charge of Āśikā (Hānsī) to keep the Muslims in check. Kilhaṇa burnt a city named Panchapura, which is identified with Panchapattana on the Sutlej, and took its ruler prisoner. His adversary on this occasion appears to have been Khusrav Malik of the Yamīnī dynasty, who came into conflict with the Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra of Kanauj. Kilhaṇa also defeated a prince named Vasata.

Pṛithvīrāja II was succeeded by his uncle Someśvara, son of Arṇorāja by the Chaulukya princess Kāñchanadevī, in A.D. 1168-69. In the early part of his life Someśvara lived in the court of Gujarāt during the reigns of his grandfather Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. While living there he fought on the side of Kumārapāla against Mallikārjuna of Koṅkaṇa and is said to have killed his adversary. About this time he married a Kalachuri princess, who gave birth to two sons, Pṛithvīrāja (III) and Harirāja. After the death of Pṛithvīrāja II, Someśvara went to Sapādalaksha on the invitation of the ministers of State, along with his queen and two sons, and ascended the throne. His kingdom extended up to Bijoli in Udaipur on the south. He was succeeded by his son Pṛithvīrāja III in A.D. 1177. The career of Pṛithvīrāja III and the circumstances under which the rule of the Chāhamānas came to a close in Ajmer will be discussed in the following chapter.

2. *The Chāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura*

A collateral branch of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer ruled in Raṇastambhapura, modern Ranthambhor, in Jaipur, in the thirteenth

century. The kings of this family claim to have been born in the lineage of Pṛithvīrāja III. The statement in Nayachandra Sūri's *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* that Govindarāja, the founder of the family, was a grandson of Pṛithvīrāja III, cannot be accepted as true in view of the fact that Pṛithvīrāja III was a minor in A.D. 1177. Govindarāja, who came to power in the closing years of the twelfth century, was a scion of the Chāhamāna family of Ajmer. It is stated that having been banished by Pṛithvīrāja III he founded a kingdom at Raṇastambhapura; and that after the capture of Ajmer by the Muslims, the family and followers of Harirāja, younger brother of Pṛithvīrāja III, took shelter with Govindarāja, who was very much affected at the news of Harirāja's death, and received them cordially. According to the Muslim source, however, Ranthambhor came under the influence of the Muslims during the reign of Harirāja, and its ruler was their protégé. Govindarāja was succeeded by his son Bālhaṇadeva, generally identified with Gaḍhapati Valaṇadeva, who was ruling in A.D. 1215 as a feudatory of Sultān Iltutmish, and whose kingdom extended up to Manglāna, 19 miles west of Maroth, in Jaipur. Bālhaṇa probably threw off the yoke of the Muslims some time after A.D. 1215, but in A.D. 1226 Iltutmish led an army against Ranthambhor and conquered it. It appears from *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* that Ranthambhor was under the supremacy of Iltutmish till his death in A.D. 1236, but after the close of his reign the Hindus laid siege to that fort. Raziyya sent to its rescue her general Qutb-ud-dīn Hasan Ghūrī who took the Muslim army out of the fort, demolished it, and returned to Delhi. It is difficult to reconcile the reports of the Muslim historians with that supplied by Nayachandra Sūri's *Hammīra-Mahākāvya,* which is virtually the only authority that gives a continuous narrative of this branch of the Chāhamānas. Nayachandra relates that Bālhaṇa had two sons, Prahlāda and Vāgbhaṭa. As he grew old and feeble he installed Prahlāda on the throne and appointed Vāgbhaṭa as his Prime Minister. Prahlāda lost his life in a hunting excursion, and was succeeded by his young son Vīranārāyaṇa. It is said that once when Vīranārāyaṇa started for Amarapura (Amber) to marry the daughter of the Kachchhavāha prince of Jayapura he was attacked on his way by Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn of Delhi. Having failed to overcome him the Sultān invited him to Delhi and killed him, and Ranthambhor fell into the hands of the Muslims. Subsequently Vāgbhaṭa who, being insulted by Vīranārāyaṇa, had left his service and proceeded to Mālava, killed the Mālava king and wrested Ranthambhor from the Muslims. The fact that no Sultān of the name of Jalāl-ud-dīn is known to have ruled in Delhi about this time casts doubt on the whole story. It may only be suggested that Iltutmish occupied Ranthambhor by defeating

Vīranārāyaṇa, and Vāgbhaṭa reconquered it during the reign of Raziyya. Ulugh Khān (Balban) led two invasions against Ranthambhor in A.D. 1248 and 1253, when it was ruled by Bahar-deo, who is described as the greatest of the Rais of Hindustān by Minhāj. On both these occasions the Muslims had to rest content only by securing some spoils. Bahar-deo may be identified with Vāgbhaṭa who, according to *Hammīra-Mahākāvya,* stationed a large number of forces at different places along the frontier to keep off the Muslims. He was succeeded by his son Jaitrasiṁha.

The Balvan inscription of Hammīra supplies some valuable information about Jaitrasiṁha's military activities. The king harassed a chief named Jayasiṁha in Maṇḍapa, who is generally identified with the Paramāra Jayasiṁha of Mālava. The Paramāra Jayasiṁha was in possession of Maṇḍapa, *i.e.* Māndu in Dhār State, but there was a Maṇḍapa-*durga* where Balban stopped while advancing towards Ranthambhor from Delhi and a lake called Jaitrasāgara was situated near that. Jaitrasiṁha defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the Mālava king at Jhampāithāghaṭṭa, and kept them as prisoners at Ranthambhor. He killed a Kūrma king and a king of Karkarālagiri. According to *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* Jaitrasiṁha paid tribute to the Sultān of Delhi, and he was probably the king of Ranthambhor who, according to Minhāj, was defeated by the army of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn in A.D. 1259. Jaitrasiṁha had three sons, Hammīra, Surattrāṇa, and Vīrama, and was succeeded by Hammīra in A.D. 1283.

Hammīra's kingdom included Seopur District in the Gwālior State, and Balvan in the Kotah State. Śārṅgadhara, whose grandfather Rāghava was a courtier of Hammīra, refers to this king as a ruler of the Śākambharī country in his *Paddhati,* composed in A.D. 1363. It is not unlikely that the kings of this family held sway over Śākambharī from the time of Bālhaṇa, whose kingdom is known to have been extended up to Maroth in Jaipur. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* gives a description of Hammīra's *digvijaya.* The king defeated Arjuna of Sarasapura, an unnamed chief of Gaḍhamaṇḍala, and Bhoja II of Dhārā. He marched to Chitrakūṭa, ravaged Medapāṭa, and extorted submission from the ruler of Abu. Then he sacked Vardhamānapura, modern Wadhwān in Kāthiāwār, and proceeded to Pushkara by way of Ajayameru (Ajmer). From Pushkara he went to Śākambharī, plundering on his way a number of towns, and from that place to Ranthambhor. His adversaries in Medapāṭa and Mt. Abu were respectively the Guhila Samarasiṁha and the Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha, a subordinate of the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva of Gujarāt. The Balvan inscription of his reign mentions his victory

over Arjuna, king of Mālava. This suggests that he led two expeditions against Mālava, once during Arjunavarman's reign and again during the reign of Bhoja II. The *Prākṛita-paiṅgalam* relates his victory over Mālava and Gurjara and describes his prolonged fights with the Muslims of Delhi. It is known from the Muslim source that Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī led an unsuccessful invasion against Ranthambhor in A.D. 1290. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī also declared war against Hammīra because the latter stopped the payment of tribute and gave shelter to some rebels from Gujarāt. He sent a number of expeditions against Ranthambhor under his general Ulugh Khān, but failed to overcome the enemy. Then 'Alā-ud-dīn himself led the army. After a strenuous fight he defeated and killed Hammīra and captured Ranthambhor in A.D. 1301.

3. *The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol*

The Nāḍol branch of the Chāhamānas played an important role in the history of this period. In the early years of the eleventh century Aśvapāla was on the throne of Nāḍol, and his son and successor Ahila repulsed an attack of the Chaulukya Bhīma I. Ahila's paternal uncle and successor Aṇahilla, son of Mahendra, defeated the Chaulukya Bhīma I, killed Sāḍha, a general of the Paramāra Bhoja, captured Śākambharī, which was then ruled by the Chāhamāna Vīryarāma, and fought successfully with the Turushkas, *i.e.* the Muslims of the Punjāb. Aṇahilla's son and successor Bālaprasāda forced the Chaulukya Bhīma I to release the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja of Bhinmāl. Jindurāja, the brother and successor of Bālaprasāda, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1075, won a victory in a battle at Sandera, modern Sanderao in the Jodhpur State. Jindurāja's son Pṛithvīpāla repulsed an attack of the Chaulukya Karṇa. Pṛithvīpāla's brother, king Jojalla, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1090, captured Aṇahillapāṭaka for a short time, probably during the early part of Jayasiṁha's reign. Jojalla was succeeded by his youngest brother Āśārāja, whose inscriptions bear dates from A.D. 1110 to 1143. Āśārāja had to surrender Nāḍol to his nephew Ratnapāla, the son of Pṛithvīpāla, between A.D. 1115 and 1119. Ratnapāla was succeeded by his son Rāyapāla, whose inscriptions bear dates from A.D. 1132 to 1145. Āśārāja, being deprived of his supremacy ever Nāḍol, ruled in Bali in Godwar. He acknowledged the sway of the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha and helped him in his war against the Paramāra Naravarman. In the closing years of his reign he became hostile to Jayasiṁha, though he obeyed the authority of the latter in A.D. 1143. Āśārāja's son Kaṭudeva occupied Nāḍol for a short time in A.D. 1143-44, but Rāyapāla reconquered it before A.D. 1145. He had, however, to surrender it to the Chaulukya Kumārapāla before A.D. 1154, and his

son Pūnapākshadeva ruled as a vassal in the region of Ratanpur in Jodhpur. His other son Sahajapāla was the ruler of Mandor, north of Jodhpur. Kumārapāla's general, the Chāhamāna Vaijalladeva, took charge of the administration of Nāḍol before A.D. 1154 and continued till A.D. 1159. Ālhaṇadeva, second son of Āśārāja, helped Kumārapāla in his war against Saurāshṭra, and probably in recognition of this service he obtained from the latter Kirāṭakūpa (Kirāḍu, Mallani), Lāṭahrada, and Śivā before A.D. 1152. He got back the throne of Nāḍol through the favour of Kumārapāla some time between A.D. 1159 and 1161. Ālhaṇadeva's kingdom extended on the north up to Mandor, north of Jodhpur. About this time Vigraharāja IV of Ajmer plundered Nāḍol.

Ālhaṇadeva had four sons, Kelhaṇa, Gajasiṁha, Kīrttipāla, and Vijayasiṁha. He was succeeded by Kelhaṇa, the dates of whose inscriptions extend from A.D. 1163 to 1192. Some time after A.D. 1178 Kelhaṇa declared independence. He was assisted in his royal business by his brother Kīrttipāla, also known as Kitu, and the two brothers, in alliance with the Chaulukyas, repulsed at Kāsahrada an attack of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī who plundered Nāḍol in A.D. 1178. Kīrttipāla conquered Mewār by defeating the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha, but was driven out of that country by Sāmantasiṁha's brother Kumārasiṁha. He also defeated Āsala of Kirāṭakūpa, the vassal of Chaulukya Bhīma II, and wrested Jābālipura from the Paramāras. Kīrttipāla's successors, known as Sonigarās, ruled in Jābālipura or Jālor for more than a century. Kelhaṇa repulsed an attack of the Yādava Bhillama, and was succeeded by his son Jayatasīha before A.D. 1194. During Jayatasīha's reign Qutb-ud-dīn invaded the kingdom of Nāḍol in A.D. 1197. *Mahārāja* Sāmantasiṁha, who was ruling in Godwar and over a part of the Sirohi State from A.D. 1199 to 1201, might have dethroned him or might have been his legitimate successor. Dr. Bhandarkar's identification of this Sāmantasiṁha with the Guhila king of the same name is untenable on chronological ground. Dhaṁdhaladeva, son of one Vīsadhavaladeva of the Chāhamāna family, ruled Godwar as a vassal under the Chaulukya Bhīma II from *c.* A.D. 1209 to 1226. The Chaulukyas were superseded there by the Chāhamāna Udayasiṁha of Jālor, and Godwar remained under the rule of the Chāhamānas even in the fourteenth century.

4. *The Chāhamānas of Jābālipura (Jālor)*

It has been noticed above that Kīrttipāla of Nāḍol is the founder of the Sonigarā branch of the Chāhamānas at Jālor. The name Sonigarā is the contraction of the name Suvarṇagiri, a hill-fort at Jālor. Kīrttipāla was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha, who issued in-

scriptions in A.D. 1182. Samarasiṁha had two sons, Mānavasiṁha *alias* Mahanasiṁha and Udayasiṁha, and one daughter Līlādevī, who was married to the Chaulukya Bhīma II. After Samarasiṁha, Udayasiṁha ruled at Jālor. Mānavasiṁha, whose successors constituted the Devaḍā branch, is not known to have occupied the throne of his father. Udayasiṁha, whose inscriptions bear dates extending from A.D. 1205 to 1249, asserted his supremacy over Naḍḍūla, Jābālipura, Māṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭameru, Sūrāchaṇḍa, Rāṭahrada, Kheḍa, Rāmasainya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura, and Satyapura. Māṇḍavyapura is Mandor, Vāgbhaṭameru is Barmer, Sūrāchaṇḍa is Surachand, Rāṭahrada is Raddhuda in Mallani, Kheḍa is in Mallani, Rāmasainya is Ramsen, Śrīmāla is Bhinmāl, Ratnapura is Ratanpur, and Satyapura is Sānchor. Udayasiṁha's kingdom thus extended from Mandor to Sānchor and from Mallani to Godwar. He reconquered Nāḍol after A.D. 1226 from the Chaulukya Bhīma II, and defeated the Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa. Iltutmish invested the fort of Jālor between A.D. 1211 and 1216. Udayasiṁha, who capitulated after a strenuous resistance, was allowed to rule his territory by the Sultān. Some time later, while Iltutmish advanced against Gujarāt counting upon the support of Udayasiṁha, the latter joined the Gujarāt army, and helped the Vāghela Vīradhavala in repulsing the Muslims. According to some Jain writers of Gujarāt, Udayasiṁha gave his daughter in marriage to the Vāghela Vīramadeva. He was a man of learning and mastered the works of Bharata, *i.e. Bhāratīya-Nāṭya-śāstra.* He was succeeded, before A.D. 1262, by his son Chāchiga who claims to have destroyed the power of the Vāghela Vīramadeva and defeated some princes named Śalya, Pātuka, Saṅga, and Nahara. Chāchiga was succeeded by Sāmantasiṁha between A.D. 1277 and 1282, and the latter by his son Kānhaḍa after A.D. 1296. In A.D. 1310-1311, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī defeated and killed Kānhaḍa and his son Vīrama, and captured Jālor and Sānchor.

5. *The Chāhamānas of Satyapura (Sānchor) and Devaḍā*

Vijayasiṁha, son of king Ālhaṇa of Nāḍol, was the founder of the Satyapura (Sānchor in Jodhpur) branch. He was followed in succession by Padmasiṁha, Śobhita, and Sālha, all of whom were feudatories of the Chāhamānas of Jālor. Sālha claims to have liberated Bhinmāl from the hands of the Muslims, and probably wrested it from 'Alā-ud-dīn or his successor after A.D. 1310-11, when the southern part of Jodhpur was occupied by the Muslim army. Sālha was succeeded by Vikramasiṁha, Saṁgrāmasiṁha and Pratāpasiṁha (A.D.1387) one after the other.

The Devaḍā branch of the Chāhamānas was founded by Vijaḍa also known as Devarāja, the son of Pratāpa, and grandson of Mānava-

siṁha, who was the son of Samarasiṁha of Jālor. The name Devaḍā is said to have been derived from Devarāja. Vijaḍa-Devarāja is referred to as the lord of Marusthalī-*maṇḍala*. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Lūṇiga (Lāvaṇyakarṇa), succeeded his father, and conquered Mt. Abu from the Solāṅkīs (Vāghelas) with the help of his brothers. His successor was his younger brother Luṇṭiga (Luṇḍha), who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1315 and 1320. Luṇṭiga was succeeded by Lūṇiga's son Tejasiṁha (A.D. 1330, 1336), who was succeeded by his son Kānhaḍadeva in A.D. 1337.

XIV. THE GUHILAS OF MEWĀR

After the termination of the reign of the Guhila Śaktikumāra in the closing years of the tenth century[26] his son Ambāprasāda ascended the throne of Medapāṭa or Mewār. From this time Āghāṭa, modern Ahar, in Udaipur, served as the second capital of this dynasty. Ambāprasāda lost his life in a battle with the Chāhamāna Vākpati II of Śākambharī. After Ambāprasāda the throne of Medapāṭa was occupied by Śuchivarman, Naravarman, Anantavarman, Kīrttivarman *alias* Yaśovarman, Yogarāja, Vairaṭa, Haṁsapāla, Vairisiṁha, Vijayasiṁha, Arisiṁha, Choḍasiṁha, Vikramasiṁha, and Raṇasiṁha *alias* Karṇa. Of them Vijayasiṁha, whose father-in-law was the Paramāra Udayāditya and whose son-in-law was the Kalachuri Gayākarṇa, is definitely known to have been ruling in A.D. 1108 and 1116. Karṇa had three sons, Mahana, Kshemasiṁha, and Rāhapa. The successors of Kshemasiṁha were known as Rāval or Rājakula, and the successors of Rāhapa, who ruled as vassals of the Rāvals at Sisoda, were known as Rāṇās. Karṇa was succeeded by Kshemasiṁha, whose son and successor Sāmantasiṁha is known to have been ruling in Mewār in A.D. 1171. The Chaulukya Kumārapāla was in possession of Chitor in A.D. 1151, but it is not certain whether he could bring the Guhilas of Medapāṭa under his sway. Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla invaded that country but received a severe wound in a battle with Sāmantasiṁha, and the Paramāra Prahlādana of Mt. Abu saved the Chaulukya king from disaster on that occassion. Shortly after this battle Kīrttipāla, the younger brother of Kelhaṇa of Nāḍol, took possession of Medapāṭa by defeating Sāmantasiṁha, who thereafter ruled only over a part of the Jodhpur State. Kīrttipāla was driven out from Mewār by Kumārasiṁha, younger brother of Sāmantasiṁha who, with the help of the Gurjara king, established himself at Āghāṭa. The Gurjara king might have been Ajayapāla or Mūlarāja II. Kumārasiṁha occupied Mewār before A.D. 1182 and was followed in succession by Mathanasiṁha, Padmasiṁha, and Jaitrasiṁha.

The Guhilas of Mewār gained a high political status during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha whose known dates range between A.D. 1213 and 1252. Chitrakūṭa, modern Chitor in Udaipur, is known for the first time to have been included in the Guhila kingdom during his reign. In the early part of his reign the Muslims under Sultān Iltutmish overran Mewār and destroyed the Guhila capital Nāgahrada. Jayatala, who was obviously Jaitrasiṁha, king of Mewār, suffered a heavy loss of men and property on that occasion. But on receipt of the news that the Vāghela Vīradhavala was advancing with his forces to render assistance to Jaitrasiṁha the Muslim army withdrew.

Jaitrasiṁha plundered Nāḍol where his adversary seems to have been the Chāhamāna Udayasiṁha of Jālor. He invaded the territory of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, and one of his generals lost his life in a battle while capturing Koṭṭaḍaka from the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāla. He was ultimately repulsed by the Vāghela Vīsaladeva. Madana, son of Jaitrasiṁha's officer Kshema, fought on behalf of Jesala with the *Pañchalagudika* Jaitramalla on the battlefield of Utthūṇaka, which is identified with Arthuna, the capital of Vāgaḍa. Jesala may be taken as identical with Jaitrasiṁha, who was also known as Jayasiṁha. Jaitramalla is identified with the Paramāra Jaitugideva of Mālava but he seems to have been a chief of the Guhila dynasty of Vāgaḍa. Jaitrasiṁha fought successfully with a king of Śākambharī, who may be identified with a Chāhamāna king of Ranthambhor. The Sindhuka army, which he defeated, cannot be identified.

Jaitrasiṁha was succeeded by his son Tejasiṁha, who is known to have occupied the throne of Āghāṭa before A.D. 1260. An inscription of his reign, which refers to Chitrakūṭa-*mahādurga*, has been found at Chitor. This is the earliest known epigraphic record of the Guhilas of Mewār found at Chitor. Tejasiṁha was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha between A.D. 1267 and 1273. Samarasiṁha's inscriptions, which bear dates ranging between A.D. 1273 and 1301, prove that his kingdom extended from Chitor to Mt. Abu. He wrested Mt. Abu from the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja, but could not hold it for long as Kṛishṇarāja's son Pratāpasiṁha reconquered it with the help of the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva between A.D. 1285 and 1287. Some time before A.D. 1285, while the Turushkas, apparently under Sultān Balban, overran Gujarāt, Samarasiṁha helped the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva in routing the Muslims, but in the closing years of the thirteenth century, when Ulugh Khān, the brother of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, was marching against Gujarāt, Samarasiṁha saved his country from devastation by paying

homage to the Muslim general. Samarasiṁha was succeeded by his son Ratnasiṁha, one of whose known dates is A.D. 1302. Ratnasiṁha met with a severe catastrophe after a rule of a couple of years. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, desiring to assert his supremacy over India, invaded Chitor and pitched his camp on the bank of a river in the vicinity of that place. Ratnasiṁha resisted the Muslims for two months. He had a daughter named Padminī, who was married to the Guhila Lakshmaṇasiṁha of the Sisodiyā branch. Lakshmaṇasiṁha, along with his sons Arisiṁha and others, came to help Ratnasiṁha in that perilous war. Ratnasiṁha, despairing of his success, stealthily got out of his fort without consulting his relatives and lieutenants, flowed down the river, reached the Sultān's camp, and ignominiously surrendered to him. The Sultān put him under restraint and made a vigorous attack on the fort. Lakshmaṇasiṁha and his sons lost their lives in their endeavour to defend the citadel, while the relatives of Ratnasiṁha, along with Padminī, fled to the hilly tracts. 'Alā-ud-dīn made a triumphant march into the fort of Chitor in A.D. 1303, posted there his son Khizr Khān, and returned to Delhi along with the captive king Ratnasiṁha. He expressed his willingness to release the Guhila monarch if he agreed to make an arrangement for the surrender of his daughter Padminī.[27] The proposal was communicated to his relations by Ratnasiṁha and the Guhilas utilised this opportunity to effect the release of Ratnasiṁha by a device. The conquest of Chitor, which was only an outlying fortress in the Guhila kingdom, did not make 'Alā-ud-dīn the master of Nāgahrada and Āghāṭa, which served as capitals of the Guhilas at least up to the time of Samarasiṁha. After his release Ratnasiṁha carried on depredations in the territories around the fort of Chitor, and the Sultān did not think it safe to keep Khizr Khān there any longer. He recalled him, and handed the fort over to his ally Māladeva, younger brother of the Chāhamāna Kānhaḍadeva, and the sister's son of Ratnasiṁha. Māladeva ruled Chitor for seven years as a vassal under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. Nothing more is known of Ratnasiṁha.

It has been noticed above that the Sisodiyā branch of the Guhilas was founded by Rāhapa, the son of Ratnasiṁha *alias* Karṇa. The Ekaliṅgajī inscription, dated A.D. 1652, mentions that Rāhapa's successors were Narapati, Dinakara, Jasakarṇa, Nāgapāla, Karṇapāla, Bhuvanasiṁha, Bhīmasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Lakhaṇasiṁha, Arasī (Arisiṁha), Hammīra, etc. An inscription of *Rāṇā* Kumbhakarṇa, dated A.D. 1439, states that Jayasiṁha was the son of Bhuvanasiṁha, and Lakshmaṇasiṁha had two sons, Ajayasiṁha and Arisiṁha. The gallant fight of Bhuvanasiṁha, Lakshmaṇasiṁha, and Arisiṁha, against 'Alā-ud-dīn for the defence of Chitor has already

been noted above. Hammīra overthrew Jeso, the son and successor of Māladeva, and established the supremacy of the Sisodiyās over Chitor some time after the reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq.

XV. THE PUNJĀB UNDER THE YAMĪNĪ DYNASTY

The great conqueror Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī died in A.D. 1030, leaving behind three sons, Muhammad, Mas'ūd I, and 'Abd-ur-Rashīd. Muhammad and Mas'ūd were born on the same day. Mahmūd expressed his desire that after his death Muhammad would be the ruler of Ghaznī and the country of Hind, and Mas'ūd would receive Khurāsān, 'Irāq, and Persia. As soon as Mahmūd died the nobles of the court placed Muhammad on the throne of Ghaznī. Mas'ūd, who was at 'Irāq about this time, marched towards Ghaznī and defeated his brother, who had been on the throne only for seven months. Muhammad was blinded and thrown into prison by Mas'ūd, who ascended the throne of Ghaznī in A.D. 1031. Ariyāruq, who was appointed governor of the Punjāb by Sultān Mahmūd, still held that post, but his tyrannical and oppressive actions led Mas'ūd to call him back. Though he avoided his presence by excuses for some time, he was imprisoned and subsequently put to death. Mas'ūd then appointed Ahmad Niyāltigīn governor of the Punjāb. Niyāltigīn, after assuming his office, began to quarrel with Abu-'l-Hasan, 'the Shīrāzī Qāzī' who was in charge of the revenue administration of the Punjāb. Both submitted complaints to the Sultān charging each other with serious offence. Mas'ūd supported Niyāltigīn, asking the Qāzī to limit his sphere of work to the collection of revenue. Being thus secured in his position, Niyāltigīn launched expeditions against the Indian chiefs. In A.D. 1034 he exacted tribute from the Thakurs, crossed the Gaṅgā, and following its left bank quite unexpectedly arrived at the city of Banaras, which was within the kingdom of Gang, *i.e.* the Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva. He plundered the markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers from morning till mid-day, and returned to the Punjāb with a large amount of gold, silver and jewels. The Qāzī, who was very much dejected at this success of his rival, sent a report to the Sultān that Niyāltigīn deposited only a portion of the riches which he had obtained as tributes from the Thakurs and also by plundering Banaras. The Sultān also received letters from independent sources mentioning Niyāltigīn's association with the Turkomans and numerous turbulent chiefs of Lahore. All these alienated the Sultān from Niyāltigīn, and he sent a force under the command of a Hindu named Tilak against him. Tilak reached Lahore and defeated Niyāltigīn in a severe engagement. Niyāltigīn

fled away but was killed by the Jāts, while Tilak returned to the royal court after settling the affairs of the country. In A.D. 1036 Mas'ūd sent his second son Majdūd as the governor of the Punjāb and next year organised a big army to fight for the expansion of his empire in Hindustān. In vain did his advisers try to persuade him to give up the project in view of the fact that the Saljūqs were threatening to conquer the northern part of his empire. The Sultān marched to the Punjāb and encamped on the bank of the Jhelum near Dinarkotah. Thence he went to Hānsī, in the Hissār District, Punjāb, and invested the fort. After a strenuous fight Hānsī fell into his hands. He then marched to Sonpat and defeated its governor Dipāl Har. From Sonpat he advanced towards the kingdom of Rām Rāi, who saved himself from molestation by offering him valuable presents.

Mas'ūd had very soon to pay the penalty for wasting his resources in Hindustān. In A.D. 1040, being hard pressed by the Saljūqs, he left Ghaznī and proceeded towards Hindustān with his family, including his blind brother Muhammad, and treasure. On his way, in the pass of Marigāla, his Turkish and Hindu slaves revolted, took him prisoner, and declared Muhammad as king. In the same year Mas'ūd was slain in the fort of Girī.

On receipt of these news, Mas'ūd's son Maudūd, who was at Balkh, hastened to Ghaznī, ascended the throne, and marched towards India to punish his uncle. Muhammad had enjoyed royal position only for four months. He confronted his nephew at Nangrahār between the Sindhu and Ghaznī, but fell a captive in the battle along with some of his sons. All of them were soon put to death, and Maudūd returned to Ghaznī. Muhammad the blind had appointed his younger son Nāmī governor of Peshāwar and Multān. Maudūd despatched an army against Nāmī, who lost his life in the engagement. Maudūd's brother Majdūd, who was appointed the governor of the Punjāb by Mas'ūd and was then in the possession of the country from Hānsī to the Sindhu, refused allegiance to him. So the Sultān sent an army against him from Ghaznī. Majdūd also marched from his residence at Hānsī to resist his brother's army and reached Lahore, where Maudūd's forces arrived a day or two later. The two armies were preparing for the final battle, when one morning Majdūd was found dead on his bed. The next day his *vizier* Khwāzā Ayāz was also found dead. It was suspected that they were secretly poisoned. Majdūd's army now joined Maudūd, and the Punjāb easily passed into the hands of the latter.

Though Maudūd succeeded in asserting his supremacy over the Punjāb, his position at Ghaznī was made miserable by the succes-

sive attacks of the Saljūqs. The situation became worse when, in A.D. 1043, some Indian chiefs formed a confederacy under the leadership of the Rājā of Delhi to put an end to the Muslim rule in the Punjāb. They wrested Hānsī, Thāneswar and other places from governors who were posted there by Maudūd. After capturing Nagarkot they marched to Lahore and invested it for seven months. The Muslims, in despair, sallied forth from the fort and attacked the invading army which, being taken unawares, took to flight. The Indian chiefs retained their hold over Nagarkot, Hānsī and other conquered places for some time. The Rājā of Delhi, who led the confederacy, was obviously a chief of the Tomara dynasty. The Paramāra Bhoja, the Kalachuri Karṇa, and the Chāhamāna Aṇahilla were probably among those who formed the confederacy.[28]

After the death of Maudūd in A.D. 1049 some of the royal servants placed Maudūd's young son Mas'ūd II on the throne. But after a few days the ministers and the nobles deposed the young boy and declared his uncle 'Alī Abu-'l-Hasan, son of Mas'ūd I, as king. During the reign of 'Alī, in A.D. 1049, an officer named 'Alī bin Rubia broke open the treasury, secured a heavy amount of gold and jewels, and fled to Peshāwar with some household troops. There he raised an army from the natives and reduced Multān and Sindh. In A.D. 1051 Sultān 'Alī was dethroned by 'Izz-ud-daulah 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, the sixth son of Sultān Mahmūd, who was released from prison after a long confinement. The new Sultān succeeded in persuading 'Alī bin Rubia to come back to Ghaznī, and appointed Nūshtigīn Ḥājib the governor of the country to the east of the Sindhu. Nūshtigīn captured Nagarkot, which had been in the possession of the Hindus since A.D. 1043. 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was dethroned and murdered by Tughril Ḥājib, a slave of Sultān Mahmūd, who declared himself king of Ghaznī in A.D. 1052-53. Tughril was on the throne for forty days only. He asked Nūshtigīn to owe allegiance to him, but Nūshtigīn refused to obey his order, marched to Ghaznī, and took an active part along with the nobles in destroying his power. He placed Farrukhzād, a son of Mas'ūd I, on the throne in A.D. 1052 and himself became his *vizier*. The new Sultān ruled till A.D. 1059, and was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm, another son of Mas'ūd I.

Ibrāhīm led many expeditions against Indian chiefs, and conquered Tabarhindah (modern Sirhind), Buria (modern Burya on the Yamunā in Ambāla), Dhangan, Jālandhar, Ajūdhan (modern Pak Pattan), and Rūpāl on the summit of a hill, and reduced the fort of Darah, in the neighbourhood of Rūpāl. In A.D. 1075 he appointed his son Mahmūd governor of the Punjāb. Mahmūd led an expedition into the heart of India, and conquered Agra by defeating its chief

Jaipāl. Kanauj, which was ruled by a Rāshṭrakūṭa family, passed into his hands, and he engaged Chand Rāi, apparently Chandradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, to look after his elephant forces there. He next invaded Ujjain, but was repulsed by the Paramāra Lakshmadeva. He also invested the fort of Kālañjara, which was then ruled by the Chandella Kīrttivarman. Mahmūd's expeditions against the Indian chiefs were nothing more than plundering raids.

Ibrāhīm was succeeded by his son 'Alā-ud-Daulah Mas'ūd III in A.D. 1099. During the reign of Mas'ūd III Amir 'Uzd-ud-Daulah was in charge of the government of the Punjāb. Hājib Tughātigīn, an officer under the Sultān, crossed the Gaṅgā and carried on conquest in Hindustān. Malhi, the king of Kanauj, who was in all probability the Gāhaḍavāla Madanachandra, was taken prisoner by the Sultān's army. Madanachandra's son Govindachandra defeated the Muslims, and secured the release of his father. In A.D. 1099 Mas'ūd conferred the sovereignty of Ghūr on Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn Husain, who kept on terms of friendship with the Sultāns of Ghaznī. This proves that the Shansabānī chiefs of Ghūr still acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultāns of Ghaznī. But during this time the Saljūqs deprived the Ghaznavids of a large portion of their kingdom, and Lahore virtually became the seat of the royal family.

Mas'ūd was succeeded by his son Kamāl-ul-Daulah Shīrzād in A.D. 1115. Shīrzād ruled only for a year and was succeeded by his brother Arsalān 'Abd-ul-Malik. Arsalān, after his accession, imprisoned all his brothers except his step-brother Bahrām, who succeeded in escaping to his maternal uncle Sultān Sanjar Saljūq, in Khurāsān. Arsalān also treated Bahrām's mother with indignity. Sanjar took up the cause of his nephew and invaded Ghaznī. Arsalān, being defeated, fled to Lahore, and Sanjar, having placed Bahrām on the throne, retired to his own dominion. But as soon as he withdrew from Ghaznī Arsalān came back and wrested it from Bahrām, who again took shelter with his uncle. In A.D. 1118 Bahrām, with an army supplied by his uncle, captured Ghaznī. Arsalān, who was taken prisoner, was released, but shortly afterwards he was put to death for conspiring against Bahrām.

Bahrām led an expedition to the Punjāb, and forced Muhammad Bāhlīm, who was appointed governor of that country by Arsalān, to acknowledge him as his master. After the departure of the Sultān, Bāhlīm shifted with his family and treasure to Nāgaur where he built a fort, and declared independence. He organised an army and plundered the adjoining territories of the Indian princes. Sultān Bahrām marched against the rebel and defeated him in a battle at Multān. Bāhlīm and his sons died of an accident while fleeing for

safety. Bahrām handed over the charge of the administration of the Punjāb to Salar Husain, son of Ibrāhīm Alvi. In the latter part of his reign Bahrām came into conflict with the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr, who acknowledged the supremacy of his predecessors. Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad, Malik-ul-jibāl of this family, quarrelled with his brothers and withdrew to Ghaznī. Bahrām had him killed by poison on receipt of the news that he was plotting against him. This led to the outbreak of hostility between the Mahmūdī family and the Shansabānīs, which lasted for a long time and brought about disaster on the former. Qutb-ud-dīn's younger brother Saif-ud-dīn, king of Ghūr, in order to avenge the death of his brother, marched against Bahrām, defeated him, and captured the throne of Ghaznī. Bahrām fled to Lahore, and Saif-ud-dīn established himself at Ghaznī, being the first Sultān of his family to rule there. He placed his brother Bahā-ud-dīn Sām in charge of Ghūr, and sent there the major portion of his army at the approach of winter. As soon as the cold set in, and the roads and passes from Ghūr to Ghaznī were blocked by snow, Bahrām came back from Hindustān and conquered Ghaznī in A.D. 1149. Saif-ud-dīn was treated with indignity and then cruelly murdered. On receipt of this news Bahā-ud-dīn Sām marched from Ghūr with a large body of soldiers to punish Bahrām. But as soon as he reached the district of Kidan he fell ill and died. When the news of Bahā-ud-dīn's death reached Ghūr his brother 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, whom he had left in charge of administration there, rallied his forces and lost no time in leading an expedition against Bahrām. He defeated his adversary in three successive engagements and forced him to flee to Hindustān. He took the city of Ghaznī by storm, carried on arson and plunder there for seven days and nights, and completely destroyed the magnificent city. For this work of destruction he was known in history as "Jahānsūz," "the world-burner." After pillaging the edifices and palaces of the Mahmūdī dynasty in the city of Bust, 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to Ghūr. Shortly afterwards, when 'Alā-ud-dīn was engaged in a battle with Sultān Sanjar Saljūq, Bahrām recovered Ghaznī. He died in A.D. 1152, and was succeeded by his son Khusrav Shāh, during whose reign the larger portion of the empire of the Mahmūdī dynasty passed into the hands of the Sultāns of Ghūr. Shortly after A.D. 1157 Khusrav Shāh was driven out of Ghaznī by the Ghuzz (Turks), and Ghaznī was lost to the Mahmūdī dynasty for ever. Khusrav Shāh proceeded to Lahore where he ruled till A.D. 1160. He was succeeded by his son Khusrav Malik during whose reign the governors and the chiefs under him assumed almost independent powers. About this time there was a change in the government at Ghūr. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, "the world-burner," had put into prison his two

nephews Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad and Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad, sons of Bahā-ud-dīn Sām. 'Alā-ud-dīn's son and successor Saif-ud-dīn released them. After the death of Saif-ud-dīn, Shams-ud-dīn, under the name of Ghiyās-ud-dīn, ascended the throne of Ghūr. Ghiyās-ud-dīn wrested Ghaznī from the Ghuzz in A.D. 1173, and placed on its throne his brother Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad, who was known as Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad after his success in Khurāsān. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad made incursions against Hindustān every year, and in A.D. 1181 reached the gate of Lahore. Khusrav Malik concluded a treaty with him, and surrendered as a hostage one of his sons, whom Firishta mentions as Malik Shāh. In 1184 Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad again invaded Lahore but, having failed to capture it, ravaged the neighbouring districts. On his way back he captured the fort of Siālkot, and posted there Husain, son of Khar-mīl. As soon as he left Hindustān Khusrav Malik invaded Siālkot, but met with failure. In 1186 Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, for the third time, led an army against Lahore. Khusrav Malik got frightened and sued for peace. As he came out of the fort to settle the terms of the treaty, Mu'izz-ud-dīn seized him and captured Lahore. Thus the rule of the Yamīnī dynasty came to an end. Khusrav Malik, along with his son Bahrām, was sent to the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad at Fīrūzkūh. In A.D. 1192 when Ghiyās-ud-dīn and Mu'izz-ud-dīn were involved in a quarrel with Sultān Shāh Jalāl-ud-dīn Mahmūd of Khvārazm, Khusrav Malik and his son Bahrām were put to death in order to avoid future trouble.

XVI. KĀSHMIR

1. *First Lohara Dynasty*

The Lohara dynasty came to power in Kāshmir in the early years of the eleventh century.[29] Saṁgrāmarāja, the first king of the dynasty, sent his minister Tuṅga to help the Shāhi Trilochanapāla against Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Mahmūd led several expeditions to conquer Lohara during his reign, but failed to achieve his end. Saṁgrāmarāja was succeeded in A.D. 1028 by his son Harirāja, who died after a rule of 21 days and was succeeded by his younger brother Ananta. Vigraharāja, the elder brother of Saṁgrāmarāja, advanced with his army to dethrone his nephew, but lost his life in the engagement. Ananta put down the revolt of the Ḍāmaras and repulsed an attack of the Darads. His queen Sūryamatī, a princess of Jālandhara, helped him in the administration of his kingdom. Being thus relieved of the burden of looking into the affairs of the state he devoted his energy to launching expeditions against his neighbours. He overthrew Sāla, also known as Sālavāhana, the

ruler of Champā (Chamba), and placed his own nominee on its throne. He asserted his supremacy over Darvābhisāra, Trigarta, and Bhartula, but his invasions against the hill states of Uraśā and Vallāpura met with failure. In A.D. 1063 he abdicated in favour of his worthless son Kalaśa under the influence of his queen. Very soon they realised their error and resumed the royal power, though they allowed their incompetent son to occupy the throne. About this time the Lohara king Kshitirāja, son of Vigraharāja, and cousin of Ananta, bestowed his sovereignty upon the young Utkarsha, the second son of king Kalaśa, to prevent his rebel son Bhuvanarāja from succeeding him. Ananta forced the chiefs of Rājapurī and the neighbouring states to pay him tribute, but when he was thus acquiring new fortunes, the licentious habits of Kalaśa greatly marred his domestic happiness. He could not keep him under restraint due to the intervention of Sūryamatī, who had a weakness for her son, and so in disgust he left Śrīnagara, and settled at the *Tīrtha* of Vijayeśvara in A.D. 1079, taking with him his troops and treasure. The queen also accompanied him there, but the quarrel between the father and the son continued for some time. Ananta tried to place Harsha, son of Kalaśa, on the throne, but Kalaśa crippled his father's power considerably by setting fire to the town of Vijayeśvara and destroying a part of his treasure. He also pressed him for going into exile at Parṇotsa. In order to get rid of all these difficulties Ananta committed suicide in A.D. 1081, and Sūryamatī also followed him to the funeral pyre. The death of his parents brought about a change in the mind of Kalaśa for the better. He made up his difference with his son Harsha, and carried on administration with success. He sent his army twice to assist the young king of Rājapurī, named Saṁgrāmapāla, against his uncle Madanapāla, who was trying to usurp the throne. Madanapāla was ultimately taken prisoner to Kāshmir. Kalaśa's general conquered Uraśā and, after crossing the Kṛishṇā (Kishangangā) river, raided Abhaya's kingdom. In A.D. 1087 the rulers of eight hill states, *viz.* Kīrtti of Baddhāpura (?), Āsaṭa of Champā (Chamba), Kalaśa of Vallāpura, Saṁgrāmapāla of Rājapurī, Utkarsha of Lohara, Saṅgata (?) of Uraśā, Gāmbhīrasīha of Kānda, and Uttamarāja of Kāshṭhavāṭa assembled in his capital. Though Kalaśa's foreign policy met with conspicuous success, he could not close his reign in peace. His son Harsha gave him so much trouble that he had to put him into prison, though reluctantly. To make matters worse he again indulged in debauchery which he had given up after the death of his parents. Immediately before his death in A.D. 1089, his ministers brought his son Utkarsha from Lohara and inaugurated him as king. Utkarsha took stringent measures to keep Harsha under restraint.

Within a few days after his accession Utkarsha alienated his ministers by his injudicious acts. His step-brother Vijayamalla revolted and attacked the royal palace. In order to secure the support of Harsha he released him, but Harsha joined Vijayamalla, captured the throne for himself, and took Utkarsha prisoner. Utkarsha committed suicide in his captivity.

Harsha's character was a strange admixture of virtue and vice. He displayed energy and activity in the early part of his reign and brought prosperity to his kingdom. Vijayamalla, who fled to the country of the Darads (Darad-deśa) after his failure to obtain the throne, led an expedition against Kāshmir, but was accidentally killed by an avalanche. Harsha, with the help of his commander Kandarpa, succeeded in maintaining his hold over Lohara, and in subjugating Saṁgrāmapāla, ruler of Rājapurī, who had turned hostile. But he soon lost the valuable support of Kandarpa by suspecting his loyalty, for Kandarpa, along with his family, retired to Banaras. In order to replenish the exchequer Harsha plundered the properties of temples and imposed various taxes on his subjects. He also became addicted to debauchery, and the state of things degenerated to an alarming extent. Harsha led an expedition against the chief of Rājapurī, who again became hostile, but met with failure. Similar result followed when he tried to capture from the Darads the fort of Dugdhaghāta, modern Dudakhut, which guards the pass leading to the Darad territory of the Kishangangā valley. On this occasion two brothers Uchchala and Sussala, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Lohara dynasty, attracted his attention by their bravery. A serious situation developed when, in A.D. 1099, the country was visited by a devastating famine and the king still levied oppressive taxes. Uchchala and Sussala fled for their lives from the capital in A.D. 1100 as the king suspected them to be the rivals of his son Bhoja for the throne. Shortly afterwards the two brothers, with the help of the Ḍāmaras, forced their way into the capital and burnt the royal palace. The king took shelter in a hut below Śrīnagara where he received the news of the treacherous murder of his son Bhoja. He himself lost his life in an encounter with the enemies in A.D. 1101. He was a man of learning and a patron of poets. He introduced the system of wearing head-dress and ear-ornament among the Kāshmirians.

2. *Second Lohara Dynasty*

Uchchala, who now ascended the throne, is regarded as the founder of the second Lohara dynasty. He was descended from Kāntirāja, an uncle of Saṁgrāmarāja, the founder of the first Lohara dynasty in Kāshmir. He tried to appease his ambitious brother by

making him an independent king of Lohara. This did not satisfy Sussala, who led an expedition against him from Lohara, which, however, met with failure. Uchchala condemned to death Bhikshāchāra, son of Bhoja and grandson of king Harsha, apprehending that his royal position might be challenged by him. Bhikshāchāra saved his life by taking refuge with the Paramāra Naravarman of Mālava. About this time the birth of Sussala's son Jayasiṁha brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers. The rise of the Ḍāmaras, a class of barons, became a source of danger to Uchchala and a menace to the Kāshmirian politics of this period. In A.D. 1111 Uchchala lost his life at the hands of the city-prefect named Chuḍḍa, whose brother Raḍḍa occupied the throne for a night only. He was killed by a powerful Ḍāmara of Lohara named Gargachandra, who set up Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uchchala, on the throne. Gargachandra also repulsed an attack of Sussala who, at the news of the death of his brother, rushed with his army to capture the throne of Kāshmir. Not long afterwards, Gargachandra, finding that Salhaṇa was friendly to his rivals, formed an alliance with Sussala who easily captured the capital and took Salhaṇa prisoner in A.D. 1112.

After his accession Sussala could not keep on friendly terms with Gargachandra. After a protracted quarrel he put Gargachandra and his three sons to death in A.D. 1118. He dethroned Somapāla, the ruler of Rājapurī, and placed Nāgapāla on the throne. But as soon as he left Rājapurī Nāgapāla lost his throne. In A.D. 1120 Bhikshāchāra, who had returned from Mālava and had been intriguing for the throne for some time, defeated Sussala with the help of the Ḍāmaras, and declared himself king. Sussala fled to the fort of Lohara. In A.D. 1121 he inflicted a crushing defeat on Bhikshāchāra's army which was advancing to conquer Lohara, and within a short time succeeded in recovering the throne of Kāshmir. Bhikshāchāra retired to the village Pushyāṇanāḍa, which was within the territory of Somapāla of Rājapurī. Sussala could not destroy the power of the Ḍāmaras, who led successive invasions against him. The situation was aggravated by a devastating fire in the city, which was followed by a famine. The death of the queen about this time added to the misery of the king, who in disgust brought his son Jayasiṁha from Lohara and abdicated in his favour in A.D. 1123. But Jayasiṁha soon fell into the disfavour of his father, who retained his hold over the main business of the state and looked for an opportunity to put him in prison. In A.D. 1128 Sussala fell victim to a conspiracy and lost his life.

Jayasiṁha won over the powerful reactionary forces to his side by his diplomatic skill. In A.D. 1130 he succeeded in putting to

death Bhikshāchāra, who made frequent attacks to regain the throne of Kāshmir. Suscala's half-brother Loṭhana revolted in Lohara and Jayasiṁha's army, sent against it, met with disaster. In A.D. 1131 Loṭhana was deposed by his own partisans. Mallārjuna, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, then occupied the throne, but in A.D. 1132 Jayasiṁha wrested Lohara from him. He deposed king Vikramāditya of Vallāpura and placed Gulhaṇa on its throne. Yaśodhara, king of the Darad country, was friendly to the kings of Kāshmir. After his death two rival factions fought for the throne. Jayasiṁha, in order to maintain his supremacy over that country, took up the cause of one of them. But Viḍḍasīha, the leader of the opposite party, who usurped the whole power, frustrated his object. He also encouraged Loṭhana, the deposed ruler of Lohara, to renew hostility against Jayasiṁha. Loṭhana formed alliance with Alaṁkārachakra, a powerful Ḍāmara of Karṇāha, Vigraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, and Bhoja, a son of the king Salhaṇa, and advanced against Kāshmir, but Jayasiṁha besieged them in the fort of Śiraḥśilā. Bhoja managed to escape from the fort, while Alaṁkārachakra purchased peace by surrendering Loṭhana and Vigraharāja to the royal army. Bhoja surrendered after making a futile attempt to defeat Jayasiṁha with the help of Viḍḍasīha of the Darad country and some Mlechchha chiefs of the upper Sindhu valley. Jayasiṁha put down all the refractory Ḍāmaras and ruled his kingdom in peace during the remaining part of his life. He crowned his minor son Gulhaṇa as a king of Lohara and was in friendly relation with some kings of India. The Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra sent his ambassador Suhala to his court, which was also visited by Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassador of the Śilāhāra Aparāditya of Koṅkaṇa. Jayasiṁha ruled up to A.D. 1155.[30]

Jayasiṁha was followed on the throne by his son Paramāṇuka (A.D. 1155-1165) and his grandson Vantideva (A.D. 1165-1172) one after the other. Vantideva was the last king of the dynasty.

3. *Advent of the Muslim Rule*

After the close of Vantideva's reign the people elected one Vuppadeva as their king. Vuppadeva was succeeded in A.D. 1181 by his brother Jassaka, and the latter by his son Jagadeva, in A.D. 1199. Jagadeva was poisoned by one of his officers in A.D. 1213, and a rival faction placed his son Rājadeva on the throne. Balāḍhyachandra, the chief of Lohara, defied the authority of Rājadeva and occupied half of Śrīnagara. Rājadeva was succeeded in A.D. 1236 by his son Saṁgrāmadeva during whose reign the sons and relations of Kalhaṇa assumed great power. They forced him to take refuge with the ruler of Rājapurī, and though some time afterwards the

king recovered his power, he was killed by his enemies. He was succeeded in A.D. 1252 by his son Rāmadeva, and the latter by the Brāhmaṇa Lakshmadeva, whom he adopted as his son, in A.D. 1273. A Muslim named Kajjala killed Lakshmadeva in a battle in A.D. 1286 after which anarchy broke out in Kāshmir. One Siṁhadeva succeeded in establishing his authority but lost his life in a love intrigue. In A.D. 1301 his brother Sūhadeva asserted his supremacy over the whole of Kāshmir, but during his reign the kingdom was overtaken by a severe calamity. Dulucha, a general of a great king Karmasena, overran Kāshmir with an army of 60,000 men consisting of the Tājikas, Turushkas, and the Mlechchhas. The situation became worse when just at this time a Tibetan named Riñchana plundered the capital. Dulucha, being afraid of the excessive cold of Kāshmir, left the country, taking with him a large number of Kāshmirians as slaves. Sūhadeva, who showed abject cowardice all along, seems to have lost his life in A.D. 1320. According to *Āīn-i-Akbarī* Dalju (Dulucha) was the commander-in-chief of the king of Kandahār. One Rāmachandra, probably a relation of the deceased king Sūhadeva, fought with Riñchana, but was treacherously murdered by his adversary. Riñchana, who assumed the royal power, fell victim to a conspiracy, and died in A.D. 1323. His young son Haidara was deposed by his officer Śāhamera, a Muslim, who placed Udayanadeva, a relative of his master, on the throne. After the death of Udayanadeva in A.D. 1338 Śāhamera, under the name Shams-ud-dīn, seized the throne of Kāshmir where his successors ruled for a long time.

1. Vol. IV, p. 54.
2. IV. 47.
3. See above, p. 25.
4. See above, p. 25.
5. See above, p. 29.
6. See above, p. 33.

6a. *IHQ*, XXX. 211-2.

6b. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar there was no king named Keśavasena, but Sūryasena, a son of Viśvarūpasena, occupied the throne for some time during the lifetime of his father (*IHQ*, XXX. 216-7). This theory, however, rests on a very weak basis.

7. Vol. IV, p. 61.
8. Vol. IV, p. 59.
9. The account of this dynasty is based on Panchobh C.P. (*JBORS*, V. 582 ff).
10. Vol. IV, p. 38.
11. Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 100-101; *EI*, I. 235, V. 19; the Kalachuri Karṇa raided Kīra or Kāngrā Valley in which was situated Nagarkot, an outlying fortress within the kingdom of the Yamīnīs of Ghaznī.
12. *HIED*, IV. 518 ff; Author's "The Historical Value of Dīwān-i-Salmān," *Islamic Culture*, October, 1942, Vol. XVI, 424 ff; Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 156 ff.
13. *HIED*, IV. 518 ff; *Islamic Culture*, October, 1942, p. 424.
14. *Islamic Culture*, October, 1942 p. 426; *IA*, XVIII. 18.
15. See above, p. 50.
16. See above, p. 33.

17. See above, pp. 50-51.
18. Vol. IV, p. 38.
19. Vol. IV, pp. 95 ff.
20. Brigg's *Firishta,* I, 118; Author's *History of the Paramdra Dynasty,* 101.
21. Author's 'Early History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty' in *Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference,* Baroda, pp. 533 ff.
22. An inscription from Atru, in the Kotah State, belongs to the reign of king Jayasiṁha. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who first noticed it, read its date as 14 and referred it to the Siṁha era which would make it equivalent to A.D. 1127. Subsequently he changed his view and restored the date as (13)14, which, referred to the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1257. If the latter view proves to be correct the inscription is to be referred to the reign of the Paramāra Jayasiṁha II, who will have to be identified with the Paramāra Jayavarman II.
23. Vol. IV, p. 94.
24. See p. 63.
25. Vol. IV, pp. 105 ff.
26. Vol. IV, pp. 108-9.
27. Amīr Khusrav does not state anything about 'Alā-ud-dīn's relation with the Guhilas after his conquest of Chitor. He does not also mention anything about Padminī. Firishta pursues the narrative and introduces the Padminī episode which is also referred to by other later sources. Amīr Khusrav's silence on the incidents relating to Padminī has led some scholars to suggest that the entire episode is a myth (cf. e.g. G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana;* K. R. Quanungo, *Prabāsī,* a Bengali monthly, 1337 B. S. Falgun; R. R. Halder, *IA,* LIX, 235). It does not, however, carry conviction as it is based on negative evidence. Firishta's statement that 'Alā-ud-dīn conquered Jālor finds support in contemporary Sanskrit literature, though Amīr Khusrav is silent about it. It does not follow from this that 'Alā-ud-dīn's conquest of Jālor is a myth. As a matter of fact Firishta's account of this matter may be taken as a supplement to that of Amīr Khusrav. Prof. Habib thinks that there is an indirect reference to Padminī in Amīr Khusrav's book (*JIH,* 1929, p. 369 f; *IHQ,* VII, 287 f).
28. Brigg's *Firishta,* I. 118. Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty,* p. 101; *EI,* II. 11, 15; IX. p. 75, v. 17.
29. Vol. IV, p. 120.
30. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* from which we derive the detailed information of Kāshmir, closes with the reign of this king, and relates the history of Kāshmir only up to A.D. 1148-49. For the subsequent history that follows we are indebted to Jonarāja's supplementary work which continues the narrative from that year and is known as *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī.*

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF PṚITHVĪRĀJA III

The Chāhamāna Someśvara, as noted in the preceding chapter, lived in the court of Gujarāt in the early part of his life. He married there Karpūradevī, the daughter of Achalarāja of the Haihaya dynasty of Tripurī, who gave birth to a son named Pṛithvīrāja. In the opinion of some writers the astronomical data in the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* indicate that the birth of the prince took place in A.D. 1166. But the correctness of this conclusion may reasonably be doubted. The *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* relates that Karpūradevī's second son Harirāja was younger to Pṛithvīrāja at least by one year and eight months, and that both were born during the lifetime of king Vigraharāja IV. The last known date of Vigraharāja IV is V.S. 1220. He was succeeded by Apara-Gāṅgeya, who was again followed on the throne by Pṛithvīrāja II. The earliest known date of Pṛithvīrāja II's reign is V.S. 1224. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the reign of Vigraharāja IV was over some time before V.S. 1224, and Pṛithvīrāja was born prior to V.S. 1223 (= A.D. 1166). As the prince is known to have been a minor in A.D. 1177 his birth may be dated some time between A.D. 1162 and 1165.

In A.D. 1168-9 Someśvara went along with his queen and two sons to the Sapādalaksha country from Gujarāt, and ascended his paternal throne. During the reign of Someśvara Pṛithvīrāja was properly educated in letters and military science. Someśvara died in *c.* A.D. 1177 when Pṛithvīrāja was still a minor, and his mother Karpūradevī acted as the regent. At this time Kadambavāsa served him as the chief minister of the State. He is said to have "guarded the six virtues of Pṛithvīrāja and sent the imperial armies in all directions to add to the glory of his sovereign." Karpūradevī appointed as the commander of the army Bhuvanaikamalla, who was a scion of her father's family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* states that "as Rāma and Lakshmaṇa suffered trouble owing to Meghanāda's *sarpapāśa* (serpent noose) and Garuḍa eventually saved them from the *pāśa* (noose), so, in this birth, Bhuvanaikamalla, the incarnation of Garuḍa, ever served Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (Pṛithvīrāja and Harirāja) loyally." The enemies who proved dangerous to the safety of these two Chāhamāna princes were evidently the Nāgas, whom Bhuvanaikamalla is said to have exterminated. The country of these Nāgas cannot

now be definitely identified. During the regency Ajayameru or Ajmer became very prosperous. The city was densely populated, and it was beautified by many gardens, parks, and wells. The period of regency does not seem to have covered more than a year as Pṛithvīrāja appears to have assumed the charge of the government in A.D. 1178.

The *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* refers to Pṛithvīrāja's forthcoming marriage with a princess of extraordinary beauty. But as the manuscript of this book is incomplete, further details of the marriage and the name of the bride are not known. The *Pṛithvīrāj Rāso* of Chand Bardāī, a work of a very late period, states that Pṛithvīrāja had a number of queens, the eldest of whom was Ichchhanīdevī, the daughter of the Paramāra Jaita, king of Mt. Abu. The name of another queen is given as Śaśivratā, the daughter of Bhāna of the Yādava dynasty, king of Devagiri. But the throne of Mt. Abu was occupied by the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha at this time, and no king of the name Bhāna is known to have ruled in Devagiri during this period. The youngest of Pṛithvīrāja's queens, according to *Rāso,* is Saṁyogitā, the daughter of the Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra of Kanauj. The story runs that Saṁyogitā entertained a keen desire to become the consort of Pṛithvīrāja when she heard of his prowess. As her father Jayachandra was a hereditary enemy of Pṛithvīrāja, she had to keep her desire secret. She, however, carried on correspondence with the Chāhamāna king without the knowledge of her father. Jayachandra called an assembly of the princes at Kanauj for the selection of a bridegroom by his daughter. In order to humiliate Pṛithvīrāja he did not send him any invitation on that occasion, but placed his statue at the entrance of the hall in the position of a door-keeper. In the assembly Saṁyogitā did not choose any of the attending princes as her husband, but moved to the door, and, to the surprise of all, garlanded the statue of the Chāhamāna king. Pṛithvīrāja, who was hiding near by with his attendants, rushed to the spot and rode off with the princess. The army of Jayachandra, which pursued them, was strongly opposed by the followers of the Chāhamāna king. Pṛithvīrāja safely reached his capital and married the Gāhaḍavāla princess. This marriage is said to have taken place in the interval between the first and second battles of Tarain. The details given by *Rāso* in connection with the above marriage are so improbable and romantic that the authenticity of the whole story may reasonably be doubted.

Besides Kadambavāsa and Bhuvanaikamalla, Pṛithvīrāja had a number of other officers of great ability. Soḍha was the minister

of peace and war to king Someśvara. He had two sons Skanda and Vāmana, who were given the posts of the chief councillors by Pṛithvīrāja. In addition to this the Chāhamāna king conferred on Skanda the post of the commander of the army, and entrusted Vāmana with the post of the minister of peace and war. Udayarāja, a resident of the Gauḍa country, was another military officer, and Someśvara, another minister of Pṛithvīrāja.

After his assumption of the charge of the government, Pṛithvīrāja found himself confronted with grave dangers. In A.D. 1178 Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad, also known as Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, marched towards Gujarāt by way of Multān, Uch, and the tractless desert. At this time he sent a diplomatic agent to the court of Pṛithvīrāja at Ajmer for negotiation, as he learnt that the latter was bitterly hostile to the Muslims. The details of the representations made by him cannot be known, as the relevant pages of the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* are missing. Subsequent incidents, however, show that his mission to establish an alliance with the Chāhamāna king miserably failed. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad reached Kirāḍu, near Barmer, in Mārwār, in A.D. 1178, and plundered the temple of Someśvara there. He then took possession of Nāḍol (Naḍḍula), the capital of a collateral branch of the Chāhamānas. When the news of the fall of Nāḍol reached Ajmer, Pṛithvīrāja resolved to crush the invaders, but refrained from taking any hasty action on the advice of his minister Kadambavāsa, who deemed it wise to allow the enemy to exhaust himself by fighting with the Gurjaras. Just about this time a messenger from Gujarāt came to Ajmer and informed Pṛithvīrāja that the king of Gujarāt had utterly routed the Muslim invaders. This obviously refers to Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad's defeat at the hands of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja II at Kāsahrada at the foot of Mt. Abu. Pṛithvīrāja was greatly delighted at this news and handsomely rewarded the messenger. He also showered high praises on Kadambavāsa for the valuable advice he gave in that critical moment.

During this period Pṛithvīrāja had to fight with his own cousin named Nāgārjuna, the son of his uncle Vigraharāja IV. The young age of the king seems to have encouraged Nāgārjuna to raise the standard of revolt. He captured a city named Guḍapura, which cannot now be identified, and established himself there. Pṛithvīrāja left behind Kadambavāsa and Bhuvanaikamalla, and himself marched against the rebel. He besieged the city of Guḍapura wherefrom Nāgārjuna fled like an abject coward. The army of Nāgārjuna resisted him for some time under the leadership of Devabhaṭa (?), apparently a lieutenant of Nāgārjuna, but all the chief

combatants lost their lives in the encounter. Guḍapura was occupied by Pṛithvīrāja, who took the mother, wife, and the attendants of Nāgārjuna prisoners. He then proceeded to Ajayameru along with the captives, and is said to have hung the severed heads of his enemies on the gates of the fort of that city. This he did probably to serve as a deterrent to Nāgārjuna and his surviving associates.

Some time before A.D. 1182 Pṛithvīrāja invaded the country of the Bhādānakas, which cannot be identified but probably comprised the modern Rewari *Tahsil,* Bhiwani and its adjoining villages, and a part of the old Alwar State. The chief of the Bhādānakas resisted the Chāhamāna king with his powerful elephants but was severely defeated.

The *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla states that Pṛithvīrāja went out for *digvijaya* (conquering of the quarters) in A.D. 1182, but does not mention the names of the countries which were invaded by the Chāhamāna king. It is known from other sources that in this year Pṛithvīrāja led an army against Jejākabhukti or the modern Bundelkhand. The tradition relates that the Chandella Paramardī, also known as Paramāl, king of Jejākabhukti, had two able generals named Ālhā and Ūdal, sons of Jasarāja of the Banāfar clan. The king grew suspicious of the loyalty of these two brothers on the report of a designing man, and dismissed them. Thereafter the two generals left Jejākabhukti and accepted service under the king Jayachandra of Kanauj. Shortly afterwards Pṛithvīrāja invaded Jejākabhukti, forcibly captured Sirswa on the Pahuj, a tributary of the Sind, and reached the border of Mahobā. At this Paramardī got frightened and sent a messenger to Kanauj to bring Ālhā and Ūdal. The two brothers at first refused to leave Kanauj, remembering the ill-treatment they received from Paramardī. Subsequently their love for their motherland triumphed over every other consideration, and they returned to Mahobā. In the battle that ensued they fought bravely and sacrificed their lives. Pṛithvīrāja defeated Paramardī and plundered Mahobā and Kālañjara. The authenticity of this story, as narrated by the bard, cannot be verified. But that there was a conflict between Pṛithvīrāja and Paramardī is known from reliable sources. Merutuṅga, in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi,* makes a confusion between Paramardī, who is identical with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI of the Deccan, and the king of this name of the Chandella dynasty. He associates Paramardī with Siddharāja-Jayasiṁha in one place, and connects him with Pṛithvīrāja of the Sapādalaksha country elsewhere. Paramardī in the latter reference is evidently the Chandella king of

this name. It is stated that this king entered into a war with Pṛithvīrāja, but his army was defeated and he fled to his capital. The *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* also refers to this conflict. Madanpur is a village 35 miles south-south-east of Lalitpur. Some stone inscriptions found there in a temple of Śiva state that Pṛithvīrāja, son of Someśvara of the Chāhamāna family, devastated Jejākabhukti in A.D. 1182. All these leave no doubt that Pṛithvīrāja defeated Paramardī in a battle and plundered the Chandella kingdom in A.D. 1182. The Chāhamānas could not, however, maintain their control over Jejākabhukti for a long time. Two inscriptions from Kālañjara and Mahobā prove that the Chandellas were in possession of them in A.D. 1183.

Pṛithvīrāja entered into a war with the Chaulukya Bhīma II of Gujarāt, whose kingdom extended up to Kirāḍu and Nāḍol in southern Mārwār. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol and the Paramāras of Mt. Abu were vassals of the Chaulukyas. The *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* states that Kadambavāsa advised Pṛithvīrāja not to involve himself in a war with Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, pointing out to him that it would be to the advantage of the Chāhamānas if the Muslims and the Chaulukyas, both of whom wanted to assert their supremacy over Śākambharī, exhausted themselves by fighting with each other. This shows that the relation between the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamānas was inimical from the very beginning of Pṛithvīrāja's reign. Shortly before A.D. 1187 Pṛithvīrāja launched a campaign against the kingdom of Gujarāt. The Paramāra Dhārāvarsha and Jagaddeva Pratīhāra, the prime minister of Bhīma II, opposed his advance. Dhārāvarsha claims that he repulsed a night attack of Pṛithvīrāja, the king of the Jāṅgala-deśa. The Jāṅgala-deśa comprised Bikaner and the northern part of Jodhpur. Its capital was Ahichchhatrapura or Nāgapura, modern Nāgaur, in the old Jodhpur State. Jagaddeva Pratīhāra also is stated to have won a victory over Pṛithvīrāja. But the result of the battle was not very much unfavourable to the Chāhamāna king. Bhīma II ultimately concluded a treaty with his adversary, which he tried to observe with meticulous care. In A.D. 1187 some people from the Chāhamāna kingdom visited Gujarāt with some valuable articles. The *Daṇḍanāyaka* Abhayaḍa sent a messenger to Jagaddeva Pratīhāra seeking his permission to seize the property of these visitors. Jagaddeva Pratīhāra is said to have replied that he had recently concluded a treaty with Pṛithvīrāja after taking a lot of trouble. "If Abhayaḍa therefore laid his hands on the people of Sapādalaksha, he would have him sewn in the belly of a donkey." On the receipt of this peremptory order Abhayaḍa treated the travellers with care, and allowed them to proceed to their destination.

All these wars waged by Pṛithvīrāja against his neighbours do not seem to have resulted in any acquisition of territory. He inherited from his predecessors a kingdom which extended up to Hissār and Sirhind, in Patiāla, on the north-west, and Delhi on the north. It was bounded on the south by the kingdom of the Guhilas of Mewār, and the territories of the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol, who were vassals of the Chaulukya Bhīma II; on the east by the kingdoms of the Yaduvaṁśīs of Bayāna-Śrīpatha, the Kachchhapaghātas of Gwālior, and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj; and on the north-west by the kingdom of the Yamīnīs of Lahore. Altogether six inscriptions of Pṛithvīrāja's reign have been discovered, with dates ranging between A.D. 1177 and 1188. The Kāshmirian poet Jayānaka, the author of *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya,* lived under the patronage of Pṛithvīrāja. The Jain teacher Āśādhara, the author of a large number of books, lived in Sapādalaksha in the early part of his life. It is known from the *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla that the poets Vidyāpati Gauḍa and Vāgīśvara Janārdana visited the court of Pṛithvīrāja III. Pṛithvībhaṭa served this king as the royal bard. Some silver and bullion coins issued by Pṛithvīrāja have been found.

Pṛithvīrāja could not enjoy his well established kingdom for many years. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad of Ghūr, who was repulsed by the Chaulukya Mūlarāja II near Mt. Abu in A.D. 1178, overthrew in A.D. 1186 Khusrav Malik, the last ruler of the Yamīnī dynasty of Ghaznī, and strengthened his position by the annexation of the western Punjāb. This brought the kingdom of the Maliks of Ghūr up to the border of that of the Chāhamānas. Mu'izz-ud-dīn carried on successive military excursions into the kingdom of the Chāhamānas in the Punjāb for some time.[1] He then made a bid for the conquest of Hindustān. He marched at the head of a well-organised army from Ghaznī and reached Tabarhindah,[2] which was situated in the kingdom of Pṛithvīrāja. Tabarhindah may be identified with Sirhind, in the old Patiāla State. The Sultān took the fort by storm and placed it under the charge of Malik Ziyā-ud-dīn. Twelve hundred horsemen were posted there with adequate munitions of war. They were instructed to hold it for eight months until the Sultān returned from Ghaznī. The advance of the Muslims as far as Sirhind caused great consternation into the minds of the feudatories of the Chāhamānas in the west. Chandrarāja, son of Govindarāja, the governor of Delhi, came to Ajmer along with other chiefs on deputation to Pṛithvīrāja. Chandrarāja reported to the king that a Muslim named Shihāb-ud-dīn "had pillaged and burnt most of their cities, defiled their women, and reduced them altogether to a miserable plight. There is scarcely a moun-

tain-pent valley in the country but is filled to suffocation with Rājputs who have fled thither for protection from his tyranny. The noblest of the Rājput families have disappeared before him, and he has now established his capital at Multān." The chiefs of the west sought his assistance against this unrelenting enemy. Pṛithvīrāja was very much excited when he heard this woeful tale, and readily agreed to render all possible help. He set out with two hundred thousand horse and three thousand elephants to punish Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad. Govindarāja of Delhi and many other Indian princes accompanied him. While making arrangement for departure from Tabarhindah Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad received the news of the advance of Pṛithvīrāja against him. He met his enemy in the battlefield of Tarain, 14 miles from Thāneswar and 80 miles from Delhi, in A.D. 1190-91. When the battle was in progress, the right and the left wings of the Sultān's army broke down and fled. The central division also became very thin. At this time the Sultān was informed by one of his confidential attendants about the disintegration of his army, and was advised to retreat. He scornfully rejected the advice, unsheathed his sword, and along with the few soldiers still sticking to their posts rushed to attack the enemy. His movement suddenly caught the attention of Govindarāja, who forthwith drove his elephant towards him with all speed. The Sultān finding him in front darted a spear, which succeeded in breaking two of his teeth. Govindarāja in return threw a javelin which caused a deep wound in the Sultān's arm. The Sultān was about to fall from his horse in agony when a Khaljī soldier rushed to his rescue. The valiant warrior sprang on the horse with a lightening speed, gave him support with his arms, and took the horse out of the battlefield. The Sultān was carried to a place 40 miles off where he met his fleeing forces. After the departure of the Sultān there was disorder in the Muslim army in the battlefield and it was readily overpowered by the Chāhamānas. Skanda, the general of Pṛithvīrāja, took a prominent part in this battle, and brought success to his master. According to *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* Pṛithvīrāja took Shihāb-ud-dīn captive in this battle but subsequently released him and allowed him to go back to Multān. This seems to be an exaggerated account of the victory of Pṛithvīrāja over the Muslims.

After his success in the battle of Tarain Pṛithvīrāja marched with his army to Tabarhindah, and besieged the fort. The commander of the fort, Malik Ziyā-ud-dīn, defended his position for thirteen months and then capitulated. Pṛithvīrāja took possession of it and the supremacy of the Chāhamānas was re-established in the Punjāb.

In order to avenge himself of the defeat sustained at the hands of Pṛithvīrāja, Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad organised at Ghaznī, after a strenuous labour, an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. He came with this force to Lahore *via* Peshāwar and Multān. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* relates that the Sultān, in order to strengthen his forces, sought help from the king of the Ghaṭaika country, who readily complied with the request by despatching many horses and men. The Ghaṭaika country cannot be identified. About this time the Sultān sent an emissary named Rukn-ud-dīn Hamzah to Ajmer with a proposal to Pṛithvīrāja for embracing Islam and acknowledging his supremacy in order to avoid the dreadful consequence of the war. The Chāhamāna king treated the proposal with the contempt it deserved, and rallied his forces, which consisted of 300,000 horse, 3,000 elephants and a large body of infantry. Many Rājās of Hindustān helped him, and one hundred and fifty chiefs joined him with the determination of either defeating the Muslims or dying on the battlefield. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya's* report that Pṛithvīrāja, elated with his former success, marched on this occasion with a small body of soldiers to meet the Muslims, does not seem to be correct. Skanda, the commander of the army, who brought success to Pṛithvīrāja's arms in the last battle with the Muslims, was engaged in a war elsewhere, and could not accompany the king. Another lieutenant named Udayarāja, who was to join him, delayed in starting from the capital. Govindarāja of Delhi joined him on the way. When Pṛithvīrāja was advancing against his enemy, the minister Someśvara tried to persuade the king not to proceed further. The king suspected him of treachery, cut off his ears, and dismissed him. Someśvara turned a bitter enemy of the king and joined the Muslims. Pṛithvīrāja, with his vast army, reached the battlefield of Tarain. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, after conquering Tabarhindah, met him there. Pṛithvīrāja sent a letter to him, requesting him to withdraw his army, being content with the possession of Tabarhindah and the Punjāb. This gave the Sultān an opportunity to defeat his enemy by a stratagem. He replied that he could not retreat without the permission of his brother at whose command he led this invasion. He, however, agreed to a truce till he received instruction from his brother on this matter. The Chāhamāna army, relying on the assurances of the Sultān, went on merrymaking during the night. The Sultān instructed a batch of soldiers to keep the light in the camp burning in order to make a show before the enemy that the Muslims were encamped, and made preparation for a sudden attack. He marched with the main body of his soldiers throughout the night by a different route, forded the river before dawn, and attacked the

rear of the enemy. A confusion broke out in the Chāhamāna army. But Pṛithvīrāja skilfully brought out his cavalry and frustrated the attempt of the Sultān, who returned discomfited to his camp. He now took recourse to a new artifice. He divided his army into five divisions, one consisting of 12,000 cavalry, and the remaining four of 10,000 light-armed horsemen each. These four smaller divisions carried on successive attacks on the Chāhamānas on the right, left, front, and the rear from the morning onward. Each time the latter made counter-attacks on them with their elephant, cavalry, and infantry, they retreated, pretending flight. By the afternoon the Chāhamānas got extremely tired, when the Sultān with the bigger division made a vigorous attack and completely overpowered them. One lakh of the Hindu soldiers lost their lives. Govindarāja, the chief of Delhi, fell fighting on the battlefield, and the Sultān recognised him through the absence of his two teeth which he had broken in the last engagement. In this predicament Pṛithvīrāja got down from his elephant and, mounting a horse, fled away. He was overtaken by the Muslim army in the neighbourhood of Sursutī, which seems to be identical with the Sarasvatī, and was taken prisoner. This battle took place in A.D. 1192. After conquering Hānsī, Sursutī, Kuhrām or Guhrām, and Sāmāna, the Sultān marched towards Ajmer with the captive king, and took that city by assault. He demolished the temples there, and built mosques and Islamic colleges on their ruins. The captive Pṛithvīrāja, who was granted immunity from punishment, made an intrigue against the Sultān. The conspiracy was detected and at the order of the Sultān Pṛithvīrāja was executed.

The above account of the defeat and death of Pṛithvīrāja at the hands of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad is based on the authority of the early and later Muslim historians. The Sanskrit sources also throw light on this subject. The *Viruddhavidhi-viddhavaṁśa,* a nearly contemporary authority, states that when Pṛithvīrāja's general Skanda "went to another battle, the king, whose intellect was shrouded by the vice of sleep, who, though alive, was as good as dead in battle, was slaughtered by the Turushkas." The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* relates that the miniser Someśvara, who was dismissed by Pṛithvīrāja, conducted the Muslims to the camp of the Chāhamāna king. At this time Pṛithvīrāja was enjoying a deep sleep, and a severe encounter took place between the Muslims and the heroes of Pṛithvīrāja's vanguard. Pṛithvīrāja was taken prisoner when he was still excessively drowsy. The king of the Muslims took the Chāhamāna king to the latter's capital, and resolved to reinstate him on the throne. But the sight of a picture in the royal palace, depicting the Muslims as being killed by a drove

of pigs, greatly infuriated him, and he readily put Pṛithvīrāja to death.[3] It is difficult to take these accounts seriously.

Pṛithvīrāja was evidently a general of high order, but he lacked political foresight. It was a grave defect with the Indian chiefs that in their fight with the Muslims they always chose to be on the defensive. The result was that their adversaries, even when they were defeated, could escape annihilation if they could only withdraw from the battlefield. Pṛithvīrāja was not free from this drawback. At this time the rule of the Maliks of Ghūr was not firmly established in the Punjāb. Pṛithvīrāja ought to have pursued the disabled Sultān to the Punjāb after his victory in the first battle of Tarain, and made an attempt to root out the Muslim rule there. His task would have been easy, as it was not possible for his opponents there to avail themselves of the service of their great leader. But far from doing this, and even without making any suitable arrangement for the defence of the fort of Tabarhindah, which guarded his north-western frontier, he retired to Ajmer, and the dreadful consequence followed.

The defeat of Pṛithvīrāja in the second battle of Tarain not only destroyed the imperial power of the Chāhamānas, but also brought disaster on the whole of Hindustān. The morale of the ruling princes and the people completely broke down, and the entire country was seized with panic. Many of those who were accustomed to peaceful pursuits fled with their family and settled in the south. The Jain teacher Āśādhara states that when Sapādalaksha was conquered by Shihāb-ud-dīn, he, for fear of being molested by the conquering armies, left his native country, and migrated with his family to Mālava. This state of things obviously made it easier for Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad and his generals to establish a firm footing in the heart of Hindustān.

The *Viruddhavidhi-viddhavaṁśa* states that after the death of Pṛithvīrāja his general Skanda placed the king's brother Harirāja on the throne of Śākambharī. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* relates that on the death of Pṛithvīrāja his brother Harirāja performed his funeral ceremonies and then ascended the throne. Hasan Nizāmī, on the other hand, reports that after the execution of Pṛithvīrāja Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad placed the deceased king's son on the throne. As Pṛithvīrāja was a minor in A.D. 1177 his son was apparently very young at this time. After settling the affairs at Ajmer the Sultān marched to Delhi and invested the fort. After a short resistance the son of Govindarāja and his lieutenants surrendered and agreed to pay him tributes regularly. The Sultān left for Ghaznī, posting an army in Delhi, and appointing his gene-

ral Qutb-ud-dīn governor of Guhrām and Sāmāna. Shortly afterwards Qutb-ud-dīn finally took possession of Delhi. But about this time he received a report, sent by Rukn-ud-dīn Hamzah from Ranthambhor, that Hiraj (Harirāja), the brother of the Rāi of Ajmer, had gone into rebellion, and threatened to invade Ranthambhor. The son of Pṛithvīrāja was also living in Ajmer in a precarious condition. Qutb-ud-dīn forthwith marched towards Ranthambhor, and at his approach Harirāja fled away with his army. Qutb-ud-dīn presented a robe of honour to the son of Pṛithvīrāja, and received from him immense wealth for the service of the State.

After Qutb-ud-dīn's return to Delhi, Harirāja, with the help of the general Skanda, overthrew the son of Pṛithvīrāja and wielded the sovereignty of Ajmer. The Indian sources, referred to above, do not mention the events which happened between the fall of Pṛithvīrāja and the accession of Harirāja. A stone inscription of Harirāja's reign, dated A.D. 1194, proves that he was in possession of Ajmer in that year. He sent an army to the borders of Delhi, which oppressed the Muslims and plundered their property. This induced Qutb-ud-dīn to lead an invasion against him. Harirāja's position in Ajmer was not very strong. He fell into disfavour of his subjects due to his licentious habits. Bhīma II, the king of Gujarāt, in order to be friendly with him, presented him some dancing girls. Harirāja was so much enamoured of their beauty that he spent day and night in their association, and squandered the revenue. When Qutb-ud-dīn invaded his kingdom, he was not prepared for resistance. He did not, however, choose to sacrifice his honour by surrendering to the enemy. He entered into the fort and died along with all the members of his family by ascending the funeral pile. Harirāja had no son. His followers, in despair, left Ajmer and took shelter under Govindarāja of Ranthambhor. Ajmer fell into the hands of Qutb-ud-dīn without any fight. Hasan Nizāmī fixes the date of this conquest of Ajmer by Qutb-ud-dīn in A.D. 1193. This is obviously an error as Harirāja, as has already been noted, was ruling in Ajmer in A.D. 1194, and Qutb-ud-dīn's conquest of Ajmer must, therefore, have taken place after this date. Qutb-ud-dīn settled the affairs in Ajmer, posting there a governor, and returned to Delhi. Thus the rule of the Imperial Chāhamānas came to an end.

1. The account of the war between Pṛithvīrāja and Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad is found in the nearly contemporary works, *viz. Viruddhavidhi-viddhavaṁśa, Jāmiu-l Hikāyāt, Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir,* and *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,* and later works, *viz. Prabandha-chintāmaṇi, Hammīra-Mahākāvya,* Firishta, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* etc.
2. Commenting on the name of the fort Tabarhindah Raverty observes that all the copies of the text have Tabarhindah or Tabarhind. *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī, Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh,* and Budaunī have Tarhindah. Budaunī says that it was the capital of Jaipāl. The printed text of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,* and many works of late date, *viz. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā,* and *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh,* etc., have Sirhind. Firishta calls it Pathindah. The *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind* says that Tabarhindah is now known by the name Biṭhandah (Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,* p. 457, n). Some are inclined to identify the place with Bhatinda, in Patiāla, and some again take it as identical with Sirhind. in the same State. As the distance of Bhatinda from Tarain is double that of Sirhind I am inclined to agree with the latter view.
3. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* narrates the final battle between Pṛithvīrāja and Mu'izz-ud-dīn in a different way. It states that Shihāb-ud-dīn (Mu'izz-ud-dīn) succeeded in seducing Pṛithvīrāja's master of the horse and the royal musicians. As soon as the Muslims made an onslaught on the camps of the Chāhamānas a confusion broke out. The master of the horse designedly supplied a horse named Nāṭyārambha for the use of the king at this critical juncture. When the king mounted on it the musicians played on a tune favourite to him. Nāṭyārambha started dancing, and the king, being attracted by the music, forgot the grave task he was to perform. Taking advantage of the king's indifference the Muslims made a severe attack on the Chāhamānas. Pṛithvīrāja got down from his horse, and killed many Muslims with his sword, but he soon fell a captive, and was taken to Delhi. When Udayarāja besieged the city for the release of his master, the Sultān, in order to avoid future trouble, threw the captive king into the fort. The king died there a few days after, and Udayarāja, in despair, rushed upon the Muslims and died fighting. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya's* report goes against the testimony of *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir.*

CHAPTER IV

THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA

1. THE MUSLIM STATES IN THE EAST

A brief reference has been made above, in Chapter II, to the part played by the Saljūq Turks and the Shansabānīs of Ghūr in bringing about the fall of the Ghaznavids. In order to understand more clearly the background of the events that followed and ultimately led to the Muslim conquest of India, it is necessary to review briefly the history of these and other Muslim states in the east in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

As noted above, Sultān Mahmūd had to bear the brunt of Īlak Khān's attack and to buy peace by allowing him to capture the rich plain north of the Oxus. But soon another and far more numerous horde, the Ghuzz Turks, rose into prominence. Starting from the Kirghiz steppes of Turkistān, their chieftain named Saljūq had settled in the region of Bukhārā about the middle of the tenth century A.D. His grandsons, Chaghri Beg and Tughril Beg, rose to power by helping the Sāmānids against Īlak Khān. But soon after Mahmūd's death they crossed the Oxus, conquered Merv and Nīshāpūr from the Ghaznavids, and brought under their sway the whole of Khurāsān and northern Persia, the petty kingdoms of the land falling before them just as the Indian kings had succumbed before Mahmūd. In A.D. 1054 Tughril marched against Baghdād, revived the dying Caliphate, and gave it a lease of life for another two centuries. The greatest service that the Saljūqs rendered to Islam was to re-unite middle Asia from Afghānistān to the Mediterranean under one political authority, which made it possible for the Muslims to check the progress, first of the Byzantine Emperors, and later of the Crusaders.

The next important event in the politics of Central Asia in this age was the rise of the house of Khvārazm Shāh. Khvārazm (the modern Khiva) was bounded on the west by the Caspian, on the east by Bukhārā and the Oxus, and on the south by Khurāsān. It passed from the hands of the Sāmānids to the Ghaznavids, and from these to the Saljūqs. Ever since the Sāmānid days the governors of Khvārazm had enjoyed the title of Khvārazm Shāh. In the last quarter of the eleventh century the Saljūq Sultān Malik

Shāh appointed his cup-bearer Anushtegin governor of Khvārazm. Either he or his son Atsiz declared himself independent, and founded the dynasty of Khvārazm Shāh, which was destined to play for a century the leading role in the history of Central Asia.

At this time there entered into the arena of Central Asiatic politics a new force, the Qara Khitai Turks, who moved westward owing to the pressure of the Mongols and Chinese from the East. These Turks were not Muslim. In A.D. 1141 their leader (known as Gur Khān or Universal Lord) inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sultān Sanjar and shattered the power of the Saljūqs beyond recovery. This left the field free for the Khvārazm Shāhs to increase their power and possessions at the expense of the Saljūqs, and the Ghūrids or Chiefs of Ghūr to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Ghaznavids. Thus the two great powers, the Saljūqs in Persia and the Ghaznavids in Afghānistān and Khurāsān, were supplanted respectively by the Khvārazm Shāhs and the Ghūrids. At a later date, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khvārazm Shāh (A.D. 1199-1220), the more powerful of the two, drove the Ghūrids out of Khurāsān, and the Qara Khitais back into China, and extended his sway from Persia to Bukhārā and Samarqand. In A.D. 1214 he also drove out the Ghūrids even from Ghaznī and Afghānistān. But before we come to this period we shall deal in some detail with the ruling house of Ghūr which laid the foundation of the Muslim empire in India.

2. THE GHŪRIDS

The Ghūrids inhabited the region between Ghaznī and Herāt. Some writers think that they were Afghāns, but most probably they were eastern Persians. With the decline of Ghaznavid Sultāns they gradually asserted their power and finally the nephew of the "World-burner," Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad,[1] ascended the throne of Ghūr as Sultān in A.D. 1163. He drove the Ghuzz Turks from Ghaznī and made his brother Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad governor of that province in A.D. 1173. The latter, also called Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām, tried to emulate the exploits of Sultān Mahmūd and led several expeditions against India.

The early expeditions of Muhammad were made through the Gomal Pass, west of Dera Ismail Khan, and not through the Khyber, because the former was the safer and shorter route. Consequently Multān and Uch, which were the first to fall on his way, were wrested from their Qaramitah chiefs in A.D. 1175. By A.D. 1182 the Sūmra chief of lower Sindh was compelled to acknowledge Muhammad's suzerainty. So far the direction followed by Muhammad was correct. But when he attempted to cross the desert and penetrate

into Gujarāt, forgetting the experience of Mahmūd, he was acting against the dictates of geography. It would seem that some Turkish warriors had been frequently raiding the Rājput kingdoms from that quarter in the twelfth century, but all the attacks had been repulsed by the Gujarāt rulers. Following this tradition Muhammad crossed the desert and reached the foot of Mt. Abu in A.D. 1178, with an exhausted and famished army. The Turkish army was beaten with great slaughter by the forces of Mūlarāja II, the Chaulukya king of Gujarāt,[2] but Muhammad luckily managed to escape with the poor remnant of his ruined army. This reverse left no other course for him except that of entering India by the northern route and, consequently, of first wresting the Punjāb from the Ghaznavids. Soon an opportunity offered itself. Chakradeo, the ruler of Jammu, invited the Ghūrī Sultān to help him against Khusrav Malik, the Ghaznavid, as the latter was supporting the tribesmen, known as Khokars, who had rebelled against the authority of the Jammu chief. Muhammad accordingly invaded India. Peshāwar was taken in A.D. 1178, Siālkot fell in A.D. 1185, and the following year Lahore was captured by treachery from Khusrav Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, as has been described above.

Muhammad's fight with the Chāhamāna or Chauhān king Pṛithvīrāja, ending in the defeat and death of the latter in the second battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, has been described in the preceding chapter.

After this great victory Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad conquered Delhi, but, as noted above, Hindu chiefs were allowed to rule both in Ajmer and Delhi as tributary kings. He then occupied and garrisoned the military outposts of Hānsī, Kuhrām, Sursutī and Sirhind. After these brilliant victories Muhammad returned to Ghaznī, leaving his favourite general Malik Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak with an army at Indarpat, about ten miles from Delhi.

3. QUTB-UD-DĪN AIBAK'S CONQUESTS

Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak had full powers to deal with the Hindu chiefs and to make further conquests. A Hindu chief having besieged the garrison at Hānsī (A.D. 1192), Aibak at once rushed to its relief and defeated and slew the chief near Bāgar. Then he captured and garrisoned Meerut and Baran (modern Bulandshahr) in the upper Doāb, the latter place having fallen because of the treachery of Ajaipāl, a relation of the Dhor chief, who was a vassal of the Gāhaḍavālas. These two places served as military bases for operations in the east.

For consolidating the conquest it was necessary to settle at a central place, Indarpat being only a temporary camp. Aibak, therefore, drove away the Chauhān chief, who was suspected of hostile designs, from Delhi, and made it his capital early in A.D. 1193. Aibak had already occupied and garrisoned the mighty fort of Ranthambhor, but the Chāhamānas, under the leadership of Harirāja, brother of the late Pṛithvīrāja, recovered both Ajmer and Ranthambhor. Aibak immediately moved against them, and on his approach they withdrew. Meanwhile the dispossessed chief of Delhi again revolted, and Aibak had to go against him leaving Harirāja unsubdued. In the midst of all these preoccupations the Turkish general was called away by his master to Ghaznī, probably to help him against the Khvārazmian menace, and was away for six months. It is surprising that this long absence of Aibak was not utilised by the Indian chiefs to make an effective combination to drive out the foreigners from the land and to prevent their future entry into it. A splendid opportunity was thus missed by them. There were only stray risings and revolts which were easily put down, and soon after the conqueror returned, he occupied the Doāb as far as Kol (Aligarh) and garrisoned it.

(i) The Gāhaḍavālas

All this happened within an year and Aibak had prepared the ground for another avalanche from Ghūr. In A.D. 1193 Mu'izz-ud-dīn marched with fifty thousand cavalry against the Gāhaḍavālas, and was met by Jayachandra near Chandawar on the Yamunā, between Etāwah and Kanauj. A hard contest followed, and Jayachandra had well nigh scored a victory, when he received a deadly wound from an arrow and fell. His force was thrown into confusion and the lucky invader turned it into a rout. An orgy of extensive and ruthless massacre, rapine, and pillage followed. Temples and shrines were razed to the ground and relieved of their fabulous treasures. Banaras and the fort of Asni which contained the treasury of the Gāhaḍavālas were the first to be occupied. One thousand temples are said to have been destroyed at Banaras alone, and mosques raised in their places. This victory added extensive territory in Hindustān, as far east as Banaras and Chandrāvatī, to the dominions of the conqueror. But, as noted above, the Gāhaḍavālas recovered some of the territories.[3]

(ii) Ajmer, Gujarāt, Bayāna and Gwālior

Muhammad gathered the hoard of treasures and departed for Ghaznī, leaving Aibak to deal with the affairs in India. Aibak had enough work on hand to keep him occupied. The Hindu chiefs

were far from being effectively subdued, and the country was seething with hostility and revolt. Kol was being besieged by Dhor Rājputs; Ajmer was invested by Harirāja again, and an army led by Jhat Rai, under Harirāja's direction, was proceeding to recapture Delhi. But Aibak, nothing daunted, proved equal to the task. Detaching a part of his force to guard the capital, he proceeded towards Ajmer and cut off Jhat Rai on the way. The latter fell back to Ajmer which was then closely besieged by Aibak, reducing Harirāja to such straits that he, finding escape impossible, burnt himself on a funeral pyre to save himself from the humiliation of defeat and captivity. Aibak then set aside his protégé, the son of Pṛithvīrāja, and appointed one of his officers to govern it. Ajmer was thus annexed to the Delhi dominions in or shortly after A.D. 1194. It was at this time that Aibak erected the Quwwat-ul-Islām mosque at Delhi from the materials of 27 Hindu or Jain temples which were demolished. This was followed about A.D. 1196 by the erection of another mosque, which came to be popularly known as Āḍhāi-din-kā-Jhoṁpḍā, at Ajmer on the site of the Sanskrit college of Vīsaladeva. This mosque was completed in A.D. 1200.

In A.D. 1195 Mu'izz-ud-dīn returned to round off the conquest of Northern India by annexing the petty principalities of Bayāna and Gwālior. The chief of Bayāna, Kunwarpāla,[4] evacuated his capital and entrenched himself in the neighbouring fort of Thangarh (Tahangarh), but surrendered after a short siege. The several strongholds and strategic outposts of the locality were then occupied and garrisoned, and the command of this frontier between Rājputāna and Doāb was entrusted to Bahā-ud-dīn Tughril. The latter founded another military station, which he named Sultānkot, to serve as a base of operations both in the east and the west. After this the Ghūrī chief laid siege to the mighty fortress of Gwālior. This fort was not easy to subdue and the siege was prolonged. Therefore when the Parihār chief Sallakshaṇa opened negotiations for peace, Muhammad welcomed the opportunity, raised the siege, and retired, leaving Tughril to complete the reduction of the fort. The latter then so harried the Parihār chief by his frequent forays for more than a year that he was compelled to surrender his fort which was thus annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

There was however no respite for Aibak. In A.D. 1195-6 the Mher tribes of Ajmer combined with the Chaulukyas to expel the Turks from Rājputāna. Aibak had to rush to the help of the Turkish governor of Ajmer. Finding the Mhers camping near Ajmer he engaged them in a battle, but when the enemy were reinforced by the Chaulukya ruler's army, Aibak was forced to withdraw into

the city. Here he was closely besieged and his position became very precarious. But the fortunate approach of reinforcements from Ghaznī at this critical moment saved him. On the approach of this force the Rājputs raised the siege and retired.

To avenge this attack Aibak early next year mustered a powerful army and advanced on Aṇahillapāṭaka (Anhilwāra). It seems that Bhīma II of Gujarāt, on the approach of Aibak's force, retired to some distant fortress. But, as noted above,[5] Rai Karan, assisted by Dhārāvarsha Paramāra of Abu, collected a huge army and awaited the Turks at the foot of the Abu hills. Aibak quailed before this enormous horde or perhaps he feigned fright, and resorted to shock tactics. When the Rājputs, thinking that Aibak was trying to avoid engagement, came out into the open, the Turks made a sudden onslaught. The superior manoeuvres and quicker movement triumphed over superior numbers, and the Rājputs met with a terrible reverse. Fifty thousand men are said to have been slain and twenty thousand taken captive. The Muslims mercilessly sacked the capital city Aṇahillapāṭaka, defiled and demolished its temples, and plundered its palaces. According to Firishta a Muslim officer was placed in charge of Gujarāt and Aibak returned to Delhi. But, shortly after, Bhīma came out of his hiding place, and the Turks were gradually driven out of Gujarāt. Some scholars suppose that it was due to the valour shown by Bhīma II that the Turks did not venture to attack Gujarāt for one full century. But the immunity of Gujarāt from Turkish invasion was probably due mainly to its being situated at a long distance from the capital with the important territory of Rājputāna intervening between the two. These obstacles were not easy to overcome for a general who was kept preoccupied with insurgence and revolt rampant in the country around the capital.

(iii) Northern Doāb and Rājputāna

In the following year the country beyond the Gaṅgā, Katehr and Budaun (Badāyun), was reduced to submission, and Chandawar and Kanauj had again to be captured. Some expeditions were also probably undertaken into Rājputāna which compelled the Chāhamānas (Chauhāns) of Nāḍol to migrate to safer places. These Chauhān chieftains founded the houses of Kotah, Bundi and Sirohi. Nevertheless Aibak could not establish a firm and lasting foothold over Rājputāna.

(iv) The Chandellas (Chandels)

The conquest of the northern Doāb and the surrounding country being complete, it was now the turn of the next great king-

dom which touched the south-eastern border of the Turkish dominions. This was the kingdom of the brave Chandellas of Jejākabhukti (modern Bundelkhand). Their kingdom extended as far as Kālpi and Asni in the north and beyond the line of the Yamunā in the east. Their country was rugged, full of ravines, and waterless, and they possessed a number of mighty forts perched on the summits of hills, the mightiest of these being Kālañjara (Kālinjar) and Mahobā. The king of the Chandels at this time was Paramardī or Paramāl (c. A.D. 1163-1203).

Border raids and hostilities had been going on between the Turks and Chandels ever since the former's occupation of the northern country. But the final attack by Aibak was made in A.D. 1202. Paramardī withdrew and shut himself in the fort of Kālinjar, which was besieged by Aibak. Cut off from contact with the outside world and deprived of the necessary supplies, Paramardī was constrained to sue for peace and offered to pay tribute. But before the terms of the treaty could be put into execution the Chandel ruler died, and his minister Ajayadeva, relying on a newly discovered supply of water, repudiated the treaty and decided to continue hostilities. He, too, however, could not resist long and retired to Ajayagarh fort, leaving Kālinjar, Mahobā and Khajurāho to the Turkish general. Hasan Arnal was entrusted with the government of this territory.

4. IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYĀR KHALJĪ

In their original design of conquest neither Mu'izz-ud-dīn nor Aibak had probably dreamt of penetrating beyond the Gāhaḍavāla dominions in the very first thrust. It was due to the sheer daredevil adventure of a reckless soldier that the eastern lands were also added to the dominion of the Turks.

Among the many free-lances who had come in the entourage of Muhammad Ghūrī, was a daring adventurer named Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī. The handicap of an uncouth personal appearance stood in the way of his getting employment at Ghaznī and Delhi. Nothing daunted by these disappointments, he at first took up a humble soldier's job under Hijabr-ud-dīn Hasan Adīb of Budaun in A.D. 1193, and some time later, under Malik Hisām-ud-dīn Āghūl Bak, who had established himself in Awadh. Here he was entrusted with the work of reconnoitring the adjacent territories and was assigned some villages for his upkeep. This afforded him an opportunity to give full play to his adventurous spirit. From his small income he got together a small contingent of adventurers and, about the year A.D. 1200, commenced raids on the

Magadha territory beyond the Karmanāśā which was probably the western boundary of the Sena kingdom. It is surprising that he met with no opposition whatsoever by the Sena ruler who, indeed, seems to have taken no notice of these raids. Within a short time Bakhtyār amassed enough fortune from his plunders to build up a large force. Finding these districts utterly prostrate and incapable of any resistance, he was emboldened to push as far as the Vihāra (monastic University town) of Odantapurī (Bihār) and, obtaining permission from Aibak, made a final attack upon that town. There were no soldiers to defend it. But some feeble resistance was offered by the helpless shaven-headed Śramaṇas (Buddhist monks), who were taken by Bakhtyār to be Brahmin priests and were slaughtered.

After capturing Odantapurī Bakhtyār visited Aibak at Budaun and secured permission for further conquests, but on condition of relying on his own resources without expecting any help from the chief. Within a year of the Bihār expedition Bakhtyār set out on his campaign against Nadiyā. How he captured this city and conquered a large part of Bengal has been described above.[6]

Nadiyā was not occupied permanently; presumably on account of its strategic position it was not easy, and probably even dangerous, to hold it. Bakhtyār therefore sacked it and retreated to a safer place which he could also use as his military base for further operations. This place was Lakhnāwatī (Lakshmaṇāvatī), the northern capital of the Senas on the Gaṅgā (near the site of Gaur, in District Malda). Bakhtyār's phenomenal success in Bengal had fired him with the ambition of conquering even Tibet. He therefore marched with a large army, led by a Koch guide, presumably along the Brahmaputra, and arrived at a spot where there was a stone bridge across the river, leading into the hills. Here his guide took leave of him and, as the Khaljī warrior was about to proceed, he received a message from the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam) advising him to postpone his campaign till the following year when he would reinforce him. Bakhtyār paid no heed to this and plunged forward, reaching on the 16th day the open country of Tibet. Here he met with a tough resistance and heard that an army of 50,000 Turks was on its way to meet him. This report unnerved him and his forces, and he decided to beat a hasty retreat. Due to the hostility of the hillmen, it became a veritable rout, and much of the force was destroyed on the way. When he reached the bridge where he had crossed the river, he found that it had been demolished by an Assamese army, and he was forced to seek shelter in a neighbouring temple. But, on being besieged there, he dashed out with the remnant of his followers, and all desparately threw themselves into

the river to ford or swim across it. The river was deep and the current very swift, so that most of his men were washed away. Bakhtyār managed to reach the shore with hardly a hundred men. Here his guide met him and conducted him back to Devakot. Crushed and broken by the weight of this disaster Bakhtyār sickened and rapidly sank until the merciful knife of one of his own lieutenants, 'Alī Mardān, relieved him of all his troubles (*c.* A.D. 1206).

5. END OF THE GHŪRĪ DYNASTY

We may now revert to the last days of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Ghūrī's career. The Khvārazmian house constituted the greatest menace to the rise and expansion of the Ghūrids. Instigated by the Caliph of Baghdād whom the Khvārazmian Takash had offended, and taking advantage of a civil war which had ensued on the death of Takash (A.D. 1200) between his son and grandson, the Ghūrid princes occupied Khurāsān and captured its important towns, Nīshāpūr, Tus, and Merv, early in A.D. 1201. Their triumph was, however, shortlived. 'Alā-ud-dīn, who eventually succeeded Takash, proved to be more than a match for the Ghūrids. He soon recovered Nīshāpūr and other Ghūrid conquests including even Herāt (A.D. 1201).

Ghiyās-ud-dīn, the elder brother of Mu'izz-ud-dīn, died in A.D. 1202, and the latter ascended the throne of Ghūr. The hostility with the Khvārazmians continued, and in A.D. 1205 Mu'izz-ud-dīn sustained such a severe defeat at their hands at Andkhūī that his military reputation and prestige in India suffered a fatal blow. The Khokars and other tribes in India rose in rebellion and defeated the governor of Multān. They also plundered Lahore and closed the road between that city and Ghaznī. Mu'izz-ud-dīn, bent upon taking revenge against the Khvārazmians, at first asked Aibak to deal with the outbreak, but was ultimately convinced by the seriousness of the situation that his presence was necessary. He accordingly left Ghaznī on October 20, 1205, and within a month defeated the Khokars in a hotly contested battle between the Jhelum and the Chenāb rivers. The Khokars fought bravely from the morning to the afternoon, and were on the point of gaining victory, when the arrival of Aibak with the forces of Hindustān turned the tide against them. The Khokars were treated with ferocious cruelty. Large numbers were killed and taken prisoners, and a body of them, who took shelter in a dense jungle, perished miserably as the Muslims set the forest on fire. Mu'izz-ud-dīn reached Lahore on February 25, 1206, and after settling affairs there, proceeded towards Ghaznī. On the way he was stabbed on March 15 in his tent at Damyak on the bank of the Sindhu river.

The identity of the assassins has not been satisfactorily established. Some hold that they were Khokars who had lately suffered so severely at his hands. But others believe that they were "fanatical Shiahs of the heretical Ismā'īlī Sect" who got possession of Khurāsān and held it until they were crushed by Mu'izz-ud-dīn in A.D. 1199.

The body of Mu'izz-ud-dīn was carried to Ghaznī and buried there. But the Ghūrid empire did not long survive him. His nephew and successor Mahmūd had to acknowledge the Khvārazm Shāh's suzerainty, and after his death the bulk of the Ghūrī empire passed under the sway of the Khvārazmians. For a short while Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, a slave of Mu'izz-ud-dīn, managed to retain hold of Ghaznī. With his expulsion in A.D. 1215, the Ghūrī empire in Central Asia came to an end, and the Khvārazm Shāh took the place of lords of Ghaznī. The Indian conquests of the Ghūrīs, however, proved far more stable. The story of this empire will form the subject of the next chapter.

6. CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE OF HINDU RULE

The astounding rapidity of the Turkish conquest constitutes an important problem for the students of Indian history. It is puzzling, nay almost baffling, to explain the almost complete collapse of Northern India, within an incredibly short time, before the onslaught of invaders whose power and resources were hardly equal to those of some of the bigger Hindu States, not to speak of a combination of them. It is natural that men should seek to solve the mystery and find out the real causes that lay behind the great political catastrophe that overwhelmed India. History would appear to be meaningless if facts of such outstanding importance cannot be viewed in their true perspective against a proper background. It is no wonder, therefore, that various speculations have been made and diverse solutions offered to the problem.

Certain general considerations must, however, be borne in mind, while we approach the question in a critical spirit. To begin with, we are not sure of the essential facts on which all theories must necessarily be based. The history of the Muslim conquest of India is known, almost in its entirety, from the chronicles written by the Muslims. Apart from a few incidental notices or brief allusions, the Hindu sources are silent on this great episode. But the picture of a victor, as painted by himself alone, can hardly be regarded as a reliable representation, or even an approximation to truth. The general outline may indeed be fairly correct, but it is impossible to accept, without question, those numerous details which colour the

narrative and necessarily form the principal materials for our judgment. This is well illustrated by the current story about the conquests of Muhammad Bakhtyār, mentioned above.[7] On the face of it, it appears incredible that Lakshmaṇasena should not have taken adequate steps to defend his frontier against a probable, one might say a known, danger, or that his guards should have admitted, without question, the Turkish horsemen inside the capital city at a time when an invasion was apprehended at any moment. The extreme improbability of the situation almost necessarily implies that we have not the full story before us, and that if the defenders' version were known, much that appears incredible to-day would have appeared in a different light and we could have taken a more rational view of the whole situation.

So long, at least, as the main facts are not definitely established, it is idle to speculate on the causes that led to the debacle of the Hindus. It is equally unwarranted to attribute it solely to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct, and based on no sure knowledge of facts. It is true that we have a mass of literature and other data on this subject, but it is difficult to explain their bearing on the social evolution in different parts of India at different periods of time.

We have thus to grapple with the great difficulty caused by the uncertainty in regard to facts—political, social and religious—which must form the essential data in any endeavour to probe the deeper cause underlying the broad fact of the Turkish conquest of India. This should make us pause in our laudable attempt towards a philosophical interpretation of historical facts, and turn our attention to the serious defects underlying all suggested solutions of the very interesting problem. In any case, we must moderate our zeal and fully realise that while it is incumbent on us to discuss the problem, any solution that we may offer at the present state of our knowledge cannot claim any scientific basis, far less, finality in character.

Subject to these natural limitations we may refer to some of the causes of the downfall of the Hindus that appear probable in the light of the available data. The foremost among these seem to be the iniquitous system of caste and the absence of contact with the outside world. The first resulted in a fragmentation of Indian society into mutually exclusive classes, among whom the privileged minority preserved their vested interests by depriving the masses of many civic rights, specially of education and of free intercourse and association on equal terms with their fellowmen, and further, by imposing on them the most irritating disabilities on the one hand, and a tremendous weight of innumerable duties and obli-

gations towards the privileged classes on the other. And this evil led to another. It bred among the leaders of the Indian people a vain pride in isolationism and insularity and that attitude of arrogance which has been noticed by Al-Bīrūnī. "The Hindus", says he, "believe that there is no country but theirs, no king like theirs, no science like theirs . . . . If they travelled and mixed with other nations they would soon change their mind." Al-Bīrūnī also remarks that "their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation." This spirit of exclusive superiority was created and maintained by a process of intellectual fraud, inasmuch as almost the entire literature of the period was utilised for this purpose and the masses were asked to follow it blindly in the name of the Holy Writ, to question whose authority was an unpardonable sin. It became thus a part of the Hindu *dharma* not to cross the seas or even the territorial limits of certain hallowed areas! This insularity contributed largely to the supineness of the Indian chiefs, and their utter lack of appreciation of the higher values of patriotism and national freedom in the context of India as a whole, apart from the narrow geographical regions in which they lived. Consequently they were unable to comprehend the far-reaching importance of, and the proper measures for, frontier defence, in view of the great political changes and evolution in military tactics which were taking place in the world outside.

The degraded level to which the majority were pushed down made them indifferent to country-wide dangers and kindred problems. This alone made possible the woeful situation that while the invaders swept across the country, the masses mostly remained inert. The people of the land, with a few exceptions, were indifferent to what was happening around them. Their voice had been hushed in silence by a religio-social tyranny. No public upheaval greets the foreigners, nor are any organised efforts made to stop their progress. Like a paralysed body, the Indian people helplessly look on, while the conqueror marches on their corpse. They look staggered, for a moment, only to sink back into a pitiable acquiescence to the inevitable to which they have been taught to submit.

Then, again, the false ideals of Kshatriya chivalry, taught them by their mentors, made the Rājput princes paralyse one another by perpetual internecine conflicts, and what was more fatal, made them oblivious of a broad national vision and patriotic sentiment.

This alone can explain why, or how, at a time when the country was threatened with a grave peril, the rulers of the land devoted the best part of their energies in mutual fighting. The enormous wealth of the country was spent in building and enrich-

ing the temples which they proved unable to protect, whereas the most appropriate use for these resources should have been to organise a common defence against the invaders, backed by a national effort. On the contrary it was the very fabulous wealth of these defenceless temples and sacred towns which invited the foreigners and contributed greatly to the consequent disaster.

History had no meaning for the Hindu kings who presided over the destinies of this woe-stricken land. The repeated warnings of the past went unheeded. The onslaught began with the Arab conquest of Sindh in the eighth century when the Hindus got a foretaste of what might happen in the future. But it assumed formidable proportions under the lead of Mahmūd at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. The next century and a half witnessed a cessation of this onslaught, barring a few comparatively minor and irregular raids. But when the offensive was resumed by another Turk, even though he was far inferior to Mahmūd, he found the victim as ready for slaughter as it was two centuries earlier. As noted above, it is passing strange that Pṛithvīrāja had not taken any adequate measure after his victory at Tarain to prevent the second invasion of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Ghūrī. Nor is there any evidence to show that the great Sena king bestirred himself early enough to stop the marauding excursions of Muhammad Bakhtyār in Bihār and Bengal. While individual courage and bravery were certainly not wanting, there was lack of wisdom and statesmanship, of the knowledge of the outside world, and of a desire to keep abreast with the spirit of the time. No realistic adjustment, no far-sighted approach to the problem which had stared them in the face for centuries and threatened their very existence, no improvement in outlook, no elevation of political vision from their petty jealousies and parochial ideals, and consequently no preparation for a concerted defence commensurate with the extent of the danger—these were the conspicuous traits of the Hindu rulers and their priestly conscience-keepers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. National consciousness, love of country, and pride of freedom were smothered under the weight of a mass of rituals and social conventions, a petty-minded vanity, and narrow selfishness. Add to this the not infrequent cases of treason and treachery on the part of ministers and other officials, and we shall have a fairly complete picture. But whether it fully reveals the reasons of the collapse or not, one thing seems to be reasonably certain. The utter and precipitate prostration of such a vast and ancient land, endowed with resources far superior and greater to those of her invaders, can be the result mainly of internal decay and not merely of external attacks, which were its effect rather than the cause.[8]

1. See above, pp. 96-7.
2. See above, p. 78.
3. See pp. 54-5.
4. See above, pp. 55-6.
5. See p. 79.
6. See pp. 39-40.
7. See p. 39.
8. Cf. 'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions' by R. C. Majumdar in *M. M. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 341-51.

CHAPTER V

THE MAMLŪK SULTĀNS OF DELHI[1]

I. QUTB-UD-DĪN AIBAK AND ILTUTMISH

The victories of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, related in the last chapter, had only initiated a process whose completion, requiring sustained military direction, seemed foredoomed by the implications of his sudden death on the bank of the Sindhu. The Andkhūī disaster[2] had robbed him of his Central Asian empire; his assassination at Damyak threatened Ghaznī itself. For, the Khvārazm Shāh was now free to extend his empire beyond the Hindu Kush and the annexation of the Ghūr kingdom was only a question of time. Because of their affiliation with the doomed kingdom, the Indian provinces also lay exposed to the perennially unstable politics of Central Asia where, towards the east, stirrings of a yet another race-movement could already reach the discerning ear. Within India, the tide of Turkish conquest seemed to be turning. Even before Bakhtyār's disastrous defeat in Assam, Kālañjara was reconquered by the Chandellas, while in the Doāb, Gāhaḍavāla princelings held out in defiant independence.[3]

A unified command in India, unhampered by considerations of trans-Indus politics, was urgently called for, but to achieve this was in itself a major task. For, Mu'izz-ud-dīn left no son but a band of slaves to claim his dominions. His nephew Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd, "a prince in whose disposition, conviviality, pleasure and jollity were dominant",[4] was satisfied with his ancestral principality of Firozkoh and nursed no greater ambition than to be asked to manumit the bond-slaves of his family. Among these was the able and ambitious Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz who, purporting to fulfil his master's wish, possessed himself of Ghaznī and so felt qualified to claim suzerain status. To this was opposed the ambitions of two of his co-slaves, Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha and Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, both holding extensive commands in India. The latter enjoyed an extra distinction as being placed in general charge of his master's Indian conquests and thus exercising *de facto* authority of a viceroy from Delhi.

Aibak's assumption of supreme power in Lahore in June 1206, therefore, meant no formal change in the government, for he adopted no sovereign titles and issued no coin of his own. But the step implied severance of India's ties with Ghaznī and so forestalled Yil-

diz's claims. In order to keep himself ready for the latter's enmity, Aibak mostly lived in Lahore, and the task of extending authority over the outlying areas could receive only his passing attention. Qabācha, in any case, could not be immediately interfered with in his sovereign authority over Sindh, nor could military action be resumed to arrest the revival of native powers in India. For, on the west the situation was changing fast. In A.D. 1208 the Khvārazm Shāhi pressure forced Yildiz out of Ghaznī, and as he sought shelter in the Punjāb, Aibak, fearing an extension of Khvārazmi aggression to India, promptly drove him out and then moved to occupy Ghaznī. The venture, however, failed, for the citizens secretly facilitated Yildiz's sudden return and Aibak had to beat a hurried retreat.[5]

Except for a passing attention to the affairs of Lakhnāwatī where Khaljī lieutenants of the deceased Bakhtyār had set up a clannish oligarchy and so had to be forced to admit Delhi's suzerainty,[6] Aibak remained preoccupied with the problem of preserving his government's separate entity and of establishing a political frontier. That task was still unaccomplished when he died in A.D. 1210. But he had successfully initiated a State and outlined its foreign policy.

As an instrument of this State a dynastic leadership was, however, essential, and in the circumstances a contest appeared the only means of stabilizing it. While his son, an untried youth named Ārām, succeeded Aibak in Lahore, a more powerful faction at Delhi favoured his son-in-law, Iltutmish, lately the *muqṭi* (Governor) of Baran and an officer of proved ability and tact. The schism, though lasting not more than eight months and ending with the death of Ārām while leading his forces on Delhi, intensified the immediate problems. Qabācha pushed to Multān and extended his hold over Lahore, Bhātinda, and even Sursutī; the Hindu feudatories showed increasing defiance, and Ranthambhor, originally placed under Pṛithvīrāja's son, ceased to own vassalage; the Pratīhāras, commonly known as Parihāras, reoccupied Gwālior;[7] and in Lakhnāwatī Aibak's nominee 'Ali Mardān declared independence. A more pressing danger came from the north-west where Yildiz was fast losing ground to the Khvārazm Shāh and yet waxing in imperial pretensions.

Iltutmish eschewed Aibak's impetuosity and acted with circumspection. His own position was still insecure, and a fierce rising of the *jāndārs* (guards) of Delhi in support of Ārām was suppressed with difficulty. He therefore preferred to placate his rivals and even pretended to accept an investiture from Yildiz. He also

affected complete indifference when the latter's troops expelled Qabācha from Lahore and occupied most of the Punjāb. But he took advantage of the vacuum and quietly tightened his grip on the cis-Sutlej districts of Sursutī, Bhātinda and Kuhrām. By the time political developments across the Sindhu came to a head, and a decisive action on his part became unavoidable, he had greatly strengthened his position and established a firm hold on the country up to Banaras. When, therefore, Yildiz was finally driven out of Ghaznī in A.D. 1215 and, falling back on Lahore, sent imperious orders to send forces from Delhi to aid him, Iltutmish faced him with confidence, and captured him in an open battle at Tarain.[8]

A straight march on Lahore would have been a natural sequel to the victory, but Iltutmish preferred to measure his steps. Qabācha's reoccupation of the city was therefore acquiesced in, while he reorganised his newly extended western frontier. Two years later he seized upon an alleged breach of agreement and moved his troops across the Beās to Lahore. Qabācha fled in haste to Uch, and Delhi officers took the city without any opposition.[9]

This steady advance towards the Sindhu basin, however, received a serious set-back when, like an avalanche, the Mongols of Tartary swept across Central Asia and drove an incalculable number of refugees—princes and people alike—into the safety of the Punjāb. The Khvārazmi empire was rolled up in the process, and the crown-prince of Khiva, Jalāl-ud-dīn Mangbarnī, chased through Khurāsān and Afghānistān, was sent flying across the Sindhu. There Chingīz Khān stopped, posted troops to watch the border of the Sindhu and search for the fugitive prince, and returned to die shortly after in A.D. 1222.

These sudden catastrophic changes gravely imperilled the kingdom of Iltutmish. All his exertions to keep away from the trans-Indus power-politics appeared frustrated when Jalāl-ud-dīn's continued sojourn in the Punjāb threatened to invite Mongol operations. It severely taxed Iltutmish's diplomacy to refuse the prince's request for shelter and armed assistance against the pagan Mongols, and yet show his solidarity with the Muslim cause. To the irresistible Mongols he gave a wide berth, and, when they came to search for Mangbarnī in the Salt Range, he pretended not to take offence. He took no action when the prince moved away from the Mongols towards Lahore but got an army ready to oppose his progress further eastwards. Thus confined, the prince forced an alliance on the Hindu chief of the Salt Range, gathered a straggling army of fugitive tribes and, moving up and down the Sindhu valley, caused enormous devastation in Qabācha's kingdom. The re-

gion north of Multān became practically a no man's land, and it was therefore sought to be made a Khvārazmian principality. When Mangbarnī passed through lower Sindh on his final exit *via* Kerman, he set fire to Uch, seized Sehwān, and put the ruler of Debal to flight. To follow up the territorial advantages secured by such methods, he left two of his officers, Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai who, pressed inexorably by the Mongols from the west, steadily fell back on lower Sindh as a thorn in Qabācha's side. Following a Mongol siege of Multān shortly after, the first of a series of such raids, a large horde of Khaljī tribesmen broke into Sehwān for shelter, and the effect of all this left Qabācha gasping for breath.[10]

All this advanced Iltutmish's plans against his rival, if not his scheme for the consolidation of the frontier. Advancing from Lahore, which he reoccupied shortly after Mangbarnī's departure, he forced Qabācha out of Multān and Uch, and, almost without a battle, drove him to seek shelter in the island fortress of Bhakar, and eventually to a watery grave in the Sindhu (A.D. 1228).[11]

Delhi's frontier now ran along the lower courses of that river, but in the north Iltutmish found himself facing a far more difficult problem. The Sindhu basin had become a Mongol operational area with a tendency to spread eastward as Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai continued to yield ground. They were useless as buffers, and assistance to them meant inviting Mongol aggression, and yet their complete elimination would bring the unwelcome Mongols nearer still. Iltutmish was thus constrained to watch the situation, while instructing his officers on the border to reduce the Chenāb and Jhelum valleys without giving direct offence to the Mongols. Before his death he managed to extend his rule up to Siālkot and Hajner in the north, but failed to make much headway on the west beyond a preliminary advance on Nandana in the Salt Range.

Nevertheless, Iltutmish had solved the major problem of territorial integration under a single command. Immediately after Mangbarnī's departure from India Iltutmish recovered enough confidence to attempt a reconquest of Lakhnāwatī, the province in the east, where 'Alī Mardān's misrule had been followed by the assumption of power by Hisām-ud-dīn 'Iwaz Khaljī, one of Bakhtyār's junior associates. The latter had assumed sovereign status, and by good government and profitable raid into neighbouring Hindu states had increased his resources. By a show of force Iltutmish succeeded, in A.D. 1225, in inducing the Khaljī king to agree to a limitation of his sovereignty and to relinquish his hold on Bihār.

Within a year, however, 'Iwaz broke the agreement, and seized Bihār. This brought upon him Iltutmish's crown-prince, Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, who, from his base in Awadh (Oudh), swooped on 'Iwaz's capital and slew him in battle. But the province did not immediately settle down to a subordinate status. Within two years Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd died in Lakhnāwatī, and a Khaljī chief, who acknowledged Delhi's suzerainty, was pushed out by another named Balkā whom Iltutmish had to defeat by a personally conducted campaign in A.D. 1229.[12]

With equal energy and determination, but with less decisive results, he set to work to wrest the military initiative from the Hindu princes. In the area south of the Chambal, the Parihāras, starting from the recaptured Gwālior as their base, had expanded their rule over Jhānsi and Narwar.[13] At Ranthambhor the Chāhamāna (Chauhān) family under Govindarāja had also found strength to follow an independent course of expansion and to impose paramountcy over the neighbouring states, despite a nominal allegiance to the "Suratrāṇa Lititimishi (Iltutmish) of Yoginīpura (Delhi)". A collateral branch, ruling at Jālor in apparent repudiation of the vassalage imposed by Aibak, also extended overlordship over a large area in south-west Rājputāna and claimed even to have repeatedly humbled the Turks.[14] In the north, the Yaduvaṁśī or Jādoṅbhaṭṭis controlled the approaches to Alwar and so practically sealed off Bayāna, Thangir and even Ajmer.

The extent of the revival of Hindu Powers and the difficulties facing the Delhi troops were heavily underlined by the inconclusive results of Iltutmish's operations in Rājputāna. Opening the campaign in A.D. 1226, he took Ranthambor and Mandāwar and humbled Jālor, but was repulsed with heavy losses by the Guhilots from Nāgdā. Rājput records speak also of his failure in an attack on the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt. A similar expedition, conducted by one of his officers against the Chauhāns of Bundi, also ended in failure. While he recaptured Bayāna and Tahangarh, and widened the Ajmer base by garrisoning the neighbouring positions of Lawah, Kasili and Sāmbhar, the success proved temporary, for it failed to arrest the Chauhān revival. A seemingly successful raid into Mālwā in A.D. 1234-35 similarly gave Iltutmish more plunder and righteous satisfaction than political or military advantage, for the Paramāras remained in undisturbed possession of the country for the rest of the century.[15]

No more decisive results attended his efforts along the southern frontier. He recaptured and garrisoned Gwālior, but his raids produced no effect on the Chandellas whose hold on the country as

far as Jhānsi showed no sign of slackening. A foretaste of the rising power of a new dynasty was also provided to the Delhi commander, Malik Tayasāī, who led an expedition through Central Indian defiles against the Chandellas. On his return march he was defeated by the powerful "Rānā Chāhir Ajari", Chāhaḍadeva of the Jajapella (Yajvapāla) dynasty which was just rising to power around Narwar (Gwālior State) and was to supplant the Parihāras in Gwālior.[16]

Even in the heart of the kingdom, the Gaṅgā-Yamunā area, Iltutmish launched operations whose successful termination he was not destined to see. Although Hariśchandra, the last of the imperial Gāhaḍavāla line, is not heard of again, in the districts north of the Gaṅgā round Budaun, Farrukhābād, and Bareilly, numerous Hindu chiefs had found sheltered bases against the Turkish posts in the Doāb. In Anola the Katehriya Rājputs had formed a strong hold and, with the remnant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Budaun, not only barred Turkish expansion across the Gaṅgā but encroached even on Awadh, which area, in itself, harboured not a few resisting chiefs. Iltutmish's operations in the region are not sufficiently detailed, but the inclusion by his chronicler of Budaun, Kanauj and even Banaras among his conquest, can be understood only in this context, for these places had figured in Aibak's initial conquests also. Since the Katehriyas continued to engage the Sultanate's forces throughout and far beyond the thirteenth century, Iltutmish's reported capture of Katehr can only indicate the range of his operations. Some idea of the nature of the fighting in these areas may be formed from reference to Prince Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd's waging continuous "holy wars against the refractory Hindu tribes" and to his overthrowing a chief "named Bartu, beneath whose sword a hundred and twenty thousand Mussalmans had attained martyrdom". Armed insurrection prevailed in the Doāb also, and governors emphasised their success by such reports as the capture "of the son of the Raja of Chandwar".[17] Most of these were, however, personal triumphs, shortlived and local in effect, and they could do little to help the Delhi Government in reducing the extent and power of the Hindu resistance.

Iltutmish died in A.D. 1236. His greatest achievement was the initiation of a dynastic monarchy, and in utilising it in welding the loosely conquered territories into a political unity. To have preserved the Sultanate's separate entity and escaped the repurcussions of earlier affiliations with Central Asia when Chingīz Khān swept through the Continent was a very difficult task which he accomplished with great foresight and skill. It was sheer ability which earned him, an ex-slave, almost a sacrosanct right to the crown, and

the Caliph's investiture, received in A.D. 1229,[18] only confirmed the status which his dynasty and state had acquired. Working on the outlines drawn by Aibak, he filled in the details of a military state and richly deserved his position as its first king.

II. WEAK SUCCESSORS OF ILTUTMISH

For thirty years after the death of Iltutmish the Sultanate was confronted with problems which nearly destroyed its structure. Due to the absence of well-defined rules of succession, struggles for power recurred frequently, and the Government, with its energies distracted by such internal strife, was unable to maintain continuity of action against the Mongols or the Hindu States.

On the unexpected death of his crown prince, Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, in A.D. 1229, Iltutmish had nominated, after some hesitation, his eldest daughter, Raziyya, to succeed him, in supersession of his other grown-up sons. No legal difficulty bothered him or his courtiers; nor was any doubt entertained about her abilities, for she had been tested frequently when her father left her in charge of the government during his campaigns. But practical considerations of pitting a young woman against the jealousy of her grown-up brothers and of the proud nobles seemed to have weighed with him towards the end, for, before his death, he summoned his eldest surviving son, Fīrūz, from Lahore with a view, as was interpreted by interested parties, to his succession. The prince, in any case, secured the support of the provincial governors who had assembled in the capital to join the king's last expedition which his illness caused to be abandoned, and got himself proclaimed king on the night of his father's death.

If he had abilities he could possibly have disarmed all opposition, but he proved a colourless rake who left all power to his mother Shāh Turkān, a low-born, jealous woman, whose vicious rule almost immediately drove her own supporters to revolt. The governors of Multān, Lahore, Hānsī, Budaun and Awadh, resolved to end this petticoat rule, moved their forces towards Delhi, from where even the *wazir,* Junaidī, deserted his post to join them. Fīrūz marched out to meet the rebels, but his own army officers revolted on the way, murdered his body-guards, and returned to the capital, to find that during the Friday prayer the aggrieved Raziyya had cleverly exploited the popular discontent against Shāh Turkān and, in the name of her father, had induced the populace to seize and throw her into prison. The army officers completed the process by proclaiming Raziyya's accession, and so Fīrūz returned only

to find the shackles ready for him. His death in prison followed an inglorious reign of seven months.

The new sovereign received popular acclaim when she asked for a chance to prove her abilities "far better than any man"; but the *coup* displeased the insurgent governors who were converging on Delhi with the obvious intention, not only of deposing Fīrūz, but also of making their own choice of a king. Opposing not so much the new ruler as the method by which she captured the throne, they encamped opposite the city and began a siege by cutting all communication with the outlying provinces. But the queen proved equal to the task. Having no strong military force at her command at the moment, and unable to summon reinforcements from loyal provinces, she resorted to the well-known trick of dividing her enemies. She persuaded two of the insurgents to agree to join her secretly and betray their comrades, and then spread this news among the latter who thereupon took fright and fled. Many were pursued and slain while the *wazir* died a lone fugitive in the Sirmur hills.

Raziyya's reign of three years forms a brief interlude in a decade of oligarchic misrule increased by factiousness. Aware of the powers claimed by her father's freedmen, and aware also of the need for vigorous exercise of the Crown's authority in a state which was still military in nature and function, she tried to compensate for the disability, supposedly attaching to her sex, by foresight, firmness and kingly demeanour which her courtiers hardly expected from a young woman. She discarded female attire, rode out in public, and held open court; she selected for high offices men of her own choice and, deliberately, not always from among Iltutmish's freedmen who came to be known as 'the Forty.'[19] Among these new appointees was the Abyssinian Jalāl-ud-dīn Yāqūt whose promotion to the post of *Amir-i-Akhur* (Master of the Stables), a sinecure carrying more prestige than power, was obviously calculated to counter the Forty's monopolistic control of all such offices. Like her father Raziyya showed a realistic prudence when she firmly but tactfully turned down an invitation to form an alliance with Hasan Qarlugh, the Khvārazmi representative, who was then struggling singly against the Mongols in the western Sindh Sāgar Doāb.[20]

The 'Forty' could hardly tolerate such calculated undermining of their position. By the third year of Raziyya's reign a conspiracy was set afoot to depose her or at least to curb her liberty of action. With Aitigīn, the *Amir-i-Hajib* (Grand Chamberlain), at the head, and with all the Turkish officers in and outside the court in collu-

sion, the conspirators tried to stage a *coup*. Since this was not found possible during her stay in the capital, where she enjoyed strong popular support and kept a vigilant watch, they planned to decoy her to a distant province where they could isolate her by force while partisans seized the capital. A revolt was accordingly staged by the governor of Lahore early in A.D. 1240, but the queen confounded the conspirators by the energy and speed with which she marched out, chased the rebel as far as the Chenāb, and compelled him to surrender unconditionally, before his friends could join him. Within a fortnight of her return, however, another rebellion was reported from Bhātinda, then under the command of Malik Altūniya. Disregarding the heat and the inconveniences of the month of *Ramazan,* the queen again marched out with all available forces. On arrival the conspirators in her retinue rose against her, murdered Yāqūt and her other supporters, and imprisoned her in the Bhātinda fort. Working on a pre-arranged plan, and before the return of the ring leaders, the Delhi partisans immediately occupied the palace and proclaimed the accession of their nominee, Iltutmish's third son, Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām (April, 1240).[21]

Bahrām's installation was the reward, as it transpired, for his agreeing to leave all effective power to the conspirators; he was to retain his prerogatives but the government was to be entrusted to one of their nominees designated *Nāib-i-Māmlikat* (Deputy of the State) for "at least one year". It was an experiment with immense possibilities for constitutional progress, although its immediate aim was to assure the continued domination of the 'Forty' so dangerously threatened by the late queen.[22]

As the leader of the conspiracy, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Aitigīn's appointment to the new post was proclaimed on his return from Bhātinda. Aitigīn, however, soon piqued the young king Bahrām by marrying one of his sisters and by violating the royal prerogative by keeping an elephant and *naubat* at the entrance of his house. Within three months the king's annoyance impelled him to take decisive action, and so the deputy was murdered in his office with Bahrām's connivance.

The crime shook the power of the 'Forty' but did not improve matters for the king, for his *Amir-i-Hajib* (Grand Chamberlain) Badr-ud-dīn Sunqar now quickly assumed control over the administration. Some of the 'Forty' left the court to organise another rebellion with Altūniya who was closely guarding the captive Raziyya, while the *wazir,* resentful of the new domination, planned revenge. Aitigīn's murder had ruined Altūniya's hopes for a due share of reward for his part in the late conspiracy, and he now

found it wiser to ally himself with his captive and thus to acquire the latter's rights in support of his demands. Raziyya agreed to marry him, and the two organised an advance on Delhi to wrest back her crown. But their mercenary troops, recruited mostly from the Khokar tribe, proved no match for the regulars of the Delhi government, and they were easily repulsed. Flying before the pursuing troops Raziyya halted at Kaithal, where her mercenaries deserted, and she was murdered by Hindu robbers while resting under a tree (25 Rabi I, 638=13 October, 1240).[23]

Meanwhile, a timely betrayal by the *wazir* of a conspiracy organised by the *Amir-i-Hajib* and a few ecclesiastics to depose Bahrām, had led to the fall of Sunqar and, in the resulting vacuum, the *wazir* was ruling with a great show of power. Nursing his earlier grudge against Bahrām the *wazir* rejoiced when the king offended the ecclesiastics by brutally killing one of their members, on the instigation of a *darvīsh*. In A.D. 1241 the report of a Mongol advance on Lahore gave the *wazir* a chance to overthrow the king. He accompanied the troops sent to reinforce the besieged city, but as they neared Lahore he spread consternation and anger among the officers by disclosing the king's alleged secret order for their execution. The army at once revolted and turned back to depose the tyrant. On this news Bahrām sent the *Sheikh-ul Islam* to reassure and remove their suspicions, but as a promoter of the plot, the latter worked for the opposite effect. The troops returned to find the king's partisans put up a gallant defence of the capital, but an insurrection organised by the *wazir's* men aided the attackers, and when the city fell, Bahrām was seized and executed (May, 1242).

Although exactly the same conditions were imposed on the new king,[24] Iltutmish's 16-year old grandson 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd, and a *Naib* with wide powers was appointed in the person of the refugee prince Qutb-ud-dīn Husain of Ghor, it was yet the *wazir* who naturally monopolised all power. He filled the administration with his own nominees, mostly ecclesiastics and dissidents from Aitigīn's party, and even attempted to exclude the 'Forty' from positions of power. The latter therefore leagued once again and murdered the *wazir*, appointed the submissive Najm-ud-dīn Abu Bakr to the vacant post, and nominated one of their junior members named Balban for the office of *Amir-i-Hajib*.

By superior ability Balban soon overshadowed his party men, and with a correct understanding of the problem, diverted their energies to campaigns against Mongols and Indians. With apparent tranquillity Mas'ūd's reign thus lasted four years until in A.D. 1246, a secret plot, apparently motivated by personal ambition, and in

which Balban also seems to have shared, led to his replacement by Iltutmish's youngest son, Mahmūd, who was proclaimed as Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd.[25]

The new reign meant no change in the policy, for Balban, now in firmer control, filled the key positions with his nominees and set about to break the power of his erstwhile comrades. He gave his daughter in marriage to the king, obtained the post of *Naib* for himself, and nominated his younger brother Kashlī Khān as the *Amir-i-Hajib,* while his cousin Sher Khān got the important governorship of Lahore and Multān. Mahmūd proved a pliant sovereign and willingly left all initiative to the deputy. The latter's policy of monopolising all offices for his own kinsmen, however, provoked an opposition in which the non-Turkish elements, headed by an Indian Muslim named 'Imād-ud-dīn Raihān, took the leading part. Raihān managed to secure for himself the important post of *Wakil-i-dar* (Superintendent of the King's Household establishment) and then contrived to replace Balban and his kinsmen by his own supporters. As could be foreseen, this 'Hindi rule' proved loathsome to the Turks, who entertained an extreme feeling of racialism and considered the Delhi Sultanate as their exclusive heritage. A countermove, therefore, soon started in which Balban took the leading part. Most of the Turkish officers posted in the provinces round Delhi joined their forces and prepared to march on the capital to end the non-Turkish domination. Mahmūd was advised to resist and the royal forces set out to oppose the insurgents. But near Sāmāna, despite Raihān's best efforts to encourage the king to adhere to his decision even at the cost of an armed conflict, Mahmūd lost heart and was glad to end the tension by accepting the opponents' terms. Raihān and his associates were accordingly dismissed from court and Balban regained his former ascendancy.[26]

Except for this brief interruption (A.D. 1253-54), Balban held all effective power during the whole of Mahmūd's reign, and is even reported to have used the royal insignia. His period of viceregency can thus be said to have shaded off into his reign when, on the death of the childless Mahmūd in A.D. 1265, he assumed the crown, thus starting a new dynasty but no new regime.

III. INTERNAL DISORDER

Of the problems which had accumulated through all these years of changes on the throne, one of the most serious was the increasing tendency among the provincial governors to flout the king's authority and thus to threaten the unity which Iltutmish had envisaged. Military ineffectiveness of the Central government tempt-

ed the officers in the western provinces to lean conveniently on the neighbouring Mongol power, who was thus enabled to extend its pressure across the Sindhu and the Chenāb rivers. In the East, the governors fought each other and even declared independence at will, while the Awadh and Doāb provinces, because of their proximity to Delhi, sharply reacted to events in the capital. All this, in turn, heartened the Hindus to greater and concerted aggressions. It was almost a miracle that the Sultanate escaped total dissolution.

Even in Iltutmish's lifetime Lakhnāwatī had become a problem province. His final arrangement, effected after three expeditions, proved ineffectual. Tughān Khān, whom he had appointed to succeed Saif-ud-dīn Aibak in Lakhnāwatī, forcibly seized Bihār and, although he kept up a show of loyalty during the reigns of Raziyya and Bahrām, early in A.D. 1242 he advanced to take possession of the provinces of Kara-Mānikpur and Awadh. The Awadh governor's appeal brought little help from Mas'ūd's government, and Tughān Khān's easy occupation of the town was averted only by the persuasion of the respected ecclesiastic Minhāj who was then on his way to the eastern province. On his return to Lakhnāwatī Tughān repulsed an Orissan attack on his frontier and pursued the retreating Hindus into Jājnagar. At Katasingh (near Midnapore) he was, however, routed, and as he fell back, the Orissan forces came up in close pursuit. While he sent an urgent appeal to Delhi, the Hindu forces captured his frontier post of Lakhanor and advanced to besiege Lakhnāwatī itself. A timely report of the despatch of reinforcements from Delhi, however, saved the situation, for the Orissan commander thereupon raised the siege, plundered the countryside, and withdrew. Reinforcements arrived shortly after, but instead of pursuing the Orissans, the commander picked up a quarrel with Tughān and blockaded his capital. The latter defended himself ineffectually and was at length obliged to hand over his province to the commander, Tamar Khān. Balban's hand in this curious proceeding becomes evident when we find Tughān Khān being compensated with the vacant governorship of Awadh where he died two years later.[27]

This camouflaged imposition of Delhi's authority could hardly last. Yūzbak, who was appointed to the province some time after A.D. 1249, followed Tughān's example, occupied Awadh, and even had the *khutba* read in his name. Although a reported approach of Balban's troops made him withdraw, he crowned his insubordination by proclaiming sovereignty immediately on Balban's return. Even his death in course of a rashly conducted invasion of the Brahmaputra valley soon after failed to restore Delhi's authority, for within

two years the officiating governor, Yahyā, was dispossessed, and killed in open violation of authority by Arsalān Khān, the governor of Kara and Awadh, who thereupon installed himself in Lakhnāwatī. He is not known to have assumed full sovereignty, but against his continued unauthorised occupation of the provinces of Awadh, Bihār and Lakhnāwatī Mahmūd's government could take no effective action, so that Arsalān's son Tātār Khān, who quietly succeeded to the position, boastfully called himself "Chief of all the Maliks of China and East".[28]

Although comparatively tranquil during the earlier years, Awadh and Doāb also latterly reacted against the manner of Balban's restoration to power. Following his dismissal from the court, and transfer to Bahraich, 'Imād-ud-dīn Raihān allied himself with Qutlugh Khān, the king's step-father who held Awadh and was noted for his antagonism to Balban, and prepared to negative Mahmūd's authority in the trans-Gaṅgā region. An armed expedition, which was ineffectually opposed by Qutlugh as it passed through Awadh, however, eventually succeeded in driving Raihān from Bahraich. But when Qutlugh was transferred to Bahraich, he revolted and defeated a Delhi force. On Balban taking the field in person he fled to the Himālayan foothills, but returned immediately on the former's departure, seized Awadh and even threatened Kara-Mānikpur. He was, however, repulsed by the local governor and took refuge with the chief of Santurgarh who refused to give him up, suffering, in preference, the ravaging of his territories by Balban in A.D. 1257.

IV. MONGOL RAIDS

It was on the west that Delhi's hold was most seriously jeopardised by continued Mongol pressure. Soon after the accession of Uktai to the supreme Mongol Khanate in A.D. 1229, aggressive campaigns were launched along the Sindhu basin, and by A.D. 1241 they were extended up to Lahore. Its reinforcement was undermined, as noticed earlier, by the intrigues of the *wazir* and it had consequently to be evacuated by the governor. The Mongols plundered the city, destroyed the fortifications and withdrew, but Lahore province henceforth became "the frontier". By A.D. 1247 it became a Mongol dependency when a close siege, unrelieved by any hope of aid from Delhi, compelled the governor to pay tribute and accept Mongol suzerainty.[29] Control over Multān and Uch proved equally insecure. These two cities, held rebelliously by Kabīr Khān throughout Mas'ūd's reign, suffered, in turn, an occupation by Hasan Qarlugh, the Khvārazmi representative finally driven from

the west, and then by the Mongols who came in his pursuit. Balban managed to recover temporary control by quickly garrisoning the towns immediately on the Mongol withdrawal, but the new governor, Kishlū Khān, had to face another Mongol raid and then lost Multān once again to Hasan Qarlugh. He was dispossessed of Uch by Sher Khān, the governor of Bhātinda, who, in accordance with Balban's wish, refused to restore it to Kishlū. In revenge, the latter joined Raihān and, on Balban's dismissal in A.D. 1253, was re-instated over the two provinces. On Balban's return to power Kishlū broke with Delhi and, shortly after A.D. 1255, made a present of the whole Sindh province to the Mongols by formally transferring his allegiance to Hulāgū Khān, the Mongol viceroy of Irān.[30]

A further constriction of the western frontier resulted from the Mongol help secured by prince Jalāl-ud-dīn Mas'ūd, Mahmūd's younger brother, who, dissatisfied with his status in life, had betaken himself to the Mongol Khān, Mangu, at Qaraqoram, and was given armed assistance for installing himself as the vassal over the territories extending from the Sindhu to the Sutlej. Although the prince, following the failure of an attempt to get reconciled with Mahmūd's government, is reported to have disappeared from the scene, and Sher Khān, despite his treasonable contact with the Mongol court, was soon after reconciled and was induced to take action against the Mongol protégé, yet the boundary line was not appreciably advanced on the west. Within a couple of years it even receded to the old bed of the Beās up to which the Mongols moved freely "to harass the frontiers of Delhi".[31] A grave danger threatened the government when in A.D. 1257 Kishlū Khān, now a Mongol protégé and holding Sindh, marched his troops along the Beās to attack Delhi in conjunction with Qutlugh Khān whom Balban had failed to draw out from the Sirmur Hills. They had partisans among the Delhi ecclesiastics who promised to deliver the city. The rebels therefore evaded Balban's forces sent out to oppose them at Sāmāna, and reached the capital, only to learn, however, that their partisans had been discovered and banished. Kishlū thereupon withdrew and shortly after journeyed to 'Irāq to induce Hulāgū to sanction a full-scale invasion of the Delhi Sultanate.

Hulāgū refused, but promised him protection. The Mongol forces, stationed in Sindh under Sali Bahadur, were ordered to destroy the Multān fortifications, but they were not to cross the Delhi frontier under any circumstances.[32] This forbearance, suggesting a desire to stabilise the frontiers, was quickly reciprocated by the Delhi Government, who disbanded the special force raised to meet Sali Bahadur's expected invasion. Mahmūd's government thus

tacitly acquiesced in the loss of Sindh and the Punjāb west of the Beās line. An anxiety to avoid hostilities, even with the Mongol vassals, was evident when, in A.D. 1258, Balban transferred Sher Khān to the interior provinces of Kol and Gwālior from the frontier area of Bhātinda where he was conducting operations against Kishlū Khān for the possession of Uch and Multān. Balban even made friendly overtures to Hulāgū, who warmly responded and in A.D. 1259 sent a goodwill mission to Delhi, were the envoys were accorded a magnificent reception.[33]

Whether a formal agreement resulted from all this is not definitely known, but Balban must have discerned some change in the attitude of the Mongols towards their protégé Kishlū Khān to feel encouraged to dispossess him of Multān a few years later. Kishlū is reported to have taken refuge in Baniyan, the area west of the Sindhu, and to have made fruitless attempts to recover Upper Sindh which, from the beginning of Balban's reign, appears in effective control of Delhi.[34] Whether the Mongol forces withdrew across the Sindhu under military pressure, or in accordance with the agreement, is equally uncertain. But they remained in undisturbed possession of west Punjāb, and Lahore was not reannexed until a few years after Balban's accession.

V. REVIVAL OF HINDU POWER

Dominating the entire background, however, were the Hindus whose revived striking power, only feebly met by Iltutmish's efforts, found fresh opportunities during the weak regime of his successors. Along the undefined border, and inside the vaguely dominated country, the Sultanate was normally confronted with a standing military challenge which intensified with every local or individual disaffection. The difficulties of ensuring the governor's loyalties had made Lakhnāwatī, for example, an uncertain possession; within eight years of Iltutmish's death Orissa's confident aggressions threatened its very existence. The failure of Tughān Khān's private adventure in the Awadh province and his implied rejection of Delhi's authority offered Narasiṁha I his chance of striking at the Lakhnāwatī frontier in A.D. 1243. Although promptly repulsed, the attack signified more than it accomplished, for it highlighted the role which the Hindu power now began to play on all the contiguous areas. As mentioned earlier, Tughān Khān's counter-attack also failed, and he was chased back to his capital which the Orissan forces closely besieged. Until aid from Delhi could arrive, the Hindu forces had a free run of the country, and even when they withdrew across

Lakhanor which they plundered, military action for its recovery was hardly possible.

Although of no major territorial consequence, the episode put Lakhnāwatī on the defensive, with Orissa free to substantiate her claim to have "despatched the Yavanas of Rāḍha and Varendrī".[35] Her progress in this direction is not evidenced in the records, but when, under Yūzbak, Lakhnāwatī resumed military action ten years later, the earlier pattern was repeated. After two minor triumphs, a major reverse in Orissa obliged him to seek Delhi's aid with which he captured what he thought was the 'Rai's capital', but which, from its name "Arzbadan" (or Umurdan), is probably to be identified with the village now known as Garh Mandāran, on the Hooghly-Midnapore border, thus indicating the region along which the successive campaigns were fought. The Lakhanor area evidently remained with Orissa, but Yūzbak gained in the south what he lost in the west; for he occupied Nadiyā and the adjacent Bhāgirathī basin effectively enough to commemorate it by a special issue of silver coins in A.D. 1255 "struck from the *kharaj* of Arzbadan and Nodia".[36] But the success did little to affect the overall pattern of the military situation, for Orissa's frontier remained on the lower Bhāgirathī till a subsequent push, towards the end of the century, completed the annexation of the coastal region.

From East Bengal, where the Sena dynasty still continued, the Turks apprehended no great danger, but in the Brahmaputra valley their offensive power suffered an unparalleled set-back when, encouraged by his success in southern Bengal, Yūzbak launched a similar campaign in the north-east, against the Kāmarūpa kingdom, then comprising the country from the Karatoyā to Gauhati. As he crossed the river, the Kāmarūpa *Rājā* withdrew his troops, thus allowing the invader to march unopposed to Gauhati, where he proclaimed himself king of Lakhnāwatī and Kāmarūpa. He spurned the *Rājā's* request for reinstatement as a tributary vassal and, assured by the rich crop then ripening in the fields, even foolishly sold his own grain stock to the latter's agents. His folly dawned on him only when he found the standing crops totally destroyed by floods caused by the *Rājā's* cutting the embankments of the swollen rivers. Yūzbak was forced to retreat, which ended in disaster. Trying to avoid the flooded valley he moved along the unexplored and hostile Gāro-Jaintiā Hills, and in the defiles was caught between the hill tribes and the Kāmarūpa forces. He was taken prisoner and died of his wounds while his army was annihilated.[37]

This disaster emphasised once again the altered military situation which was perceptible almost simultaneously in other parts

of the kingdom. Turkish hold on the narrow riverine strip of the Patna-Monghyr-Bhāgalpur districts was rendered precarious by the extended activity of the surviving Hindu princes of South Bihār whose existence was never seriously affected by the conquest. Round Bodh-Gayā were the Sena rulers of Pīṭhī to whose continuous occupation of the district the votive records of the Hindu chiefs of Sapādalaksha and Kumāyun bear indirect evidence. Extension of Muslim rule in Shāhābād, where power of the *Mahānāyakas* of Rohtāsgarh could not have entirely disappeared, was hardly possible, and it is only the late Tibetan traditions which ascribe Turkish suzerainty over Bodh-Gayā. Early in Mahmūd's reign even the town of Bihār had to face Hindu assaults, and the local governor lost his life in resisting what was evidently a siege. The attack failed, but it was a defensive achievement which retained control over the route to Lakhnāwatī.[38]

More positive evidence of Hindu revival comes from the Sultanate's southern frontier. The Chandellas had effected a speedy recovery, and by A.D. 1241 had earned recognition as overlord by the *Mahārāṇaka* of Kakareḍikā (modern Rewah). They advanced steadily towards the west and claimed, in an inscription of A.D. 1263, to be ruling over Jhānsi; a subsequent record implies overlordship over Nalpur (Narwar), Gopal, Madhuban (Mathurā), and Gopagiri (Gwālior). The situation became grave for the Sultanate as these localities formed the nucleus of the growing power of the Jajapellas (Yajvapāla), who already in Iltutmish's reign had compelled notice as the dominating power in the country round Narwar, "the greatest of all the Rais of Hindustān". Their pressure on Gwālior latterly increased to such an extent that reinforcing the garrison proved ineffective and, as mentioned before, Raziyya was obliged to abandon the fortress. By A.D. 1251 the dynasty, under Chāhaḍadeva, had extended its power to Chanderi and even to Mālwā, and Balban's expedition in that year against the "Rānā Chāhir Ajari" produced no more abiding result than a temporary capture of Narwar and Gwālior; for in the dynasty's epigraphic and numismatic records these places continue to figure uninterruptedly to as late a date as A.D. 1298.[39]

Just south of the Yamunā, between Mahobā and Hamirpur, the Bhar Rājputs threatened the security of the Doāb province. The rising power of the Vāghelas in Rewah who, in two generations, acquired control over most of the country south of Chunār and along the Tons river, not only barred Turkish expansion southwards but even endangered the cis-Yamunā area. Exertions put forth by the governor of Awadh against the territory of "Bhatigor" (an old name of the Tons valley) failed to control this rising power; even a full

scale expedition led by Balban in A.D. 1247 into the country between Kālañjara and Kara achieved little beyond raiding the chief's stronghold.[40]

Even within the provinces administered by the Sultanate an intensification of Hindu resistance was in evidence. The half-subdued countryside offered enough manoeuvring space for the local tribes who, in the absence of organised military leadership, took to a form of guerilla warfare. Balban was obliged to wage two sanguinary campaigns to obtain even a temporary control over the Aligarh District, where local tribes, infesting the highways and forests, were to engage the government's undivided attention even in the next reign. In A.D. 1247 it required another campaign to recover portions of the Kanauj District from a Hindu chief. In the northern fringe of the present Uttar Pradesh Delhi government encountered heavier and more protracted resistance from the Hindus. Notable among these were the tribes settled in Budaun, Sambhal and Aonla, described as the Katehriyas, whose aggressions involved the Delhi government in bloody campaigns even far into the fourteenth century. Their frequent raids on the towns of Budaun and Sambhal rendered Delhi's power in those parts almost nugatory. In order to supplement the local governor's attempts against them, Balban conducted a big expedition in A.D. 1254 and pushed through Bijnaur as far as the Rāmgaṅgā. The Katehriya resistance caused heavy casualties in the Delhi forces, and if the campaign could be described as a success, it was so only as a retaliatory measure, for control over the trans-Gaṅgā districts remained as costly a process as it was before. The reported success of the governor of Meerut in overthrowing "Ranahs and other independent Hindu tribes inhabiting places as far as Rurki and Miapur", and in reducing the Bijnaur area, could have meant no more than preliminary operations for the establishment of a military station in Amroha.[41]

The most serious set-back was in Rājputāna. Iltutmish's death found the Chauhāns pressing on Ranthambhor, and Raziyya was obliged, as in the case of Gwālior, to withdraw from the fortress which thenceforth became the seat of the later Chauhān dynasty under Vāgbhaṭa.[41a] It became the centre from which Chauhān power radiated over a lengthening arc enclosing northern Rājputāna and the collateral houses of Kotah, Bundi and Jālor. In inscriptions of even the smaller principality of Mewār, ranging in dates from A.D. 1213 to 1252,[42] victory over the Turushkas provides special items of laudation. Against this tide of Rājput power, the military hold over Ajmer could be of little consequence, for loss of the recently

established defensive outposts at Lawah, Kasili and Sāmbhar practically sealed it off.

Punitive expeditions availed but little to arrest this trend of the military situation. In A.D. 1248 Balban's raid on the Chauhān stronghold was repulsed; ten years later we read again of similar but apparently ineffective raids into the territories "of the infidels of Ranthambhor, Bundi and Chitrur". A factor which very seriously hampered Delhi's striking power in Rājputāna was the continuing depredation of the turbulent people of the northern Alwar region designated as the "Koh-payah" of Mewāt. These were the Yaduvaṁśī Rājputs who, following the loss of their strongholds of Bayāna and Tahangarh, spread themselves over the countryside, and kept up an armed resistance which intensified as the century progressed, and which increasingly tended to merge in the general Rājput offensive. They harried the districts of Siwālik, Harianah, and Bayāna, and towards the end of Mahmūd's reign, terrorised even Delhi itself. Heavily distracted by their raids, which in A.D. 1256 reached as far as Hānsī, Balban had to follow up his earlier exertions by two full-scale campaigns in A.D. 1258. But he could accomplish little beyond plundering a few Mewātī villages and capturing some of their leaders. Although not directed by the Chauhāns, the Mewātīs yet appear to have operated as their spearheads which kept Delhi engaged in its neighbourhood while Ranthambhor accumulated strength and territory.[43]

VI. BALBAN RESTORES THE AUTHORITY OF SULTANATE

An effective solution of these multiplying problems called for a stable central direction which, in the circumstances, could only come from a strong king, realistic in approach and severely efficient in execution. For, external dangers arose as a direct consequence of internal weakness, which was due to the state's incomplete consolidation. The need for concentrating on this primary task was therefore the lesson which the politics of the last three decades clearly brought home to Balban. The initial expansionist motives of Mu'izz-ud-dīn and Aibak had qualified Iltutmish's attention to internal problems and had become a political tradition with his dynasty. To break with this tradition and reverse the emphasis, therefore, required unquestioned power and strong resolution.

Such power Balban had in effect wielded as the Deputy of the State *(Nāib-i-Māmlikat);* he was even known to have used some of the royal insignia. He gave form and content to Mahmūd's kingship in such a personal manner that when his name formally appeared on the coins on the latter's death in A.D. 1265,[44] it evoked little comment or disapproval, for it seemed a natural process that the old dynasty

would merge in his family. Old loyalties were thus continued, but the new king sought to reinforce them still further by formulation of theories of dynastic monarchy expressed in such regalia and decorum that it set the standard for future kings. Like Iltutmish, he also belonged to the Ilbarī clan of Turks, but while the former's supreme status rested more on practical ability than on inherited distinction, Balban tried to buttress his crown and also his undoubted abilities with claims of noble lineage; for he regarded himself as descended from Afrāsiyāb, the Turkish hero of Persian mythology. On the gradually spreading myth of Turkish racial superiority was thus superimposed a cult of family prestige which effectively replaced the acquired status of the older dynasty.

A supporting theory of kingship was also formulated on the lines of the Sassanian monarchy. Balban ignored Islamic constitutional principles, and far outreached his master when he spoke of kingship as a "divine gift", and of the king as a "unique personage". Such a king ruled not merely by protecting Islam, but by insisting on the absolute acceptance of his superhuman status. This involved a technique of government which must suppress all notions of Tribal or Islamic republican equality, and which therefore depended on the king's undoubted ability to compel the people's unquestioning obedience.[45]

Acting on such ideas, matured during his deputyship, and in sharp contrast to the conduct of the meek, unassertive Mahmūd, Balban inaugurated his reign by adapting the court ceremonial to the new conception. This included a rigid insistence on the *zaminbos* and *paibos* (prostrating before and kissing the king's feet or the throne), two of the non-Islamic practices which Iltutmish was vainly requested by the jurists to regard with disfavour. Since the king's person was to be unapproachable, Balban surrounded himself with body-guards,—a picked band of impressively uniformed, fearsome soldiers with drawn sabres glittering in the sun. In public, he never talked except to his officials, and that only through the Grand Chamberlain; once he administered a sharp rebuke to a courtier who pleaded with him to grant an interview to a private citizen, a rich merchant of Delhi, who offered all his wealth for this honour. Even in private life, the consciousness of his 'unique' status hampered his naturalness, for he was never seen even by his immediate attendants to laugh. When his eldest son died in battle, the sorrow corroded his heart, but, god-like, he remained unmoved, and his conduct or countenance showed no trace of his inner feelings. Acting on the same motive he gave up his earlier habit of drinking and prohibited the same to his courtiers. The fear and dignity which he sought

to earn by such frightful correctness of conduct was heightened by the effects of the Mongol conquests which sent princes and eminent scholars flying for asylum to his court.

Even more emphatic were the governmental expressions of his autocracy which had to justify itself by pitiless efficiency. As one of the departments through whose working the king's power and correctness are usually assessed, the judiciary received his vigilant attention. Justice was administered with ruthless impartiality, for it was not so much the Law which had to be vindicated, as the king's god-like power which can suffer no distinction in its exercise. The exemplary punishment he gave to the governors of Budaun and Awadh, for reported cruelty to their domestic servants,[45a] was not so much a judicial act, as the exercise of the king's right to seek out and punish those who impinged on his absolute guarantee of security to all. To this end he improved the espionage service and reporters were selected with the greatest care.

The prevailing insecurity round the capital afforded him fuller opportunity to vindicate this sovereign guarantee. The mounting Rājput offensive, added to the Mongol pressure and the rebellious uprising of the Turkish chiefs, had created a situation which strained the government's resources almost to the breaking point. Robbers stalked the countryside, communications were unsafe, and dense forests near Delhi sheltered marauders who menaced even the city life. In the Doāb and Awadh Hindu peasants suffered little control, and with the ever-turbulent Katehriyas holding Budaun and Amroha under constant threat, the king's prestige was at a fearfully low ebb. Balban studied the problem carefully, and almost immediately on his accession set to work on it with fierce determination and sense of urgency. Within a year forests round the capital were cleared, and robbers hunted out. On the south-western approach to the city he erected military posts and garrisoned them with seasoned Afghān troops to guard against the Mewātīs. Other approaches were similarly fortified. Next year operations were extended to the east, and the affected areas of Awadh and the Doāb were divided into military commands, with troops detailed to campaign relentlessly against the insurgents. This concentrated drive produced quick results, and within a year brigandage ceased, forests were cleared, and peasants returned to normal obedience. In the neighbourhood of Kampil and Patiali (Farrukhābād District), where the later Gāhaḍavālas had founded strongholds, Balban conducted the operations personally, clearing forests and building new roads. Fortresses were erected at strategic points, and permanent colonies of Afghān soldier-farmers were established in and around to ensure their safety and provide a

local militia. News of a fresh Katehriya incursion on Budaun interrupted the king's operations in these areas. In terrible anger he returned to fit out a larger force from Delhi and, moving as on a hunting expedition, suddenly fell on Katehr like lightening. A frightful slaughter of the besieged insurgent population then followed, their houses were burnt and bodies lay rotting for days on end, the stench fouling the area as far as the Gaṅgā. This calculated ferocity thoroughly cowed down all potential rebels in the neighbourhood, and the districts returned to peace. Forests were cleared and a network of roads spread to facilitate administrative control.

With security problems as his primary occupation, Balban thus kept an unceasing watch on the slightest manifestation of those ailments which had paralysed the government during the past few decades. The conquest was yet to lead to settlement in the country; the governmental machinery had to shed its inchoate and improvised character and had to work primarily towards integrating the loosely co-ordinated provincial army commands. There was no longer any organised Hindu opposition on a large scale in the conquered area, but, ill-defined though it was, the Sultān's government had to fight its way through the countryside. All round the state were Indian powers, whose energies the Sultanate's recent weakness had tended to revive to such an extent, that the original war of conquest seemed once again to be in progress. A supremely dangerous complication was the Mongol who controlled the major areas of the Punjāb and pressed on up to the Beās. As a foreigner the Turk was cut off from his homeland, and shortage of man-power therefore threatened his dominating position in the Sultanate.

During his deputyship Balban had made a correct appraisal of these recent developments, and inevitably decided on adopting the only possible course of action, namely conservation of strength primarily for consolidation rather than expansion. This involved a departure from the policy hitherto guiding the Sultanate, and when his courtiers, unable to outgrow the earlier tradition, urged him to acquire new territories, he told them that he could ill afford to employ his limited man-power and resources in occupying hostile states, for it will endanger internal security. The problem of safeguarding the western frontier governed his foreign policy and limited his striking power. With regret—for he was no pacifist—he had to restrain himself from the temptation of leading "his well-prepared forces to capture the distant Rānās". He constantly reminded himself of the prudent counsel not to overstrain oneself by trying to subjugate others. He would certainly defend his borders against aggression, but if he was to maintain the dominant position of the

Turks in India, as he was determined to do, he could not extend his military commitments.[46]

This last point deserves attention. It explains the ruling temper of the Mamlūk state which had resulted in the main from the race-movements conditioning the initial conquest. A feeling of racial superiority sustained the otherwise loose federation of the conquering Turks both against the Hindus and the Mongols. The State inevitably took the character of a Turkish proprietary concern, and the non-Turk Indian Muslim found, as in the early years of Mahmūd's reign, that any attempt to claim a share in the administration intensified the opposition of the ruling race. The House of Iltutmish jealously championed this racialism.

In itself, this was an untenable policy; the effect of the Mongol conquests made it dangerously so. Pure-born Turks were rapidly diminishing in number, for no more immigrants came through the Mongol barriers. Mixing of blood was fast producing a generation which had little direct contact with the racial traditions of the Turks, and had greater community of feeling with the Indian Muslims. Even as regards the Hindus, a sense of community of interest had to be fostered in order to put forth the maximum resistance to the Mongol barbarian. And through all these years, by immigration and conversion, non-Turki elements tended to increase as much in number as in quality. What was therefore easy for Iltutmish was impossible in the age when Balban reigned. His striking power was limited by his racialism, for he had to extend the basis of his state in order to command those forces which proved so irresistible when used later by the Khaljīs.

But Balban sought to resist this process of time and employed his extraordinary energy and will-power to perpetuate a racial polity which, in its ultimate form, merged with his absolutism. He symbolised the primacy of the Turk, with his own power exercised primarily in the interest of his race. Expansion of the kingdom was therefore of less immediate importance than perfecting the coercive instrument with which to vindicate this superiority. In devoting his energies to this end he, however, helped in a necessary historical process, though with an objective which, as will be seen presently, could not stand the ultimate pressure of events.

Since defence required improvement of the army, Balban expanded it with more and abler personnel. Defects in the cavalry organization, discovered in course of an expedition to Lahore early in the reign, were remedied by reallotting the revenue assignments among better recruits and cashiering the unserviceable men, to make

that radical approach to the problem of army organization which brought outstanding result to his successor dynasty.

His vigilance nevertheless proved a compensating factor, and along the western border defence measures against the Mongols proved effective. Balban's cousin Sher Khān held the frontier provinces of Multān and Dipālpur till his death a few years after the Sultān's accession, and was reported to have been "like the walls of Gog and Magog to the Mongols". When appointing a successor, Balban decided on reducing the extent of the governor's administrative responsibility so that his striking power remained unhampered. While Multān and Dipālpur were placed under his eldest son Muhammad, the eastern district of Bhātinda was separated to become the forward base of the Sunām-Sāmāna provincial command which, under his second son Bughrā Khān, was detailed to hold the Beās line. While Prince Muhammad was made the supreme commander of the entire frontier region, under each of the two commanders a picked force of eighteen thousand horsemen was provided to hold the strategic points, while an equally strong reserve force, based on Delhi, was to supplement the defence as occasion demanded. The result of this arrangement was a vast improvement in the defence strategy, ensuring quick and co-ordinated action. Although Lahore remained as a border region, yet the Mongols were effectively checked, and we are told that whenever they tried to cross the Beās, the three forces quickly converged, and "as a result of the several victories obtained over them they never dared to approach the river any more". A greater concentration was effected towards the end of the reign when, in view of Bughrā's proposed transfer to Lakhnāwatī, the Sunām-Sāmāna command was divided into smaller regional units, all co-ordinated to work under the overall command of Prince Muhammad. The effect of this strategy was soon felt by the Mongols, for the prince easily kept them beyond the Sindhu, and annually sent to Delhi captives taken from among the raiders.[47]

Contemporary accounts bear eloquent testimony to the security which directly resulted from all these measures. The king was held in awe, and the governing machinery worked with ruthless efficiency for peace. The only incident which marred this picture was a rebellion in the distant Bengal, but its costly failure only emphasised the terrible strength of the will which worked that machine. Lakhnāwatī had shown persistent disapproval of her subservience to Delhi, and throughout the Mamlūk period the province was in chronic distemper, distance and climatic hazards adding to the ease with which ambitious governors often flouted the central government. During the last decade of Mahmūd's reign Lakhnāwatī enjoyed, as mentioned

earlier, unmolested autonomy under Arsalān Khān, who annexed Bihār and bequeathed the territories to his son Tātār Khān. One of the latter's inscriptions, dated A.D. 1265, claims almost imperial status for him, but he appears to have avoided open proclamation of sovereignty, and even to have placated Balban by sending token presents. Whether he died or was removed shortly after is uncertain, but Delhi's control over the province was firm enough to enable one of Balban's freedmen, named Tughril, to be appointed governor. Tughril, however, lost no time in imbibing the country's political tradition, for, having earned popularity by liberal and efficient administration, and increased his resources by raids into the neighbouring Hindu states, he allowed, as the chronicler puts it, "the bird of rebellion to lay eggs in his brain". Balban's alleged infirmity, due to advanced age, was considered to offer a good opportunity, and so, some time in A.D. 1280, Tughril signified his rebellion by withholding the king's share of the booty captured in his latest expedition. This he followed up by a formal declaration of sovereignty, clothed with the regal title of Sultān Mughīs-ud-dīn. He defeated the force sent by Balban under Amīn Khān, the governor of Awadh, — most of the Royal troops deserting to his side, as Hindu tribes harassed their retreat.

The news of this reverse hurt Balban's pride and the vanquished general was hanged for his failure to vindicate the king's authority. But when the next two succeeding expeditions also met with a similar fate, the king decided to stake everything on this challenge to his prestige. Vowing never to return without the rebel's head, he set out personally at the head of a large force of provincial and special troops, and ignoring the hazards of the rainy season he marched expeditiously through Awadh and North Bihār. He encountered no opposition, and found on arrival that the city of Lakhnāwatī had been evacuated by the rebel. Tughril was frightened by the unexpected hardening of the octogenarian king's will, and was reported to be hiding in the eastern districts. His plan was obviously to depend on the climate and the water-logged country to wear out the king's forces. But Balban pushed towards Sonārgāon where the local ruler Danujamādhava of the Deva dynasty was persuaded to co-operate in preventing the rebel's flight by the water-routes of his kingdom, which, it appears, extended to the Feni river.[48] With the rivers thus closed to him, Tughril moved by land towards the Tippera frontier, but Balban scented his trail and sent detachments to scour the countryside. One of these eventually came upon the rebel camp, fell on the unsuspecting troops, and cut off Tughril's head as he tried to escape. With the rebel's adherents in chain, Balban returned to Lakhnāwatī to execute everyone suspected of the

slightest sympathy with him. Their corpses, hung on gibbets, lined the main bazaar, and while advising his son Bughrā Khān, whom he left in charge of the province, he tellingly pointed to these emphatic proofs of the king's unconquerable power.

As he returned triumphantly after three years, governors and chiefs hastened to congratulate and to reaffirm their subservience. Perfect peace and order prevailed in every part of the kingdom, and the Sultān's prestige was at its height. Balban could feel legitimate pride in restoring order and in completing Iltutmish's work, for he had almost recreated the Sultanate. This he never tired of instilling into the mind of his heir apparent, his eldest son Muhammad, a prince whose qualities evoked warm praise from all his contemporaries. Muhammad, however, was not destined to succeed his father, for early in A.D. 1286 he was killed in a fierce engagement with the Mongols in course of one of their periodical raids on the Lahore-Dipālpur border. This meant no military set-back, as the Mongols were eventually expelled, but the prince's death, frustrating all his hopes, came as a fatal shock to the old monarch. For Bughrā Khān was no substitute. The iron king remained calm in public but melted in tears in his nightly solitude.

Balban lived for a year more, weighed down by sickness and anxiety. He summoned Bughrā to be near his death-bed and assume the eventual responsibility. But the prince, avoiding a direct refusal, waited for the king to recover slightly, and then slipped away from the hazards of the Delhi throne to the enervating ease of Lakhnāwatī. On the way he heard of his father's relapse but he stuck to his decision. With his end approaching fast, and thus left with a choice between his two grandsons, both adolescents, the king, resigned to his predicament, nominated Kaikhusrav, son of the deceased Muhammad. In so doing he only provided for his dynasty, but for carrying on his policy he depended ultimately on his friends, notably the *Kotwāl* and the *Wazir*, to whom his dying request was to render the prince all necessary help and guidance. He breathed his last in A.D. 1287.

In keeping alive the traditions of the Sultanate's founders, Balban had ruthlessly held back the new forces which insistently demanded adjustment. His achievement lay in the strength with which the State was regenerated, and it was obvious that he was irreplaceable in the scheme in which the Sultanate was meant to function. His courtiers, therefore, had reason to mourn the death of this stern king, for, as the *Kotwāl* put it, he was their only guarantee "against every upstart who would now aspire to the crown", and against the consequent "destruction of the old aristocracy".[49]

VII. THE END OF BALBAN'S DYNASTY

Since Balban resisted the new social forces, adjustment through violent process became inevitable when his ruthless will was stilled by death. The history of the next reign of three years was a quickening of this process, the king's incapacity giving a handle to his jealous and more conservative nobles to raise a wall round their power without the necessary ability to reinforce it. The bursting that resulted was less violent than it could have been, but more revolutionary in implications than what Balban had striven to oppose.

How his pervasive strength of will was necessary to divert the latent factiousness of the Turk was seen, by contrast, when on the night of his death, and flouting his wish, the *Kotwāl,* who bore personal animosity to prince Muhammad's family, manoeuvred Kaikhusrav out of the capital and had Kaiqubād, Bughrā Khān's son, proclaimed king. Kaikhusrav was sent off as governor of Multān, and his supporters, headed by the *Wazir,* were all imprisoned and exiled. The government thus became a family oligarchy in which the *Kotwāl's* scheming and able son-in-law Nizām-ud-dīn was enabled quickly to gather the strings of power.

Nizām-ud-dīn sedulously encouraged the youthful king's thirst for sensuous pleasure, denied to him by the austere grandfather. Wine, women and song kept the Sultān busy, and the gaiety soon infected the court and became the norm of city-life. The administrative machine was kept going only by the momentum gathered in the last reign, and the frontier defences retained enough strength and cohesion to repeat the earlier triumphs over the Mongols. Nizām-ud-dīn possessed the dictator's ability, and although officially only the city-magistrate *(Dad-beg)* of Delhi, his authority as the *de facto* ruler was openly admitted. With the king completely under his control—he sent his wife to supervise Kaiqubād's harem—the dictator used his opportunities towards consolidating his power for the final usurpation which to everyone appeared inevitable and even necessary. Within six months Kaikhusrav was murdered, supposedly under the king's orders; the new *Wazir,* Khwāja Khatīr, was next removed, and a charge of sedition was trumped up to replace a large number of influential officers by Nizām-ud-dīn's own creatures.

But he was not to reap the fruit of his labour. Report of Kaiqubād's heedless gaiety and his impending fall reached his father in Lakhnāwatī, and the family shirker was at last roused to a sense of paternal responsibility. Letters and messages being of no avail,

Bughrā eventually decided to meet his son, and a meeting was arranged on the border of Awadh. Some writers, including Amīr Khusrav who wrote a long poetical account celebrating the occasion, refer to political motives actuating the father who, in any case, moved in full military strength. Kaiqubād also marched with an army to the camp on the Saraju river and, under Nizām-ud-dīn's instructions, insisted on the Lakhnāwatī ruler coming over from the other side and paying respects due to the Sultān of Delhi. A protracted exchange of arguments on points of procedure, punctuated by occasional threats, was ended by the father finally agreeing to do homage to Balban's successor. The meeting that followed is one of the tenderest incidents of medieval history. Kaiqubād affected stern dignity as Bughrā Khān, bowing and kissing the ground, approached his feet, but his feeling welled up at length, and the audience broke into sobs as the son tearfully clasped his father. For three days Bughrā Khān gave him paternal advice to mend his ways and realise his responsibilities, repeating what he had himself heard in vain from Balban, and, while taking leave, whispered a request to "get rid of men like Nizām-ud-dīn".

Kaiqubād's impulsive resolution to heed his father's advice and correct his ways, however, gave way even before he reached Delhi, but Nizām-ud-dīn's rivals sought opportunities to remind him of Bughrā's parting advice. The dictator lacked the daring and quick decision of a soldier, and so used backstairs method to destroy his rivals while putting off the final action. The governor of Multān provoked his jealousy by his famed victories over the Mongols, and so was killed; Malik Tūzakī, the recently appointed army minister, was similarly removed. But then, in a drunken fit, Kaiqubād, reminded of his father's advice, ordered Nizām-ud-dīn to proceed to Multān as governor, and, on his hesitating to comply, caused him to be poisoned.

The sudden disappearance of this one dominant and stable factor in the government, however, created a vacuum which neither the king nor any of his courtiers was able effectively to fill. Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī pictures the resulting state of affairs as a chaos in which jealous, power-loving men of no ability kept pursuing each other, while the king sank rapidly under the cumulative effects of his excesses. Two of the new court functionaries, the *Amir-i-Hajib* Malik Kachhan and the *Barbak* Malik Surkha, controlled the king's establishment, and so were enabled to initiate policy. Seeking to safeguard their power as guardians of Balban's heritage, they planned a rigid enforcement of his racialism which, as evidenced by some of the recent appointments, was tending to lose its primary

stress. Deciding to begin with a purge of all undesirable non-Turki elements in the administration, they drew up a list of men whose elimination was to be effected urgently and under the king's authority. As the afflicted Kaiqubād had become unserviceable even as a titular head, the policy-makers took the radical step of finding a new king for their use, in the person of the three year old prince Kayūmars who was formally proclaimed king as Shams-ud-dīn. In A.D. 1289 Kaiqubād's reign thus faded into that of his son.

But before the Regency Council, formed by Kachhan, Surkha and the *Kotwāl,* could begin implementing the new programme and strike at the listed men, the initiative was seized by the opposing forces. Heading the black list was Malik Yaghrash Fīrūz, leader of an influential and numerous clan known as the Khaljī, who, because of their early separation from Turkistān, were universally, though erroneously, believed to be of non-Turki stock. His recent appointment to the army ministry was considered a dangerous violation of Balban's principles, but since his open dismissal was likely to prove ineffective as he had the army's support, Kachhan had volunteered to assassinate him. One of his servants, named Ahmad Chap, however, happened to be the Khaljī chief's nephew, and so apprised the latter of the conspiracy. Fīrūz thereupon collected his kinsmen, and shifted his headquarters from Delhi to the suburban village of Giyaspur where an army muster had been scheduled. Unaware of all this, and anxious to decoy him from his people, Kachhan one day rode up to deliver an urgent summons from the king's court. Fīrūz begged for time to finish the parade, and then as Kachhan relaxed in the tent-shade, cut off his head. He followed it up with an immediate raid into the king's palace, and carried away the boy-king before the Delhi citizens could realise the significance of these happenings. But the initial *coup* proved decisive. On the persuasion of the *Kotwāl* the citizens restrained themselves from streaming out to an unequal contest, and a feeling of hopelessness seized most of the Turkish officers. With the king now in his control, Fīrūz was able to legitimise his victory and dispense the offices. Both the *Kotwāl* and Balban's nephew having disdained to receive the office of the *Naib* (Deputy of the Kingdom) from him, Fīrūz accepted it himself, and for three months continued this fiction of Balban's dynasty. How this fiction was finally closed and Kayūmars disappeared from history, is not recorded, but Fīrūz only gave form to the realities of the situation and symbolized the coming of a new age, when he proclaimed his own accession[50] as Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz on June 13, 1290.

1. This dynasty is usually referred to as Slave Dynasty in Indian history. But of the nine rulers, only three, Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban, began their political career as bond-slaves; all the others were freemen. Among the three it was only Aibak whose manumission followed his accession to sovereign power, Iltutmish and Balban both having obtained their freedom early in their life. None of these rulers in any case assumed the insignia of royalty while still a slave. To describe the entire series of these rulers as the Slave Dynasty, is, therefore, inappropriate, even if it is overlooked that they belonged not to one but to three dynasties or families. And yet they have obvious difference with the later Turkish dynasties,—difference emphasised by the domination of freedmen grouped round leading members of the same class and functioning as a closed oligarchy and seeking reinforcement only from similar bondsmen. These features are exactly paralleled in contemporary Egypt where the Turks, supplanting the Ayyubide dynasty in 1250, ruled up to the Ottoman conquest through a series of ex-slaves recruited and trained by means of a rigidly controlled organization and who never cared for the principle of hereditary succession. To medieval historians they are known as the Mamlūks, *lit.* 'owned' (from Arabic '*malak*', to possess), based on the Quranic term for a slave, "and what your right hands possess" (xvi, 77). Being of such long usage in Muslim history and indicative of what seems to be a widespread Turkish practice in the Middle Ages the term *Mamlūk* has thus greater applicability to the thirteenth century rulers of Delhi than the word 'slave' which implies a lifelong servitude.
2. See above, p. 124. Andkhūī is also spelt as Andkhūd.
3. The long-drawn struggle between the Indian States and the Sultanate of Delhi has been described in detail in connection with the history of those states in Chs. II and III above.
4. *TN*, pp. 88-89.
5. Hasan Nizāmī, I.O. Ms. f. 202 a; *TN*, p. 140. For Yildiz's position in Ghūr and the Khvārazmi pressure, see Mīr Khvānd, *Rauzat-us-Safā*, IV, pp. 126-27. For Qabācha's coins see *JASB*, 1887, p. 171.
6. *TN*, p. 158.
7. For coins evidencing Parihāra rule, including those of Malayavarmadeva, in Narwar, Gwālior and Jhānsi, see Ojha, *Rājputāne-kā-Itihāsa*, I, p. 166; *IA*. 1918, p. 241; also Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Reports*, II, 315, 378-381. Account of Ranthambhor's recovery of independence under Govindarāja is to be found in the fragmentary Rājput ballad, *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, *IA*. 1879, p. 69. See also a reference to Ranthambhor's suzerainty over Jaitra Singh of Manglana, in *IA*, XVI, p. 86.
8. *TN*, p. 135; Hasan Nizāmī, *op. cit.*, f. 230 b.
9. *Ibid*, *op. cit.*, f. 245; *TN*, p. 171.
10. For Chingīz Khān's operations against Khvārazm Shāh and the flight of the prince Jalāl-ud-dīn, see Juwaini, *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahan Kusha*, II, pp. 140 sq.; Howroth, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 90; Nessawi, *Sirat-i-Jalāl-ud-dīn Mangbarnī*, ed. Scheffer, pp. 83-84; see also *TN*, pp. 171, 293. A detailed account is in Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 191-97.
11. *TN*, p. 144; Aufi, *Jwamiul Hikāyāt*, I.O. Ms. f. 3a.
12. *TN*, pp. 160-164; 174, 231-232. For 'Iwaz's coins, see Thomas in *JRAS*, VI, p. 348; Wright, *Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 15-16. For reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Garga-Yavanas, see *JASB*, 1896, pp. 5-6; X (N.S.) pp. 99-104; *HBR*, I. 226. For Orissa and Kāmarūpa, see *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317-327; 1903, p. 109; *EI*, XIII, p. 150; Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 224; Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 37. For 'Iwaz's public works see Abid Ali, *Gaur and Panduah*.
13. See note 7 above.
14. *EI*, IX, pp. 72-73; *IA*, XVI, p. 36.
15. Hasan Nizāmī, (Elliot's trans.) *HIED*, II, p. 241; Ojha, *op. cit.* I, p. 272 II, p 462.
16. *TN*, p. 175. Cf. Hiraman Munshi, *Gwalior Namah* I.O.Ms. f. 11; see *EI*, VII. pp. 223-224, and *IA*. 1918, p. 242, for a wrong identification of this Chāhaḍadeva with Chāhaḍadeva of Ranthambhor. See above, p. 57.
17. *TN*, pp. 170, 179, 247; Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 547.

18. *TN*, p. 174. For a silver commemorative coin, see Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, no. 28, and Wright, *op. cit.* p. 18, no. 50c.
19. These Turks had, during the reign of Iltutmish, divided among themselves all the great fiefs and all the highest offices in the State.
20. *TN*, p. 392.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 184-89, 235 and 253; Isami, *Futūhus-Salātīn* ed. Mahdi Husain, pp. 127-29; Ibn Batūta, *Kitabur Rihla*, ed. Defremery & Sanguinetti, II, pp. 25-26.
22. *TN*, pp. 191-192, 253.
23. *Idem*, See also Haji Dabir, *An Arabic History of Gujrat*, ed. Ross, II, p. 704; *TA*, I, p. 68. For a full account of Raziyya's reign, see *Sultana Raziah*, in *IHQ*, 1940.
24. *TN*, p. 197.
25. *Ibid*, pp. 189, 201.
26. For Raihān's episode, *TN*, pp. 217, 280 & 298.
27. For Tughān Khān's Orissan campaigns, *ibid*, pp. 243-246; Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 263. On Katasingh, see N. Vasu, *Vangīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, XVI, p. 132, note 1.
28. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913, pp. 23-24; Barahdari inscription, Bihar.
29. *TN*, p. 195.
30. *Ibid*, pp. 212, 214, 217, 270-71. *Ta'rīkh-e-Wassāf*, British Museum Ms. f. 254b.
31. *Ibid*, p. 314.
32. *Ibid*, p. 322.
33. *Ibid*, pp. 317-319.
34. Isami, *op. cit.* pp. 147-150.
35. *JASB*, LXV, pp. 223-257; Banerji, *op. cit.* I, p. 267.
36. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, II, p. 146, no. 61. For Arzbadan, see *JASB*. (N.S.) V, pp. 215-17.
37. *TN*, pp. 263-65; also, Barua, *op. cit.* p. 199.
38. *TN*, p. 259. For the rulers of Pīṭhī, see *IA*, 1875, p. 366; 1919, p. 47; *JASB*, V, p. 658; *IA*, X, p. 346; *JASB*, 1913, pp. 72-73; *EI*, XII, p. 27; *HBR*, I, pp. 259-61; also *IA*, 1887, p. 341, 7; *JASB*. (N.S.) XVII, p. 222.
39. *IA*, 1918, p. 241. On the Jajapellas, see also, *EI*, VII, pp. 223-24.
40. *TN*, p. 291. On the Vāghelas, see *JASB*, 1881, p. 34; Cunningham, *op. cit.* XXI, p. 106; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 21, p. 12; also, Ray, *op. cit.* II, p. 720.
41. *TN*, p. 280.

41a. See above, p. 85.

42. *IA*, 1928, p. 32; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, "the Chirwa Inscription", in Vol. XXI; also *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 93.
43. *TN*, p. 285; also pp. 313-315.
44. Mahmūd's latest coin is dated 664, although Baranī places Balban's accession in 1263; see Wright, *op. cit.* p. 54, No. 224; Balban's earliest coin was also in the same year, see *ibid*, p. 59, No. 242a. For converting the Hijra into Christian date, Wolseley Haig's *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian dates* (London, 1933) has been used. Christian dates given in the text indicate only the beginning of the Hijra year. On the correct date of Balban's accession, see Haji Dabir, *op. cit.* II, p. 725, and also *Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī*, British Museum Ms. f. 61a.
45. Baranī, pp. 34-35, 37, 40, 70-71.

45a. For a detailed account, cf. *CHI*, III. 74-5; *HIED*, III. 101.

46. For a full account of his discourses, see Baranī, pp. 50-53.
47. *Ibid*, pp. 75, 81.
48. For this prince and his dynasty, see above, p. 42 and *HBR*, I, pp. 254-59. For a fuller account of the whole episode see Habibullah, *op. cit.* pp. 164-168.
49. Baranī, p. 123.
50. Baranī wrongly dates the event in 1289, p. 175; Fīrūz Khaljī's earliest coin—a gold piece—is dated 689/1290; Wright, *op. cit.* p. 83, No. 280. For details of events leading up to his accsesion, see Habibullah, *op. cit.* pp. 175-187.

CHAPTER VI

LATER CHĀLUKYAS AND KALACHURIS OF KALYĀṆA

1. TAILA II (A.D. 973-997)

Taila II, who re-established the sovereignty of the Chālukyas in the Deccan after overthrowing the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II in A.D. 973-74, claims to be a remote descendant of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi. The Chālukya Kīrttivarman II of that dynasty, who was dethroned by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga in the middle of the eighth century,[1] is said to have had an uncle whose name was possibly Bhīma. Bhīma was followed in succession by Kīrttivarman III, Taila I, Vikramāditya III, Bhīma II, Ayyaṇa I, and Vikramāditya IV.[2] Of them Ayyaṇa I is known to have married the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II of Mānyakheṭa, and Vikramāditya IV married Bonthādevī, the daughter of the Kalachuri Lakshmaṇa of Tripurī. Vikramāditya IV's son and successor was Taila II. Two inscriptions, dated A.D. 957 and 965, disclose that Taila II was, in the early part of his life, a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III in Tardavāḍi 1000 country. Tardavāḍi is now represented by the small village of Taddewadi on the south bank of the Bhīmā, in the Indi *Tāluk,* Bijāpur District, Bombay State. The Bāgewāḍi *Tāluk* of this district was also included in it. It may be assumed that the predecessors of Taila II also ruled this country as feudatories of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas. A number of other Chālukya families also ruled in the Deccan as vassals of the Rāshṭrakūṭas during this period, but their relation with the main line is not known.

Circumstances leading to the overthrow of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by Taila II in A.D. 973-74 have been described above.[3] Taila II was variously known as Tailapa, Tailappa and Tailappayya. He assumed the titles *Āhavamalla* and *Bhuvanaikamalla,* and his capital was Mānyakheṭa at least up to A.D. 993. Immediately after his accession Taila II devoted his energies to the consolidation of his power. He found in Gaṅga Pañchaladeva, who made himself master of the kingdom of the Gaṅga Mārasiṁha II, his strong rival. Pañchaladeva's kingdom included Mūlguṇḍa 12 (modern Mulgund, in the Dhārwār District) in Belvola 300, in A.D. 975, and is said to have extended up to the Kṛishṇā on the north. Pañchaladeva, who

is described as the 'Chālukya-pañchānana,' *i.e.* a very lion to the Chālukyas, challenged the authority of Taila II. Taila II, along with his general Nāgadeva, the Gaṅga Bhutigadeva, and many feudatory chiefs, confronted his rival in the battlefield. Bhutigadeva, who was the governor of Kogali 500, the country round the village Kogali, in the Hadagalli *Tāluk*, Bellary District, Madras State, under the Rāshṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga in A.D. 972, seems to have been dislodged from his position by Pañchaladeva. In the initial stage of the battle that followed Pañchaladeva reduced Taila II into a very precarious condition, as the Chālukya feudatories, who were in the rear, took to flight. The situation was eventually saved by Bhutigadeva, who succeeded in defeating and killing Pañchaladeva. In recognition of this service Taila II honoured him with the title *Āhavamalla,* and made him the feudatory of Toragale, modern Torgal, on the confines of the Dhārwār District. The defeat of Pañchaladeva, which took place before A.D. 977, enabled Taila II to establish his supremacy over the countries up to northern Mysore. The central and southern Mysore were under the Gaṅga Rāchamalla, son and successor of Mārasiṁha, in A.D. 977. About this time Taila II defeated and killed Raṇastambha, who was an ally of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkka II. Some time before A.D. 980, Taila II came into conflict with the Choḷa king Uttama Choḷa and won a victory. After settling the affairs in the south Taila II looked for conquest towards the western region. The strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea and between the Pūrṇā river and Goa was known as the Koṅkaṇa country (Konkan). A branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty had been ruling in Southern Konkan, with its capital at Valipattana and as vassal of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, from the second half of the eighth century. Taila II with the help of his general Kesa(va)jiya brought Southern Konkan under his sway, and the Śilāhāra Avasara III or his son Raṭṭarāja acknowledged his supremacy. The Northern Konkan, which had its capital at Thānā, and was at this time ruled by Aparājita Mṛigāṅka of a collateral branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty, remained outside the limits of the kingdom of the Chālukyas. The Yādava Bhillama II, ruler of Seuṇa-*deśa* (the country round Daulatābād, in the Aurangābād District, Hyderābād State), transferred his allegiance from the Rāshṭrakūṭas to the Chālukyas. Taila II made an attempt to assert his supremacy over the countries in the north, which once formed parts of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. He invaded Lāṭa (the country between the Sābarmati river in Gujarāt and the Ambikā river in Surat, Bombay), conquered it, and placed it under his general Bārappa of the Chaulukya family. To the north of Lāṭa was the kingdom of Gurjara, ruled by the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I. About

this time, when the kingdom of Mūlarāja was invaded by the Chāhamāna Vigraharāja I of Śākambharī, Bārappa attacked Mūlarāja from the south. He gained some success, for an inscription credits Taila II with a victory over the Gurjaras. But Vigraharāja overran the Gurjara country, and reached Bhṛigukachchha forcing his way through the kingdom of Bārappa. The Chāhamāna occupation of Gurjara and Lāṭa was, however, shortlived. Mūlarāja concluded a treaty with Vigraharāja and sent his son Chāmuṇḍarāja to fight with Bārappa, who was killed in the battle. It cannot be ascertained whether Taila II could maintain control over the successors of Bārappa who ruled Lāṭa for some time.

Taila II wanted to assert his supremacy over Mālava, which was formerly included in the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. He led six invasions against that country, but was repulsed on all those occasions by the Paramāras under their king Muñja, also known as Utpala. At last Muñja took the offensive in order to put a stop to the further aggressions of the Chālukyas. He crossed the Godāvarī, and led a campaign against Taila II. Taila II, with the help of his feudatory the Yādava Bhillama II of the Seuṇa-*deśa,* defeated him and took him prisoner to his capital Mānyakheṭa. The general Kesa(va)jiya claims to have won the admiration of Taila II for the military skill which he showed on the bank of the Godāvarī. It seems to have referred to the last battle of Taila II with Muñja. Taila II's victory over the Paramāras on this occasion made him master of the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom. Muñja was kept confined in the prison of the Chālukya capital. The story runs that Taila II's sister Mṛiṇālavatī, who was detailed to attend the captive king, fell in love with him, but when she came to learn that Muñja's ministers made secret arrangements for his escape, she reported the matter to her brother. Thereupon Taila II treated Muñja with great indignity and executed him shortly afterwards.

Taila II and his successors are mentioned as kings of Karṇāṭa, Kuntala, or Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. The kingdom of the Chālukyas at this time included the Shimoga, Chitaldroog and Bellary Districts in the south, Southern Konkan and the border of Northern Konkan in the west, and extended up to the upper course of the Godāvarī, and possibly even the Narmadā on the north. Taila's feudatory Brahmarasa governed Banavāsi 12000 and Sāntalige 1000. Banavāsi comprised the Shikārpur and Sorab *Tāluks* of the Shimoga District, and Sāntalige, Nagar and Tirthahalli *Tāluks* of the same district. The tract of the country round Davanagere *Tāluk* of the Chitaldroog District was known as Kādambalige 1000. It was governed by the feudatory Mūluguṇḍa Sinda Jātarasa. The Kadamba

Āryavarman and the Kadamba Ādityavarman administered in succession Kogali 500, Kisukāḍ 70, and Sundavatti. Sundavatti is identical with Sindavāḍi, which is to be located in the Alur *Tāluk* of the Bellary District. Kisukāḍ is the modern Lingsugur, Hyderābād. The Raṭṭa feudatory Kārttavīrya I ruled the Kūṇḍi country from its capital Veṇugrāma, modern Belgaum, in the Bombay State. Śāntivarman of the Baisa family administered Saundatti, now in the Belgaum District.

Taila II married Jākabbā, the daughter of the Raṭṭa Bhammaha, and had by her two sons Satyāśraya and Daśavarman also known as Yaśovarman. Daśavarman acted as a Governor during the reign of Taila II. The last known date of Taila II from inscription is A.D. 996. He ruled for twenty-four years and was succeeded by Satyāśraya in A.D. 997.

2. SATYĀŚRAYA (A.D. 997-c. 1008)

Satyāśraya, also known as Sattiga and Sattima, assumed the titles *Irivabeḍaṅga, Āhavamalla,* and *Akalaṅkacharita.* The earliest known date of his reign from inscription is A.D. 999. Satyāśraya came into conflict with his northern neighbours soon after his accession. The Paramāra Sindhurāja led an army against him and reconquered territories which were wrested from Muñja by Taila II. The Kalachuri Kokalla II of Tripurī claims to have forced the king of Kuntala to live in exile *(vanavāsa).* There is obviously a pun on the word *Vanavāsa* which refers to the country of Banavāsi. The Kuntala king, who was Kokalla II's adversary, seems to have been Satyāśraya.

The Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, who did not submit to Taila II, fell a victim to the attack of Satyāśraya. Satyāśraya reduced the Śilāhāra Aparājita to a precarious position. It is stated that "hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparājita trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire". Aparājita eventually saved himself by taking resort to the sea. Satyāśraya burnt the city of Aṁśunagara in the kingdom of the Śilāhāras, received twenty-one elephants from them, and asserted his supremacy over all the territory up to the sea shore. Aparājita and his successors were, however, allowed to rule Northern Konkan as feudatories of the Chālukyas. After his conquest of Konkan Satyāśraya seems to have invaded the Gurjara kingdom and inflicted a defeat on the Chaulukya Chāmuṇḍarāja, son of Mūlarāja I.

Satyāśraya had to face a grave situation in the southern part of his kingdom. Choḷa Rājarāja, the Great, the successor of Uttama

Choḷa, invaded the Deccan with 900,000 soldiers, and after conquering the southern divisions of the Chālukya kingdom, *viz.* Sāntalige, Banavāsi, Kādambalige, and Kogali, captured the fort of Ūṅkallu, modern Unkal, in the Dhārwār District. Lenka Keta, the commander of the fort, gave up his life in the battle with the Choḷas while defending the stronghold. Rājarāja next pitched his camp at Dhanvur, modern Donur, in the Bāgewāḍi *Tāluk* of the Bijāpur District. An inscription of the third year of Rājendra Choḷa, son of Rājarāja, states that Rājendra Choḷa conquered Iḍiturai-*nāḍu,* Banavāsi, and Kollipākkai. Iḍiturai-*nāḍu* is the same as Eḍedorenāḍ, the country comprising a large part of the Raichur District between the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā, and Kollipākkai is the modern Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderābād. These conquests seem to have been made by Rājendra Choḷa during his father's campaign against Satyāśraya. Rājarāja, while encamping at Donur, ravaged the surrounding country, killed women, children and the Brāhmaṇas, forcibly carried away the Brāhmaṇa girls, and gave them in marriage to the people of different castes. Satyāśraya made a desperate attempt to free his country from the tyranny of the Choḷas, and a fierce battle ensued. Śrutimān Nakkan Chandiran, the chief of the elephant forces of Rājarāja, made a charge on the enemy at the order of his master, but lost his life. Rājarāja, being defeated, made a hasty retreat, but Satyāśraya pursued him and captured a large train of his baggage wagons. Rājarāja returned to his own kingdom with some booty of gold flowers, which he dedicated to the temple of Tanjore. Satyāśraya then led aggressive campaigns against his southern neighbours. He brought all the territories up to the Kurnool and Guntur Districts under his sway. A stone inscription of the reign of Satyāśraya, found in the Bāpatla *Tāluk* of the Guntur District, is dated A.D. 1006. In A.D. 1004 Satyāśraya is known to have been residing in Śrīparvata, also known as Śrīśailam, in the Mārkāpur *Tāluk* of the Kurnool District.

Bhīmarasa continued to govern Banavāsi during the reign of Satyāśraya. Śobhanarasa ruled Belvola 300, Kundur 500, Purigere 300, Halsasige 12000, and Kukkanur 30. Māsavāḍi was administered by Taila, and one of Satyāśraya's officers governed Pānuṅgal 500. Satyāśraya had a feudatory named Kundamarasa, often described as his son, who distinguished himself in the Choḷa war. Satyāśraya's younger brother Daśavarman had three sons, *viz.* Vikramāditya V, Ayyaṇa II, and Jayasiṁha II, and one daughter, Akkādevī. Satyāśraya was succeeded by his nephew Vikramāditya V.

3. VIKRAMĀDITYA V (*c.* A.D. 1008-1014)

Vikramāditya V assumed the titles *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Vallabha-narendra.* Dates of the inscriptions of his reign range from A.D. 1008 to 1013-14. During this period the Chālukyas turned their attention to the expansion of their kingdom towards the east. The general Kesavajiya, who was sent with an army in that direction, claims that he pleased Vikramāditya (V) by his conquest of the Kosala country. At this time, the king of Kosala, *i.e.* South Kosala, appears to have been Somavaṁśī Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II. It may be noted in this connection that a Somavaṁśī king, who cannot be definitely identified, claims that he defeated the king of the Karṇāṭa country.

Kundamarasa ruled Banavāsi 12000 and Sāntalige 1000 as a governor under Vikramāditya V, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Keśava administered Belvola 300 and Purigere 300, and Vikramāditya V's sister Akkādevī was the governor of Kisukāḍ 70 in A.D. 1012.

4. JAYASIṀHA II (A.D. 1015-1043)

Vikramāditya was succeeded by his younger brother Ayyaṇa II in A.D. 1014. Ayyaṇa II did not rule for more than a year, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Jayasiṁha II in or before A.D. 1015.

Jayasiṁha II, also known as Siṅgadeva, assumed the titles *Jagadekamalla II, Trailokyamalla, Mallikāmoda,* and *Vikramasiṁha.* The dates of his inscriptions range between A.D. 1015 and 1043. Shortly before A.D. 1019 the Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the Paramāra Bhoja, and Rājendra Choḷa formed a confederacy and made simultaneous attacks on the Deccan. Jayasiṁha claims to have repulsed all of them, but Bhoja succeeded in annexing Northern Konkan to his kingdom. Rājendra Choḷa claims that he defeated Jayasiṁha at Muśaṅgi, which is identified with Maski in the Raichur Doāb, and conquered Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. There is no doubt, however, that Jayasiṁha succeeded in driving out the Choḷas from his kingdom. Along with his general Chavanarasa, he pursued Rājendra Choḷa up to the Gaṅgavāḍi and the Chera countries. He plundered Dorasamudra, modern Halebid in Mysore, and Baleyavattana, modern Beliapatam, in the Chirakkal *Tāluk,* Malabar, and the country of the Mālepas. Some time before A.D. 1024 Jayasiṁha II and his general Chavanarasa reconquered Konkan, apparently after defeating the Paramāra Bhoja.

The general Chavanarasa claims to have conquered Pannāla, also called Praṇāla and Parṇāla, modern Panhālā, 12 miles north-west

of Kolhāpur, which was then apparently ruled by the Śilāhāra Jatiga II, and stormed the fortress of Bijavoḍi. Jayasiṁha II's feudatory Bijjarasa, the officer in charge of Sāntalige, is said to have defeated Bhillama and Chaṭṭuga, seized Bhaṭṭa, and conquered Paṭṭarali, Paṭahakoṭa, and Toragale. Bhillama, referred to, is Bhillama III of the Yādava dynasty of Seuṇa-*deśa,* who married the daughter of Jayasiṁha II. All these facts indicate that the Chālukya kingdom was torn asunder by internecine quarrel for some time during the reign of Jayasiṁha. This assumption is confirmed by an inscription, which states that the generals and vassals of Jayasiṁha II revolted, and even made a plot to murder the king. Jayasiṁha II succeeded in averting the danger and bringing under control all the hostile forces with the help of his general Kālidāsa.

The kingdom of Jayasiṁha II included Shimoga, Tumkur, Anantapur and Cuddapah Districts in the south. Its boundary on the east lay beyond Kulpak, 45 miles north-east of Hyderābād. Several inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1028 and subsequent years, prove that Jayasiṁha II ruled from his capital Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇī, modern Kalyani, in Bidar, Hyderābād. The Chālukya capital was shifted there from Mānyakheṭa some time after A.D. 993. Kundamarasa governed Banavāsi and Sāntalige from the capital Balipura, modern Belgami, in the Shikārpur *Tāluk,* Shimoga District, at least up to A.D. 1031. A certain Satyāśraya administered Sāntalige under him. Vikramāditya V's sister Akkādevī ruled Banavāsi, Belvola, and Puligere jointly with Mayūravarman from A.D. 1037. The Kadamba Shashṭhadeva, ruler of Gove or Gopaka-paṭṭana, modern Goa, acknowledged his supremacy. Jagadekamalla Noḷamba-Pallava Udayāditya governed Kādambalige, Kogali, Ballakuṇḍe, Eḍedore etc. from his headquarters at Kampili, modern Kampli, in the Hospet *Tāluk,* Bellary District. The Haihaya Revarasa administered the Gulbarga District, and the Sinda Nāgāditya was in charge of the administration of Bāgalkot, Bijāpur District. Jayasiṁha II was succeeded by his son Someśvara I in A.D. 1043-44.

5. SOMEŚVARA I (A.D. 1043-1068)

Someśvara I assumed the titles *Āhavamalla, Trailokyamalla* and *Rājanārāyaṇa,* and was also known as Vīra-Mārtaṇḍa. Dates of the inscriptions of his reign range from A.D. 1043 to 1068. Immediately after his accession in A.D. 1043-44, he was involved in a protracted war with the Choḷas. The Choḷa Rājādhirāja invaded the Chālukya kingdom with a big army. He was opposed at Pūṇḍi by Vichchaya or Bāchcharasa, feudatory of the Chālukyas in the Rayadrug *Tāluk,* in the Bellary District, who subsequently fled away.

The northward march of the Choḷas was next opposed by the Chālukya generals Nulumba (Nanni-Noḷamba), Chāmuṇḍarāja, the ruler of Banavāsi, Kālidāsa, Kommayya, and Villavarāja. But it was of no avail. The next resistance to the advance of the Choḷas was given by Someśvara I at Kolūru, on the bank of the Bhīmā, near Chitapur Railway Station, in the Shorāpur District, Hyderābād. Though the Choḷas suffered a heavy loss on this occasion, they forced Someśvara I to withdraw. Rājādhirāja next made a triumphant march to the Chālukya capital Kalyāṇa, pillaged the city, and burnt the royal palace. He celebrated his victory there by performing the *Vīrābhisheka,* and assuming the title *Vijayarājendra.* It was probably from Kalyāṇa that he advanced towards Kollippākkai. Someśvara, along with his son Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya of Veṅgī and his commanders Śāṅgamaya, Gaṇḍappaya, Gaṅgādhara and others, gave the Choḷas there a stiff resistance, but Kollippākkai could not be defended. Gaṇḍappaya and Gaṅgādhara lost their lives in the encounter and Someśvara I fled away like a coward. Rājādhirāja returned to his kingdom after overrunning the Deccan.

Some time before A.D. 1047 Rājādhirāja led another campaign against Someśvara I, defeated the Chālukya generals Gaṇḍar-Dinakara, Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, and Kālidāsa's son Madhusūdana, and captured Kampili. After sacking the city of Pūṇḍur, on the bank of the Kṛishṇā, where there was a cantonment, he seized a place named Maṇṇandīppai. In consequence of these Choḷa invasions the normal life in the Deccan was greatly disturbed. An inscription, dated A.D. 1050, from the Dhārwār District, states that some ministers and administrative officers granted the renewal of corporate constitution of some *Settis,* which was partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Choḷas. Someśvara I, however, did not suffer any loss of territory on this occasion. His general Chāmuṇḍarāja, governor of Banavāsi, succeeded in driving out the Choḷas before A.D. 1047.

In A.D. 1051-52 Rājādhirāja invaded the kingdom of Someśvara I for the third time, and was accompanied by his brother Rājendra on this occasion. He seized Kollāpuram, burnt down many Jain temples, and defiled and damaged the Jain sanctuaries. Someśvara I took a bold stand, and not only checked the further progress of the Choḷa army, but even pursued the enemy which was retreating southward. For the final trial of strength the Choḷas and the Chālukyas confronted each other in the battlefield of Koppam, a celebrated place of pilgrimage on the bank of a big river. Some suggest that the place is identical with Khidrapur on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā, about 30 miles east by south of Kolhāpur. Some again think that it is to be identified with the ancient Kopana or Kupanapura,

modern Kopal, on the left bank of the stream Hirehalla, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrā in Lingsugur. When the battle was in progress Rājādhirāja, seated on an elephant, was mortally wounded by Someśvara I's feudatory Per(ma)la Madarasa. At the death of their king the Choḷas were retreating in confusion, when the deceased king's brother Rājendra II rallied the Choḷa forces with great skill and renewed operations against the enemy. Someśvara I's brother Jayasiṁha, and the Chālukya generals Pulikeśin, Daśapanman, Nanni-Noḷamba, Aśokaiyan, Āraiyan, Moṭṭaiyan and many others lost their lives in the battle. Someśvara I, together with his generals Vanniya-Revan, identified with the Haihaya feudatory Revarasa, Tuttan, Kuṇḍamayan, and many others fled away. After this victory Rājendra II crowned himself king in the battlefield and returned to the Choḷa country, but he could not annex any part of the Chālukya kingdom.

The earliest known date of the inscriptions referring to the battle of Koppam is A.D. 1054. In that year Someśvara I was encamping at Kampili on the Tuṅgabhadrā, and led some aggressive campaigns against the Choḷas from time to time. Shortly before the battle of Koppam he, along with his general Pulikeśin, who lost his life at this battle, invaded Kāñchī and captured that city, wherefrom the Choḷa governor fled away. Bilhaṇa's statement of the conquest of Kāñchī by Someśvara I is corroborated by an inscription of the reign of this king dated A.D. 1058. In A.D. 1058-59 Someśvara I is known to have led another expedition to the Choḷa country. Some time between A.D. 1059 and 1061 Someśvara I, together with his son Vikramāditya and his general Valadeva, made an attack on the kingdom of the Choḷas. The Choḷa Rājendra II and his son Rājamahendra advanced to resist the invaders. A battle took place at Muḍakāru, which seems to be the same as Muḍukākere on the bank of the Tuṅga river, in the Channagiri *Tāluk*, Shimoga District. Someśvara I suffered defeat and fled away with Vikramāditya and the general Irugaiyan, while Valadeva lost his life in the engagement. The intensity of the struggle between the Chālukyas and the Choḷas greatly increased during the reign of Rājendra's successor Vīrarājendra. An inscription issued in the latter part of Vīrarājendra's reign states that the king saw the back of Āhavamalla five times in battle. It means that he fought with his adversary at least five times. Someśvara, along with his son Vikramāditya and some feudatories, met Vīrarājendra first in the battlefield of Gaṅgavāḍi, *i.e.* central Mysore. They were defeated and pushed back to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā. The next battle between the two kings was fought in the Andhra country.

Some time before A.D. 1049 Someśvara asserted his supremacy over the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja of the Andhra country. A stone inscription of Someśvara's reign, dated A.D. 1057, has been found in the Rāmchandrapur *Tāluk* of the Godāvarī District. Someśvara I's son Someśvara II, while serving his father as a governor in A.D. 1049 and 1053, assumed the title 'the lord of Veṅgī.' Vijayāditya VII, successor of the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, turned hostile to Someśvara I, and sought the protection of Vīrarājendra. After the battle of Gaṅgavāḍi Vīrarājendra marched to Veṅgī, the capital of the Andhra country, to lend support to Vijayāditya against his enemies. In the battle that followed, the Chālukya general Chāmuṇḍarāja, the governor of Banavāsi, lost his life, the nose of the queen of Irugaiyan, who was the daughter of Chāmuṇḍarāja, was cut off, and the Chālukya army under the leadership of Irugaiyan was routed.

Shortly after his success in the Andhra country Vīrarājendra met Someśvara I at Kūḍal-śaṅgamam, also mentioned as Kūḍal. According to Fleet it is the confluence of the Pañchagaṅgā and the Kṛishṇā in the neighbourhood of Khidrapur. Mr. V. K. Pillai takes it to be the junction of the Tuṅgabhadrā and the Kṛishṇā. Mr. Rice identifies it with Kudali at the junction of the Tuṅga and Bhadrā. It is known from a record of Vikramāditya VI that in A.D. 1073 he granted land to the god Saṁgameśvara at Kūḍal. This Saṁgameśvara temple is situated in the village Singepalle in the Rayadrug *Tāluk* of the Bellary District. Kūḍal-śaṅgamam may be identified with this place. Someśvara I, along with his two sons Vikramāditya and Jayasiṁha, his feudatory Śiṅgan, who was the chief of Kośal(ai), his lieutenants Keśava, Kettaraśan, Mārayan, Pottarayan, Irechchayan, Aṇṇalan, and Maduvaṇan, fought with all their might in the battle, but failed miserably. Śiṅgan fell fighting and Someśvara I, together with his sons and generals, fled away. Vīrarājendra claims to have seized Someśvara's wives, family treasures, parasols etc. on this occasion. The victory at Kūḍal was one of the greatest military achievements of the Choḷas of that age, and they remembered it with pride for many generations.

In A.D. 1063-64 Someśvara led an expedition against the Choḷas and encamped at Muḍukākere on the Tuṅga, in the Shimoga District. He was opposed by Vīrarājendra there and was defeated. Vīrarājendra claims to have won victory over the Chālukyas at Muḍakkaru, which, according to some, means a winding river, but may be taken as identical with Muḍukākere. It appears that not long after this engagement Vīrarājendra fought a sanguinary battle on the bank of a river with a number of generals, who seem to have

been the officers of Someśvara I, and killed many of them. Shortly afterwards Vīrarājendra accepted the challenge of Someśvara to try his strength with him again at Kūḍal and reached with his army at Kāndai, a place in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal. Someśvara, instead of meeting his adversary there at the appointed time, fled to the western coast, and his generals Devanāthan, Śitti and Keśi retreated. Vīrarājendra, having waited for the enemy for a month, overran Raṭṭapāḍi and planted a pillar of victory on the Tuṅgabhadrā. About this time Someśvara I succeeded in regaining his position in the Andhra country, and so Vīrarājendra moved from the Tuṅgabhadrā towards Veṅgī. He inflicted a defeat on the Chālukya generals Jananātha of Dhārā, Rājamayan, and Mupparasan on the bank of the Kṛishṇā near Visaiyavāḍi (Vijayawada), and claims to have restored Vijayāditya of the Eastern Chālukya family to power. All these wars between Someśvara I and the Choḷas were fought before the fifth year of Vīrarājendra's reign (A.D. 1067). In A.D. 1067-68 Vikramāditya, son of Someśvara I, marched against the Choḷa capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍa and plundered it. Someśvara I fought with the Choḷas for nearly a quarter of a century, and yielded to their military forces on many occasions. His enemies, however, could not wrest from him any part of his kingdom.

Besides the Choḷas Someśvara I had to fight with many other ruling dynasties of his time. The Śilāhāra Aparājita of Northern Konkan had two sons Vajjaḍa II and Arikeśarin (A.D. 1017). Vajjaḍa II had three sons Chittarāja, Nāgārjuna, and Mummuṇi. After Arikeśarin his nephews Chittarāja (A.D. 1026) and Mummuṇi ruled in succession. There was a civil war in Northern Konkan during the reign of Mummuṇi. Some time before A.D. 1047 Someśvara I, together with his generals, the Kākatīya Prola, Kadamba Chāmuṇḍarāja of Banavāsi, the Yādava Ajjavasa, the Haihaya Revarasa, Madhusūdana *alias* Madhuva, and Pulikeśin, invaded that country, overthrew Mummuṇi, and placed his own nominee on its throne.[4] How long Someśvara kept Konkan under his control cannot be determined. Mummuṇi's nephew Anantapāla, son of Nāgārjuna, claims that he defeated those enemies "who at a time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated the whole Koṅkaṇa district, and harassed the gods and Brāhmaṇas." Anantapāla's adversaries seem to have been the Chālukyas. About this time Someśvara I raided Lāṭa and Gujarāt. His adversary in Gujarāt was the Chaulukya Bhīma I, and in Lāṭa the Chaulukya Vatsarāja or his successor Trilochanapāla. He also invaded the adjoining territory of Mālava with the assistance of his generals Nāgadeva, Guṇḍamaya, Jomarasa, and Madhusūdana, and plundered Maṇḍapa (modern Māndu, in Dhār, Madhya Bhārat),

Ujjayinī, and Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāra Bhoja, who fled away. In A.D. 1055, when the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma forcibly took possession of Mālava, Vikramāditya VI, at the order of his father Someśvara I, defeated them and restored Jayasiṁha, successor of Bhoja, to power. Some time before A.D. 1048 Someśvara came into conflict with the Kalachuri Karṇa. Bilhaṇa states that Someśvara I utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa, who, on the other hand, claims that he defeated the king of Kuntala. *Prākṛita-paiṅgalam* mentions that Karṇa vanquished Vikrama, *i.e.* Vikramāditya VI.

Someśvara I and his feudatory, the Kākatīya Prola, raided Kosala, and conquered Chakrakoṭa, in the Bastar State, after defeating a king of the Nāga dynasty. It is not unlikely that he came into clash with Vīrarājendra and Rājendra Choḷa II at Chakrakoṭa. Prola claims to have defeated a chief named Bhadraṅga (?) Kaḍparti, and killed Gonna, the chief of Purakūṭa. Vajrahasta V, king of Kaliṅga, suffered defeat at the hands of Someśvara I. Some time before A.D. 1047 Someśvara I, assisted by his son Vikramāditya and his feudatory Chāmuṇḍarāja, invaded Kerala or Malabar coast and defeated and killed the king of that country. Nāgadeva, the general of Someśvara I, subdued the revolt of the Yādavas of Seuṇa-*deśa* shortly before A.D. 1060. Someśvara I's feudatory, the Kadamba Jayakeśin I, son of Shashṭhadeva, who is referred to as the king of Koṅkaṇa, conquered the Ālupas, king of Kāpardikadvīpa, and uprooted Kāmadeva.

Several inscriptions of Someśvara I's reign, with dates commencing from A.D. 1050, mention that he conquered Vaṅga, Magadha, Nepāla, Kanauj, Pañchāla, Kuru, Khasa, and Ābhīra. Bilhaṇa states that the prince Vikramāditya VI led expeditions against Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, Pāṇḍya, and Ceylon. But one may doubt the authenticity of all these claims, though there may be historical basis for some of them. In any case he must be regarded as a great king.

Someśvara I had four sons, *viz.* Someśvara II, Vikramāditya VI, Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, and Jayasiṁha, all of whom occupied administrative posts under him. Someśvara II was in charge of Belvola and Purigere, Vikramāditya VI governed Gaṅgavāḍi, Banavāsi, Sāntalige, and Noḷambavāḍi, and Jayasiṁha was in charge of Uchchaṅgi, Maṇḍali, Suluṅgal etc. Jayasiṁha acted as subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. In recognition of the Kākatīya Prola's military service Someśvara I granted him the Anmakoṇḍa-*vishaya*, modern Warangal District, Hyderābād. Someśvara I's kingdom extended in the south up to Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Anantapur, and

Kurnool Districts. He appointed his son Someśvara II as his successor, and died in March, 1068.

6. SOMEŚVARA II (A.D. 1068-1076)

Someśvara II, who assumed the title *Bhuvanaikamalla,* was involved in a war with his brother Vikramāditya immediately after his accession. Vikramāditya strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of Vīrarājendra who, in or before the sixth year of his reign (A.D. 1068-69), led an expedition against Someśvara II to secure the throne of the Deccan for his son-in-law. Vīrarājendra burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at Karadikal (modern village of Karadi, in the Lingsugur *Tāluk,* Raichur District, Hyderābād), and declared Vikramāditya as the king of Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh country. Someśvara II, with the help of his cavalry forces, routed Vīrarājendra and established peace and order in his kingdom. After this Vikramāditya submitted to his brother and lived with him cordially, at least up to A.D. 1074. After his victory over the Choḷas, Someśvara II made a confederacy with the Chaulukya Karṇa of Gujarāt, defeated the Paramāra Jayasiṁha, successor of Bhoja, and occupied Mālava. He could not retain possession of it for a long time as the Paramāra Udayāditya, with the help of the Chāhamānas, drove him and his ally out of Mālava.

Vikramāditya VI is known to have been governing Bellary, Anantapur, Chitaldroog, and Dhārwār Districts from his headquarters at Govindavāḍi (modern Govindavada, a village in the Rayadrug *Tāluk,* Bellary District), at least from A.D. 1071 to 1074. In A.D. 1072 Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya, was in charge of Chitaldroog District. As all these territories are known to have been within the kingdom of Someśvara II during this period, both the princes must have administered them as his subordinates. That Vikramāditya was in the service of Someśvara II and was in cordial relation with him is proved by the Nrialgi inscription, dated A.D. 1074, which states that the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vikramāditya and Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya were then at Baṅkāpura (in Dhārwār District) in the service of the king Bhuvanaikamalla. After the death of Vīrarājendra there was anarchy in the Choḷa country. Vikramāditya VI, as a feudatory of Someśvara II, put down the revolt and placed Vīrarājendra's son Adhirājendra on the throne. Shortly afterwards, when Rājendra Choḷa II *alias* Kulottuṅga I occupied the Choḷa throne after the death of Adhirājendra in a popular commotion, Vikramāditya marched against the usurper but failed to dethrone him. Bilhaṇa's statement that about this time, *i.e.* in A.D. 1070, Vikramāditya overthrew Someśvara II is erroneous.

Inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I supply much information about his conflict with Vikramāditya VI during this period. An inscription of the year A.D. 1074 records his victory over the king of Kuntala, and another of A.D. 1076 mentions that Vikramāditya and Jayasiṁha, having suffered defeat at his hands, plunged into the river. His inscription of A.D. 1080 states that he fought with Vikramāditya VI between Naṅgili (in the Kolar District) and the Tuṅgabhadrā and captured two countries Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Śiṅganam. But in the midst of these conflicts with the Choḷas Vikramāditya seized the Chālukya kingdom.

The *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* and a number of inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI's reign state that Someśvara II became vicious and neglectful of his royal duties; so Vikramāditya VI, with the help of the Hoysala Ereyaṅga and Pāṇḍya of the Choḷa family, defeated Someśvara, took him prisoner, and wielded the sovereignty of the Deccan. It is difficult to say whether this represents the whole truth. Unfortunately no further details of this palace revolution are known to us. The last known date of Someśvara II's reign is A.D. 1076 which is also the year of Vikramāditya VI's accession.

7. VIKRAMĀDITYA VI (A.D. 1076-1126)

Vikramāditya VI, also known as Permāḍideva, assumed the title *Tribhuvanamalla*. Immediately after his accession in A.D. 1076 he started a new era, called after his own name. An inscription dated in the second year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era has been found. Jayasiṁha governed Banavāsi, Sāntalige, and Kadur as a subordinate of his brother Vikramāditya VI at least up to A.D. 1082. Some time after his marriage with the Śilāhāra princess Chandralekhā, Vikramāditya received the news that Jayasiṁha had turned hostile to him and advanced with his army to the bank of the Kṛishṇā, where he was joined by many feudatories. He opposed his brother there and suffered defeat at the initial stage of the battle. Eventually he succeeded in taking Jayasiṁha prisoner, but released him shortly afterwards.

After a long period of peace following his accession Vikramāditya VI marched against the Choḷas and took Kāñchī some time before A.D. 1085. Some time between A.D. 1091 and 1093 he, along with his general Govindarasa, burnt Veṅgī, defeated the Velanāṇṭi Goṅka I, and wrested Andhra from Vīra-Choḍa, son of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I. In the latter part of A.D. 1099 Kulottuṅga reconquered Veṅgī from the Chālukyas and retained his control over it till A.D. 1117. In the closing years of Kulottuṅga's reign, when his son Vikrama Choḷa, the viceroy of Andhra

country, left for the Choḷa capital to secure his succession, Vikramāditya VI annexed it again to his kingdom. Inscriptions of Vikramāditya prove that he was in possession of the Andhra country from A.D. 1118 to at least 1124.

Vikramāditya VI came into conflict with the Hoysalas of Gaṅgavāḍi, which included Hassan, Tumkur, and part of the Mysore Districts, and had its capital at Dorasamudra. The Chālukya Someśvara I had married a Hoysala princess, and the Hoysala Nṛipakāma's son Vinayāditya (A.D. 1047-1101) acknowledged the supremacy of Someśvara I, Someśvara II, and Vikramāditya VI. Shortly after his death the Hoysalas tried to assert their independence. About this time the Paramāra Jagaddeva abdicated the throne of Mālava in favour of his brother Naravarman, and became an ally of Vikramāditya VI. The Chālukya emperor sent Jagaddeva to put down the revolt of the Hoysalas. The Hoysala princes Ballāla I, Vishṇuvardhana and Udayāditya, sons of Ereyaṅga, and the grandsons of Vinayāditya, gave stiff resistance to the Chālukya army under Jagaddeva, and won some initial successes over the invader. But Jagaddeva eventually succeeded in forcing his way into Dorasamudra and bringing the Hoysalas under control. A Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription, dated A.D. 1118, states that the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana's general Gaṅgarāja made a night attack on the army of the Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla, encamped at Kannegal under the command of the twelve *sāmantas,* and defeated it. The Sinda chief Ācha II of Erambarage is stated to have pursued and prevailed against Hoysala at the command of the universal emperor Vikramāditya. Vishṇuvardhana's inscriptions claim that the king conquered Belvola, Hānuṅgal, Banavāsi, and Noḷambavāḍi, and his horses, in course of his victorious march, bathed in the Kṛishṇā river some time before A.D. 1120. These, no doubt, reflect the different phases of the conflict between the Hoysalas and the Chālukyas in the early part of the twelfth century. Though the relation between these two dynasties became acrimonious from time to time, the inscriptions of Ballāla I and Vishṇuvardhana, dating from A.D. 1101, prove that they acknowledged the supremacy of Vikramāditya.

The Kadamba Jayakeśin I of Goa, son of Shashṭhadeva, owed allegiance to Vikramāditya VI at least up to A.D. 1071. Jayakeśin I had two sons, Guvaladeva II and Vijayāditya. Guvaladeva was ruling in A.D. 1098. His successor Vijayāditya seems to have revolted against the Chālukyas. The Sinda Ācha II of Erambarage, at the order of Vikramāditya, took Gove, burnt it down, and put to flight Lakshma, a commander of the Kadamba army. Thereupon

the Kadambas submitted to Vikramāditya. Vijayāditya's son Jayakeśin II, whose known regnal years are A.D. 1125 and 1147, married Mailaladevī, daughter of Vikramāditya VI, and ruled his territory along with Koṅkaṇa 900, Halasige 12000, Payve 500, and Kavaḍi-dvīpa 125000 jointly with his queen as a subordinate of the Chālukyas. Ācha II also put down the revolt of a Pāṇḍya chief of Uchchaṅgi.

A branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty ruled at Karahāṭaka, modern Karād, in the Sātārā District, from the tenth century A.D. Kolhāpur and Panhālā were the other headquarters of this family. The Chālukya Jayasiṁha II asserted his supremacy over it. Vikramāditya VI married Chandralekhā, the daughter of a king of this family, who seems to have been Mārasiṁha. Mārasiṁha had five sons, Guvala II, Gaṅgadeva, Ballāla, Bhoja and Gaṇḍarāditya, who ruled in succession. Bhoja, who came to the throne after A.D. 1086, revolted and attacked the territory of the Sindas of Erambarage, but the Sinda Ācha II succeeded in repulsing him. Vikramāditya VI led an expedition against the rebel Bhoja and encamped at Appayanadakuppa on the Bhīmarathī river in A.D. 1100. But as Bhoja is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1108, he could not evidently be brought under control.

An inscription, dated A.D. 1078, states that Seven Koṅkaṇas became like bracelets to Vikramāditya through the aid of his brother Jayasiṁha. Vikramāditya's conquest of Koṅkaṇa is mentioned in another inscription. An inscription, dated A.D. 1113, records that the Pāṇḍya Kāmadeva ruled the Koṅkaṇa-*rāshṭra* as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.

The Yādavas of Seuṇa-*deśa,* whose kingdom extended from the Ahmadnagar District to the Narmadā, were feudatories of Vikramāditya VI. Iramadeva, son of Seuṇachandra of this family, acknowledges the supremacy of Vikramāditya VI in an inscription dated A.D. 1100. Vikramāditya VI put down the revolt of the Yādavas, who declared hostility against him about this time.

Some time before A.D. 1088 Vikramāditya crossed the Narmadā and brought Kanama and some other chiefs under his control. It was probably on this occasion that he plundered Lāṭa and burnt the city of the Gurjara king, who seems to have been the Chaulukya Karṇa. A fragmentary inscription relates that Vikramāditya's feudatory Bijjala, son of Piṭṭa, had some relation with Jayasiṁha of Gurjararāshṭra, *i.e.* Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, son of Karṇa. The Kalachuri king Jājalladeva of Ratanpur (the capital of Dakshiṇa-Kosala) pushed the western frontier of his kingdom near the border of the empire of the Chālukyas, but Vikramāditya checked his fur-

ther advance towards the west. Some time before A.D. 1124 his feudatory Pāṇḍyadeva of Noḷambavāḍi chased at his command the king of Ratanpur, who was apparently Jājalladeva I. A large number of Vikramāditya VI's inscriptions, with dates beginning from A.D. 1077, state that he conquered Gurjara, Ḍāhala, Koṅkaṇa, Maru, Nepāla, Barbara, Kāshmir, Sindhu, Turushka, Ābhīra, Nallura, Vidarbha and Vaṅga. Vikramāditya probably made some of these conquests before his accession, but much of it seems to be mere panegyrics.

Vikramāditya VI's empire extended up to Hassan, Tumkur and Cuddapah Districts in the south, Khammamett District in Hyderābād and Godāvarī District in the east and south-east, and the Narmadā in the north. The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Kadambas of Goa, Pāṇḍyas of Noḷambavāḍi, Sāntaras of Patti-Pomburcha (modern Humcha in the Nagar *Tāluk*, Shimoga District), Sindas of Erambarage, Yādavas of Seuṇa-*deśa*, and the Kākatīyas of Teliṅgāṇa were his vassals. Vikramāditya VI had at least three sons, Mallikārjuna, Jayakarṇa, and Someśvara III. Mallikārjuna was the governor of Tardavāḍi, and Jayakarṇa administered Kaladgi and Belgaum Districts. In A.D. 1083 Vikramāditya VI sent an embassy to the court of Vijayabāhu, king of Ceylon. The Kāshmirian poet Bilhaṇa, the author of *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita*, and Vijñāneśvara, the author of *Mitāksharā*, graced his court. He erected a big temple and founded a city, which was given the name Vikramapura. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1126. He was succeeded by his son Someśvara III in that year.

8. SOMEŚVARA III (A.D. 1126-1138)

Someśvara III assumed the titles *Bhūlokamalla* and *Tribhuvanamalla*. The Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana led an expedition against the kingdom of the Chālukyas during his reign, captured Banavāsi, assaulted the Uchchaṅgi fort, and laid siege to Pānuṅgal, ruled by the Kadamba Mallikārjuna. The Hoysalas were, however, ultimately routed by the Chālukyas. It is known from an inscription found in the Shikārpur *Tāluk* of the Shimoga District, dated A.D. 1129, that Someśvara III came to the south in course of an expedition and encamped in Hulluri *tīrtha*. He had to surrender the Andhra country to Kulottuṅga Choḷa II before A.D. 1134, though he is credited with conquests of Andhra and Drāmila countries in an inscription of this period. The statement that he conquered Magadha and Nepāla cannot be verified, but it probably refers to the rule of Karṇāṭa dynasties in these kingdoms.[6]

Someśvara III, who was given the title *Sarvajña-bhūpa* or *Sarvajña-Chakravarttī* for his extensive knowledge, composed the book entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi*.[6] He had two sons, Taila III and Jagadekamalla II. Taila III governed Sindavāḍi in A.D. 1120 under Vikramāditya VI, and continued to hold that position during the reign of his father. The Kadamba Taila administered Banavāsi as a feudatory of Someśvara III, and Vīra Pāṇḍya was the vassal of this Chālukya monarch in Noḷambavāḍi, the capital of which was Uchchaṅgi. Someśvara III was succeeded by Jagadekamalla II in A.D. 1138.

9. JAGADEKAMALLA (A.D. 1138-1151) AND TAILA III (A.D. 1151-1156)

Either in the latter part of the reign of Someśvara III or in the early part of that of Jagadekamalla, the Hoysalas of Gaṅgavāḍi, the Kadambas of Goa, and some other feudatories revolted, but the Sinda Permāḍideva, son of Ācha II of Erambarage, helped the Chālukyas in putting down the revolt. An inscription of Permāḍideva, issued during Jagadekamalla II's reign, states that Permāḍideva defeated Kulaśekharāṅka, besieged Chaṭṭa and beheaded him, pursued Jayakeśin, invested Dorasamudra, and pursued the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana as far as Belupura and took the city. He finally came to the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi in pursuit of his enemy. Jayakeśin referred to is Jayakeśin II of the Kadamba family of Goa. Chaṭṭa seems to have been Chaṭṭa II, ruler of Toragale (modern Torgal), whose grandson Barma is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1188. The Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana increased his power and prestige and stationed himself at Baṅkāpura in Dhārwār, but paid nominal allegiance to the Chālukyas.

About the year A.D. 1143 Jagadekamalla, together with the Hoysala Narasiṁha, invaded Mālava, dethroned the Paramāra Jayavarman, and placed one Ballāla on the throne. It was probably on this occasion that Jagadekamalla plundered Lāṭa and won a victory over the Gurjara king, who was Kumārapāla. In the south Jagadekamalla fought successfully with Choḷa Kulottuṅga II and Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga, and also put down the revolt of a Noḷamba-Pallava chief. Vīra Pāṇḍya of Noḷambavāḍi, Goravadevarasa of Banavāsi, Jagaddeva Sāntara of Pomburcha, Keśavagovinda of Belvola etc, Iruṅgulachola of Anantapur, and Sinda Permāḍideva of Erambarage were his feudatories. The last known date of Jagadekamalla II is A.D. 1151 in which year he was succeeded by his brother Taila III.

Taila III, who assumed the title *Trailokyamalla,* was also known as Nurmaḍi Taila. His inscriptions prove that he was in possession of Shimoga, Cuddapah, and Kurnool Districts in the south. Some time before A.D. 1153 he succeeded in repelling the attacks of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla and the Choḷa Kulottuṅga II. At this time, the Kākatīyas of Teliṅgāṇa revolted. Taila III, along with the Sāntara Jagaddeva, marched to Warangal to punish the rebels, but was taken prisoner by the Kākatīya Prola, who is said to have released him forthwith out of devotion for him. This incident gave a crushing blow to the prestige of the Chālukyas. Ere long the Chālukya empire was shattered by internal revolts. In A.D. 1156 the feudatory chief Bijjala of the Kalachuri dynasty practically wielded the sovereignty of the Deccan. Bijjala and the other feudatories, however, acknowledged the nominal sway of the Chālukyas till the death of Taila III. An inscription from Hanamkonda, dated A.D. 1163, states that Taila III died of dysentery for fear of the Kākatīya Rudradeva. The Deccan was ruled by Bijjala and his successors for nearly a quarter of a century,[7] till the fortunes of the Chālukyas were restored by Someśvara IV, son of Taila III.

10. THE KALACHURI USURPATION (A.D. 1156-1181)

Bijjala, who wrested the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa from Taila III, was a member of one of the many branches of the Kalachuri family, which ruled in different parts of the Deccan as feudatories of the Chālukyas. Kṛishṇa, an early member of this family, is said to have conquered Kālañjara and Ḍāhala. In his lineage was born Kannama, who flourished in Maṅgaliveḍa, in the country of Tarikāḍu in Kuntala. Maṅgaliveḍa is the modern Maṅgalveḍhā, in the old Sāngli State. Kannama's son was the king Rāja, whose sons were Ammugi, Śaṅkama I, and Jogama. Jogama, who is said to have attained to the mighty splendour of primitive kings, was succeeded by his son Permāḍi, also called Hemmāḍi. Hemmāḍi is known to have been governing Tardavāḍi (in the Bijāpur District) in A.D. 1129 as a feudatory of the Chālukya Someśvara III. He was succeeded by his son Bijjala before A.D. 1147, in which year the latter served the Chālukya Jagadekamalla II as a feudatory. Bijjala also served Taila III in that capacity for some time, and got the charge of the administration of the southern divisions of the Chālukya kingdom, which included Banavāsi and Noḷambavāḍi in addition to Tardavāḍi. Taila III's defeat at the hands of the Kākatīyas of Teliṅgāṇa encouraged Bijjala to bid for the sovereignty of the Deccan. With the help of the Śilāhāra Vijayāditya, son of

Gaṇḍarāditya, ruler of Karahāṭaka, and the *Daṇḍādhinātha* Rācha, the officer in charge of Nagarakhaṇḍa in Banavāsi, he seized the throne of the Chālukyas.

Bijjala assumed the titles *Tribhuvanamalla, Niśśaṅkamalla, Śanivārasiddhi,* and *Giridurgamalla.* Several inscriptions of his reign prove that he ascended the throne of the Deccan in A.D. 1156 and occupied Kalyāṇa before A.D. 1160. He, however, acknowledged the nominal sway of Taila III so long as the latter was alive. He devoted the early years of his reign to putting down disturbances in the south. Some time before A.D. 1162 he is known to have been encamping at Balligāve in the Banavāsi-*nāḍ* in order to subdue the southern region. He destroyed Tagarate in the Shimoga District, defeated the Sāntara Jagaddeva of Pomburcha, and laid siege to the fort of Gutti (Gooty in Anantapur), which was destroyed. The Hoysala Narasiṁha I suffered a reverse at his hands on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā. The Pāṇḍya chief Vijaya Pāṇḍya, also known as Kāma, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, was brought under control. Bijjala fought successfully with the Cheras of the Malabar coast, the Choḷa Rājarāja II, Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Choḍa II of Andhra, the Gaṅga Rāghava of Kaliṅga in the south, and the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, whose kingdom included Gurjara, Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra, and Mālava, in the north. He inflicted a defeat on the Kalachuri Jayasiṁha of the Chedi country, but his victory over this Kalachuri monarch was not decisive, as the latter also claims to have won a victory over the king of Kuntala. The statements in some inscriptions of the successors of Bijjala that he invaded Siṁhala, Nepāla, Turushka, Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha are obviously hyperboles. Keśapayya-Nāyaka of Banavāsi, Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Noḷambavāḍi, Barma or Bammidevarasa of Sindavāḍi, Sinda Chāvuṇḍa II of Erambarage, Śrīdhara of Tardavāḍi, Kadamba Somadeva of Hangal (Hānuṅgal), Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of Karahāṭaka, and the Raṭṭa Kārttavīrya III of Saundatti were his feudatories.

Some works of the late period, *viz.* the *Basavapurāṇa, Channabasavapurāṇa,* and *Bijjalarāya-charita* narrate stories referring to Bijjala's quarrel with Basava, son of Mādirāja, the founder of the Liṅgāyat sect. It is stated that Bijjala, a patron of the Jains, appointed Basava as his minister, but soon quarrelled with him as he was using his office for the propagation of his creed. Basava murdered the king through his agents and himself committed suicide to avoid the extreme punishment at the hands of the son of the deceased king. The authenticity of the story may reasonably be doubted as the contemporary evidence proves that Bijjala abdicated

the throne in favour of his son. An inscription of this period from Ablur states that Ekāntada Rāmayya, a great devotee of Śiva, who brought discredit on the Jains by performing some miracles, won the admiration of Bijjala. Bijjala gave him a *jaya-patra* (a certificate of victory) over the Jains and honoured him by laving his feet.

Bijjala had four sons, Someśvara, Śaṅkama, Āhavamalla and Siṅghaṇa, and one daughter Śiriyādevī, who was given in marriage to Sinda Chāvuṇḍa II of Erambarage. An inscription reports that in the 16th Kalachuri (Bijjala) year (Ś. 1090 = A.D. 1168) Bijjala abdicated his throne in favour of his son Someśvara. Another inscription, dated A.D. 1165, mentions Someśvara as the king of Kuntala. It seems that Someśvara was associated in the government with his father from A.D. 1165.

Someśvara, also known as Somadeva and Sovideva, assumed the title *Rāya-Murāri*. His inscriptions fix the date of his accession in A.D. 1168. The Shimoga District was included in his kingdom. He was also in possession, in A.D. 1174, of the Kṛishṇā District which was probably annexed by Bijjala. Someśvara is said to have conquered Choḷa, Gurjara, and Lāṭa countries before A.D. 1172. At this time the Choḷa country was ruled by Rājarāja II, and Gurjara and Lāṭa were ruled by Chaulukya Kumārapāla. Some time before A.D. 1174 Someśvara is stated to have plundered Khasa, Kaliṅga, Kimmira, Turushka, Chera, and Saurāshṭra. During this period Kaliṅga and Kimmira (Kimiḍa), modern Kimide, in the Ganjām District, were under the sway of the Gaṅga Rājarāja II. Someśvara's feudatory, the Kadamba Sovideva, took prisoner in battle the Chaṅgalva king Mahādeva, who ruled western Mysore and Coorg. Someśvara's minister Bayalike Keśimayya governed Banavāsi, Sindavāḍi, Tardavāḍi, and Hānuṅgal. The last known date of Someśvara's reign is A.D. 1177, which is also the earliest known date of the reign of his younger brother and successor Śaṅkama.

Śaṅkama II had an able general named Kāvaṇa, who had seventy-two officers to serve him. Kāvaṇa defeated the Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Choḍa II of the Andhra country, won victory over the Choḷa Rājarāja II, led an expedition to the south through Banavāsi, and fought successfully with the Hoysala Ballāla II. The Kadamba Vijayāditya of Goa and the Śilāhāra Aparāditya II of Northern Konkan yielded to his forces. He claims to have worsted in battle the king of Gurjara, who was the Chaulukya Bhīma II. An inscription of his reign makes the very extravagant claim that he conquered Gauḍa, Magadha, Turushka, and Siṁhala. The Sinda

Īśvara-bhūpa, who governed Banavāsi, Eḍevatte etc., and the Sinda Vikkayya, son of Chāvuṇḍa II of Erambarage, were his feudatories. He was succeeded by his younger brother Āhavamalla.

Āhavamalla's inscriptions fix the date of his accession in A.D. 1180. Like his predecessors he carried on campaigns against his neighbours. With the help of his generals Keśimayya, Lakshmaṇa, and Chaṇḍugideva, he defeated the Velanāṇṭi Goṅka III of the Andhra country, plundered Kāñchī after defeating Kulottuṅga Choḷa III, won victory over the Hoysala Ballāla II, and subdued the Kadamba Vijayāditya of Goa. He also worsted in battle the Śilāhāra Aparāditya II of Northern Konkan, and the Paramāra Vindhyavarman of Mālava. An inscription, dated A.D. 1181, gives him credit for conquering the Chaulika army. This may be referring to his success in frustrating an early attempt of the Chālukya Someśvara IV to conquer the Deccan. His governor in Banavāsi, Sāntalige, etc., was his general Keśimayya. In A.D. 1181 Someśvara IV succeeded in wresting from Āhavamalla the larger portion of the Deccan including Kalyāṇa. After this discomfiture Āhavamalla continued to rule Belvola and Banavāsi for two more years. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1183, and he was succeeded by his youngest brother Siṅghaṇa in that year. In A.D. 1183-84 Siṅghaṇa surrendered to Someśvara IV Belvola and Banavāsi, and acknowledged his supremacy. An inscription, dated A.D. 1184, mentions him as a feudatory of Someśvara IV. There is no trace of the rule of this branch of the Kalachuris after this date.

11. SOMEŚVARA IV (A.D. 1181-c. 1189), THE LAST CHĀLUKYA RULER

The political status of Someśvara IV, son of Taila III, during the rule of the Kalachuris is not known. Some suggest that he resided at Annigere in the Dhārwār District during this period. In any case he ascended the throne in A.D. 1181-82 and assumed the title *Tribhuvanamalla.* Within two or three years, as noted above, he defeated the Kalachuri rulers Āhavamalla and Siṅghaṇa and recovered his ancestral kingdom. In this he was greatly helped by his general Brahma, also called Bomma and Bammayya.

An inscription from Kurgod, in the Bellary *Tāluk* of the Bellary District, states that in A.D. 1181-82 Someśvara IV was on the throne of Kalyāṇa and that, under him, the Sinda Rāchamalla ruled over Ballakuṇḍe from the fort of Kurugoḍu, modern Kurgod. Other inscriptions of his reign prove that Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary and Bijāpur Districts were included in his kingdom. Kāmadevarasa

of Banavāsi and Hānuṅgal, Hoysala Ballāla II of Dorasamudra, and Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Noḷambavāḍi were his feudatories.

Someśvara IV invited the Śaiva Ekāntada Rāmayya to his palace and showed him reverence. He ruled the Deccan up to the Godāvarī river in the north till at least A.D. 1184, and the last known date of his supremacy over the Bellary and Shimoga Districts is A.D. 1189. He was deprived of his sovereignty of the Deccan by the Yādava Bhillama in or before that year. He then took shelter with the Kadamba Jayakeśin III of Goa, who acknowledged his suzerainty at least up to A.D. 1198. Nothing further is known of Someśvara IV.

1. Vol. IV, p. 2.
2. This genealogy, given in later grants, is not regarded as reliable by either Bhandarkar or Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Part II, pp. 211, 378-9, 427). Altekar takes the same view (*Rāshṭrakūṭas*, p. 127).
3. Vol. IV, p. 16.
4. An inscription in the Ambarnāth temple belongs to the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Māṁvanirāja (KL. No. 308). Some identify this chief with the Śilāhāra Mummuṇi. The date of the record is read by some as S. 982=A.D. 1060. If the reading of the date is correct, Mummuṇi is to be taken to have been overthrown after A.D. 1060. But Kielhorn remarks that the reading of the second numerical figure as 8 is doubtful.
5. See p. 47.
6. Cf. Ch. XV for the contents of the *Mānasollāsa*.
7. About this time some chiefs of the Chālukya dynasty were wielding political power in the southern part of the kingdom of the Chālukyas. An inscription, dated A.D. 1160, found in the Sagar *Tāluk*, Shimoga District, states that the Sāntara Jagaddeva ruled Banavāsi and Sāntalige as a feudatory of Bhūlokamalla. An inscription from the same *Tāluk*, issued in the same year, mentions Trailokyamalla as the overlord of Jagaddeva. Some inscriptions, dated A.D. 1164, relate that the Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla was ruling Shimoga, Tumkur, and Kadur Districts, and the Hoysala Narasiṁha of Gaṅgavāḍi was his vassal. Another epigraphic record reports that in A.D. 1170 Mallideva Choḷa-Mahārāja was ruling Govindavāḍi as a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla. An inscription, dated A.D. 1164, from Davanagere *Tāluk*, Chitaldroog District, records that when the Chālukya Jagadekamalla, who conquered Lāṭa, Pallava, and Kaliṅga, was ruling his kingdom, the king Bijjala's feudatory Vijaya Pāṇḍya was ruling Noḷambavāḍi. Another record, dated A.D. 1165, from the same locality, states that Vijaya Pāṇḍya ruled Noḷambavāḍi as a subordinate of Jagadekamalla. An inscription discloses that when in A.D. 1169 Jagadekamalla was ruling from Kalyāṇa, his vassal Mallideva Choḷa was administering Anantapur District. The Chālukya Jagadekamalla is known to have been ruling the Bellary and Tumkur Districts in A.D. 1173, 1179, 1181, and 1183. The Hoysala Ballāla's acknowledgment of the supremacy of Jagadekamalla is proved by his inscriptions dated A.D. 1187 and 1194. The identity of these three Chālukya kings Bhūlokamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, and Jagadekamalla cannot be established.

APPENDIX

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

Reference has been made above, more than once, to the Śilāhāras. There were three distinct families of this name, ruling respectively in Northern Konkan, Southern Konkan, and the South Marāṭhā country comprising the districts of Kolhāpur, Miraj and Karhād. They were founded in the times of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and were feudatories to them. The title *Tagarapura-varādhīśvara,* borne by all of them, indicates that they once ruled at the city of Tagara.

The first two of these dynasties, founded about the middle of the ninth century A.D., passed through vicissitudes of fortunes during the suzerainty of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. These have been referred to in course of the general narrative in this chapter.

The third Śilāhāra family, founded in the tenth century A.D. by Jatiga, with his capital probably at Karhād, had a more distinguished career. The chiefs ruled as independent or semi-independent sovereigns after the fall of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. Southern Konkan was added to their dominions some time before A.D. 1058.

Gaṇḍarāditya of this family, who ruled in the first half of the twelfth century A.D., was a famous figure, and is said to have fed a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas. He constructed a large tank called Gaṇḍasamudra (sea of Gaṇḍa) in the Miraj District, placed on its margin images of Buddha, Jina and Śiva, and assigned land for the maintenance of each.

Vijayāditya, the son and successor of Gaṇḍarāditya, enabled the Northern Śilāhāras to recover their independence, and aided Bijjala in his revolt against the Later Chālukyas. During the reign of Bhoja II, son and successor of Vijayāditya, the Kalachuris wanted to establish their authority over him, but without success. Bhoja II formally declared independence, but Siṅghaṇa defeated him and annexed his principality to the Yādava dominions, as mentioned above.

The Śilāhāras carried the Suvarṇa-Garuḍa-Dhvaja (banner of a golden Garuḍa), and used the title *Śrīman-Mahālakshmī-labdha-vara-prasāda.* Thus Mahālakshmī was their tutelary deity and they were followers of the Puranic and Vedic religion. An epigraphic record[1] describes the Śilāhāra family as "the best of the Siṁhala kings", indicating some real or fancied connection with the island of Ceylon. According to the same record, the Śilāhāras were descended from Jīmūtavāhana, the lord of the *Vidyādharas,* son of Jīmūtaketu, who gave his life to Garuḍa.

1. *EI,* III. 292.

CHAPTER VII

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

The predecessors of the Yādavas of Devagiri ruled over a country comprising Khāndesh, Nāsik, and Ahmadnagar Districts in the Bombay State, as vassals of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa for more than three hundred years. The founder of this feudatory family was Dṛiḍhaprahāra, who is said to have been the son of Subāhu, king of Dvārāvatīpura, modern Dwārakā, in Kāthiāwār. Dṛiḍhaprahāra flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D., and established his capital at Chandrāditya-pura, modern Chāndor, in the Nāsik District. His son and successor Seuṇachandra I founded a city called Seuṇapura and also gave the name Seuṇa-*deśa* or Sevuṇa-*deśa* to his kingdom after his own. It was situated on the confines of Daṇḍaka, and included Devagiri, modern Daulatābād, in the Aurangābād District. The successors of Seuṇachandra are referred to as the Sevuṇas in their own inscriptions as well as in those of their neighbours. A remote successor of Seuṇachandra was Karṇa, whose son Bhillama V was the first independent king of the dynasty.[1]

1. BHILLAMA V

Bhillama ascended the throne in A.D. 1185, when there was a great political upheaval in the Deccan. Though the Chālukya Someśvara IV *Tribhuvanamalla* succeeded in recovering his empire from the Kalachuris with the help of his general Brahma, he failed to consolidate his power by putting down all the refractory elements. This offered a favourable opportunity to Bhillama to bid for paramount power in the Deccan. He had a number of able generals, such as Jaitrasiṁha, Peyiya Sāhaṇi, Māyideva, and Lakhkhaṇa. With their help he organised an army of more than two lakhs of infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, and launched an aggressive campaign. He wrested from Someśvara IV not only Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Chālukyas, but also Kisukāḍ-*nāḍ*, the capital of which was Erambarage (modern Yelburga, Lingsugur, Hyderābād), Tardavāḍi-*nāḍ* (country round Mutgi in the Bāgewāḍi *Tāluk*, Bijāpur District), Belvola (country around Gadag, in the Dhārwār District), and the adjoining territories. The Chālukya Emperor, in his distress, took shelter with the Kadambas of Goa, and was acknowledged as suzerain by the Kadamba Jayakeśi III

at least up to A.D. 1198. About this time the chief of Maṅgalaveshṭaka (modern Maṅgalveḍhā in the old Sāngli State) lost his life in an engagement with the Sevuṇas (Seuṇas). Bhillama next invaded the kingdom of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, who had also taken advantage of the weakness of the Chālukyas to declare independence about this time. In vain did Ballāla II, the king of the Hoysalas, try to defend his kingdom against the incursion of the Sevuṇas. Bhillama overran the Hoysala kingdom and reached Seringapatam, in the Mysore District. During this campaign he also invaded the territory of the Choḷas and won a victory over Kulottuṅga III. In the meantime Ballāla II organised another strong army, and confronted the Sevuṇas at Iṅgalakupe,[2] modern village of Ingalaguppe, in the Seringapatam *Tāluk*. In A.D. 1188-1189 he inflicted a severe defeat upon Bhillama which forced the latter to withdraw from the Hoysala country. Inscriptions of Bhillama's reign refer to his supremacy over Belvola, Tardavāḍi, and Madagihal in the old Jath State. The Śilāhāras of Northern and Southern Konkan, Kadambas of Goa, and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti do not seem to have acknowledged his suzerainty.

Bhillama also led expeditions against his northern neighbours. He wrested the city of Śrīvardhana, near Nāgpur, from a chief named Antala. At this time the Paramāra Vindhyavarman was ruling in Mālava, the Chaulukya Bhīma II was ruling in the Gurjara country, and the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa was ruling in Nāḍol (Naḍḍula). Bhillama overran Mālava and Gurjara after defeating Vindhyavarman and Bhīma II and reached the border of the Nāḍol kingdom in the old Sirohi State. Kelhaṇa proved himself equal to the occasion and baffled all the attempts of the Sevuṇas to make further advance in that direction. After this discomfiture Bhillama retired to his own kingdom. The other adversaries defeated by Bhillama, *viz.* the Varālas, Malla, Malluji, Muñja, and Anna cannot be identified. The statement of the Mutgi inscription of his reign that he won victories over the Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Vaṅgas, Aṅgas, Nepālas, and the Pañchālas seems to be a hyperbole.

In the closing years of his reign Bhillama was again engaged in a terrible struggle with the Hoysalas. Ballāla II launched an aggressive campaign against the Sevuṇas and readily captured Vīrāṭa's fort (Hangal), Gutti, and Raṭṭapalli. The Hoysala army next attacked the fort at Soratur, twelve miles south of Gadag. Jaitrasiṁha, Bhillama's general of the southern forces, finding his position untenable there, withdrew to the fortress at Lokkiguṇḍi, modern Lokkundi, six miles east of Gadag, where there was a big concentration of the Sevuṇa army. Ballāla II pursued him there

and compelled him to surrender the fort. After this unique achievement Ballāla advanced towards Erambarage, which was defended by a number of fortresses. Within a short time the city was besieged and taken possession of by the Hoysala army, which finally advanced up to the Kṛishṇā river in pursuit of the Sevuṇas. All these conquests, which were made between A.D. 1191 and 1192, made Ballāla master of Huligere (the country around Lakshmeswar, Dhārwār District), Belvola, Kisukāḍ and the adjoining territories up to the Heddore, *i.e.* the Kṛishṇā river. After finishing his northern conquest he encamped at Lokkiguṇḍi for some time in A.D. 1193. He made Erambarage his capital for the northern countries and is known to have resided there in A.D. 1196.

According to Hemādri Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri and presumably transferred his capital there. The earliest mention of Devagiri as the capital of the Sevuṇas is found in an inscription of Jaitugi, also known as Jaitrapāla, son of Bhillama, dated A.D. 1196. The last known date of Bhillama is A.D. 1193, but an inscription of Jaitugi is dated A.D. 1192. Another inscription of this king bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1196, which was the sixth year of his reign. All these point out that Bhillama associated with him his son Jaitugi in the government from A.D. 1191 and died shortly after A.D. 1193.

2. JAITUGI

Jaitugi failed to dislodge Ballāla II from Kisukāḍ and Belvola. He however succeeded in wresting the eastern portion of Sindavāḍi country in which was situated the modern Adoni *Tāluk* of the Bellary District. Though he claims victory over the Pāṇḍyas, apparently of Noḷambavāḍi, who were feudatories of the Hoysalas, he could not push the boundary of his kingdom further south. Ballāla II is known to have been ruling the Siraguppa and Bellary *Tāluks* of the Bellary District even after the death of Jaitugi.

About this time the northern part of the Kurnool District seems to have passed into the hands of the Sevuṇas. The extension of the kingdom of the Sevuṇas up to the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā brought Jaitugi near the border of the kingdom of the Kākatīyas and he now pressed hard on them. The Kākatīya Mahādeva, who ascended the throne shortly after A.D. 1195, used all his forces to resist the advance of the enemies, but failed. In the engagement that followed he lost his life, and his young son Gaṇapati was taken prisoner. The whole of the Kākatīya kingdom lay prostrate before Jaitugi. About this time Jaitugi seems to have successfully fought with Anaṅgabhīma II of

the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga and Kulottuṅga III of the Imperial Choḷa dynasty. Subsequently Jaitugi took compassion on the young Gaṇapati, released him, and placed him on his paternal throne.

Like his father Jaitugi also waged wars against his neighbours to the north of the Narmadā. The Paramāra Subhaṭavarman and the Chaulukya Bhīma II yielded to his force and their kingdoms were plundered by the Sevuṇa army. Probably about this time Jaitugi came into clash with the forces of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, who were carrying on depredation in Gujarāt in A.D. 1197.

Jaitugi's minister was Murāri Keśava, and two brothers, Mallideva and Sahadeva, were the commanders of his army. The king ruled at least up to A.D. 1198 and was succeeded by his son Siṅghaṇa about the year A.D. 1200.

3. SIṄGHAṆA

Siṅghaṇa, who was the most distinguished member of his family, made an extensive preparation for establishing an empire in the Deccan. But the Hoysalas proved a great obstacle to the further expansion of the Sevuṇa kingdom in the south. With the assistance of his able general Bīchana, Siṅghaṇa launched an expedition against the Hoysala Ballāla II in A.D. 1211. Vikramāditya of the Sinda family, who was ruling the Kisukāḍ country from his capital Erambarage as a vassal under the Hoysalas, submitted to him. Belvola, Huligere, Māsavāḍi, and Hānuṅgal (Hangal) fell before him one after the other. Vīra-Vikramāditya II of the Gutta family of Guttal, near Hāveri, in the Dhārwār District, transferred his allegiance to him. All these conquests brought Siṅghaṇa to the northern border of the Banavāsi country, the capital of which was located at Balligrāma, modern Belgami, in the Shikārpur *Tāluk* of the Shimoga District, Mysore. The country consisted of at least three divisions, *viz.*, Nagarkhaṇḍa, Jiḍḍulige, and Eḍavatte. The headquarters of Nagarkhaṇḍa were at Bandanike, modern Bandalike, in the Shikārpur *Tāluk*, and those of Jiḍḍulige at Uddare, modern Udri, in the Sorab *Tāluk* of the Shimoga District. Adjacent to Banavāsi was Sāntalige, the country round the village of Punedahalli, in the Shikārpur *Tāluk*, the capital of which was at Hosagunḍa. Mallideva of a collateral branch of the Sinda family was at this time ruling Banavāsi and Sāntalige as a feudatory under the Hoysalas. Ballāla II made extensive preparations for the defence of Banavāsi. But a fiercely contested battle soon enabled Siṅghaṇa to establish his authority over Balligrāma. The Sevuṇa king then advanced towards Bandalike where Ballāla gave him a stiff opposition. But the Hoysalas capitulated as soon as they

found that their grain store was seized by the Sevuṇa army. Within a short time Uddare shared the same fate with Balligrāma and Bandalike. By the year A.D. 1213 Siṅghaṇa conquered the whole of Banavāsi and Sāntalige and reached the banks of the Tuṅga river. This brilliant success emboldened him to make a bid for the whole of the Hoysala kingdom, and he marched towards Dorasamudra. Yelavare, son of Malleya-Nāyaka, an officer of Ballāla, lost his life in an attempt to arrest the advance of the Sevuṇa army. Siṅghaṇa, like his grandfather Bhillama, reached the Kāverī river in course of his conquest, and defeated Jajālladeva, the ruler of Raṅga[3] or Seringapatam, Mysore. About this time he also defeated Kakkalla, king of Vīrāṭa. But he had eventually to withdraw to the north of the Tuṅga river which formed the southern boundary of his dominion. Stone inscriptions of his reign have been found in large numbers in the Shikārpur and Sorab *Tāluks*. Siṅghaṇa directed another expedition against the Hoysalas. Two Sevuṇa generals Vikramapāla and Pāvusa lost their lives in that engagement.

Siṅghaṇa also turned his arms against the petty chiefs of the western coast of the Bombay State. The Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla, son of Jayakeśi III, king of Gove (Goa), and Kārttavīrya IV of the Raṭṭa family of Veṇugrāma, modern Belgaum, which was the capital of the Kūṇḍi country, submitted to him. Siṅghaṇa put an end to the rule of the Kolhāpur branch of the Śilāhāra family by overthrowing Bhoja II, who resided at the fort of Praṇāla, modern Panhālā, twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhāpur. An Ābhīra chief named Lakshmīdeva, ruler of Bhambhagiri, presumably modern Bhamar in Pimpalner *Tāluk* of the West Khāndesh District, submitted to him. Siṅghaṇa does not seem to have made any attempt to bring the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan under his sway. On the south-east he annexed the larger portion of the Anantapur District, Madras State, apparently by defeating the Hoysalas. His attempt to extend his power into the Kākatīya kingdom, which lay to the east of Anantapur, was foiled by the Kākatīya Gaṇapati. On the east Siṅghaṇa, in course of his conquest, reached Chāhaṇḍa, modern Chāndā District, Madhya Pradesh, where he inflicted a defeat upon the Paramāra Bhoja, who belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra dynasty ruling in that part of the country. Hemādri, whom the Sevuṇa king worsted in a battle, was the king of Parṇakheṭa, which seems to have been situated in Berār.

After making himself master of the Deccan, Siṅghaṇa turned his arms against his hereditary enemies, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt. About this time the country of Lāṭa with its capital Bhṛigukachchha formed a part of the kingdom

of the Paramāra Arjunavarman, and was ruled by a chief named Sindhurāja. Siṅghaṇa, assisted by his Brāhmaṇa general Kholeśvara, crossed the Tāpti river and attacked Bhṛigukachchha. Arjunavarman and his feudatory Sindhurāja gave battle but were defeated, and the latter lost his life. The Sevuṇa army next invaded the Gurjara country, which was passing through a crisis under the weak rule of the Chaulukya Bhīma II. Lavaṇaprasāda of the Vāghela family, who was the *de facto* ruler of the country, failed to withstand the onslaught of the invaders, who after a successful raid withdrew to their own country. Some time afterwards Siṅghaṇa again attacked Lāṭa and defeated Śaṅkha, son of Sindhurāja. During the reign of Śaṅkha, also known as Saṁgrāmasiṁha, the son and successor of Sindhurāja, Siṅghaṇa led two more expeditions against Lāṭa. Though on the first occasion Śaṅkha succeeded in repulsing the invaders, he fell a captive in their hands on the second occasion. When Śaṅkha was produced before the Sevuṇa king he succeeded in securing his release by asserting his influence over the victor. Henceforward he acted as one of the allies of the Sevuṇas.

Siṅghaṇa also led two more expeditions against Gujarāt. During the first campaign when his approach was announced in the Gurjara country, the people became very much panicky. In apprehension of the tyranny of the foreign army, they gave up the work of the construction of new houses and also of the storing up of foodgrains, and thought only of securing large numbers of carts for the transport of their valuables from the war zone in times of emergency. As Siṅghaṇa advanced nearer and nearer, burning villages on his way, the crowd of the Gurjaras retreated farther and farther, ascertaining the position of the enemy from the smokes arising out of the burning villages. Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala arrayed their army on the bank of the Mahī against the Sevuṇa king. But the situation became perilous to the Gurjaras as Lavaṇaprasāda was forced to hurry to the north to meet the invasion of a confederacy of the Māravāḍa chiefs. But curiously enough Siṅghaṇa, for some unknown reasons, did not avail himself of this opportunity, and retreated to his own country. Some time between A.D. 1221 and 1229 he made a confederacy with the Paramāra Devapāla, king of Mālava, and his vassal Śaṅkha, ruler of Lāṭa, for another invasion of the Gurjara country. On receipt of this news Vīradhavala made arrangement for a suitable resistance. But the disquieting news of the advance of the Muslim army against northern Gujarāt compelled him to rush to the northern border of the Chaulukya kingdom, leaving his minister Vastupāla in charge of the defence of the southern front. Vastupāla

thought it injudicious to confront the vast army of Siṅghaṇa and his allies with the forces at his command, and took recourse to a skilful stratagem. Some well-trained spies employed by him soon succeeded in creating suspicion into the mind of Siṅghaṇa about the integrity of his allies. The Sevuṇa king, in disgust, dissolved the confederacy, and abandoned the project of the invasion of Gujarāt. Some time before A.D. 1231 he concluded a treaty with Lavaṇaprasāda, which laid down that "the contracting parties should not encroach on each other's territory and should be confined to the limits of their respective kingdoms. If either of them was attacked by a strong enemy both should join hands in resisting him. A recalcitrant prince from the countries under the contracting parties should not be given shelter." As a guarantee for the proper observance of these conditions, the contracting parties had to give suitable surety. Siṅghaṇa acted up to these conditions so long as Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala were alive, but renewed hostilities against Gujarāt during the early years of the reign of Vīsaladeva, successor of Vīradhavala. The Sevuṇa army crossed the Narmadā under the leadership of Kholeśvara's son Rāma, but was repulsed by the Vāghela chief, and Rāma lost his life in the battle. Thus Siṅghaṇa's aggressive operations in the north ended in signal failure. During one of these campaigns he came to clash with the Turushkas. His Muslim adversary might have been Sultān Iltutmish, who is known to have plundered Mālava in A.D. 1233-34.[4]

Siṅghaṇa's empire extended from Khāndesh up to the Shimoga and Anantapur Districts, and from the western coast (excluding Northern Konkan) up to the eastern parts of Hyderābād and Berār. Nikumbha family of Durgapura (Khāndesh), Raṭṭas of Veṇugrāma, Kadambas of Goa, and the Sindas of Erambarage ruled their territories as his vassals. Dennāyaka, whose headquarters were at Ambaḍāpura, modern Amrapur in the Buldāna District, was his governor of Berār. His officer for the administration of the Sindavāḍi country was Jagadala Soma Nāyaka. He appointed Vaṅkuva Rāvuta the viceroy of the southern countries, *viz.* Belvola, Huligere, Banavāsi, and Basavura. Mallideva, governor of Belvola, the Guttas of Guttal, and the Sindas of Banavāsi were placed under his supervision.

The astrologers Chaṅgadeva and Anantadeva received patronage from Siṅghaṇa. During the reign of this king Śārṅgadhara wrote a treatise on music entitled *Saṅgītaratnākara.* Siṅghaṇa was on the throne at least up to June 1247. He had two sons Jaitugi II and Sa(ṁ)rṇapāṇi. Jaitugi predeceased his father leaving behind two sons Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva. It seems that after Siṅghaṇa's death a civil war broke out between Sa(ṁ)rṇapāṇi and the sons of Jaitugi

for the throne. Kṛishṇa gained the upper hand and forced his uncle to leave the kingdom of the Sevuṇas.[5] Sa(ṁ)rṇapāṇi in his distress took shelter with his hereditary enemy, the Kākatīyas of the Teliṅga country. He was ruling Pānuṅgal in A.D. 1267 under the Kākatīya Rudrāmbā.[6]

4. KṚISHṆA

Kṛishṇa ascended the throne in the latter part of A.D. 1247. He continued the foreign policy of his grandfather, which aimed at the expansion of the Sevuṇa dominions in all directions. He sent his general Chāmuṇḍa against Someśvara, the king of the Hoysalas. Chāmuṇḍa succeeded in wresting only the Kogali Division, which consisted of Hadgalli *Tāluk* in the Bellary District, and the Devanagere *Tāluk* in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, and which was situated in the Noḷambavāḍi country. Kṛishṇa also sent another contingent under Malla against the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, who ruled the Thānā, Alibāg, and Ratnāgiri Districts, and the southern part of the Surat District. Though Malla claims victory over the king of Konkan, who appears to have been the Śilāhāra Someśvara, he could not make any territorial gain in that direction. Malla also claims to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas, who seem to have been those ruling in Noḷambavāḍi. On the east Kṛishṇa led his army as far as the South Kosala country, modern Raipur and Bilāspur Districts, Madhya Pradesh. During this campaign he seems to have come into clash with the Kākatīya Gaṇapati. He also carried on the traditional hostilities with the Paramāras of Mālava and the Vāghelas of Gujarāt, and gained some success. About this time the Sevuṇa army encountered some Muslim forces, probably those who invaded the Paramāra kingdom in A.D. 1250 under the leadership of Balban. Kṛishṇa fought successfully with the Ābhīras and two other chiefs, Heṇḍari-Rāya and Kāmapāla.

Stone inscriptions of Kṛishṇa have been found in the Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dhārwār, and Belgaum Districts. Obviously he succeeded in maintaining the dominions he had inherited from his grandfather. His viceroy of the southern countries, *viz.*, Belvola, Banavāsi, Hānuṅgal, Tardavāḍi, and Kogali, was Chauṇḍiśeṭṭi. The existence of the rule of the Raṭṭas over the Kūṇḍi country cannot be traced after A.D. 1228. During the reign of Kṛishṇa Malla-Śetti was the governor of this country, the capital of which was Veṇugrāma. Kṛishṇa's chief administrative officer in the Sindavāḍi country was Jagama Rāhuta, and his feudatory in Goa was the Kadamba Śivachitta Shashṭhadeva II. Jalhaṇa, the author of *Sūktimuktāvalī*, was his counsellor and the commander of the army.

Although he had a son named Rāmachandra, Kṛishṇa appointed his brother Mahādeva, his heir apparent (Yuvarāja), shortly after his accession. He probably made this arrangement in recognition of the service rendered by Mahādeva during the civil war. Mahādeva succeeded him on the throne in A.D. 1261.[6a]

5. MAHĀDEVA

Mahādeva continued hostilities with the Hoysalas, the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan, the Vāghelas of Gujarāt, the Paramāras of Mālava, and the Kākatīyas of Teluṅga country. He made an abortive attempt to penetrate into the heart of the Hoysala kingdom. The Hoysala Narasiṁha III claims that he forced Mahādeva to flee away leaving behind his cavalry forces. Chanagiri *Tāluk* of the Shimoga District, which is on the other side of the Tuṅga river, and which was under the sway of the Hoysalas at least up to A.D. 1233, is known for the first time to have been included in the Sevuṇa empire from an inscription of Mahādeva.

The most noteworthy achievement of Mahādeva is his annexation of Northern Konkan. The Śilāhāra king Someśvara lost his life in a naval engagement with him. After this victory Mahādeva seems to have appointed one Jaitugi the governor of that country. Mahādeva also advanced against Gujarāt and won a decisive victory over the Vāghela Vīsaladeva. Hemādri refers to Mahādeva's invasions of Mālava and the Teluṅga countries. It is stated that at this time Mālava was ruled by a king who was an infant, and Teluṅga was ruled by a woman named Rudrāmā. Mahādeva defeated both of them in successive fights but did not kill them as one was a child and the other was a woman. The Mālava king seems to have been the Paramāra Jayasiṁha II, and Rudrāmā was evidently the daughter and successor of the Kākatīya Gaṇapati.

Hemādri was the minister of Mahādeva. A particular style of architecture is called Hemāḍpantī after his name. Mahādeva closed his reign in A.D. 1270-1271. After his death a civil war broke out between his son Āmaṇa, and Rāmachandra, son of king Kṛishṇa. Āmaṇa assumed the royalty of Devagiri, which, Rāmachandra thought, really belonged to him. It was not, however, possible for him to capture the impregnable fort of Devagiri with the forces at his command. So he had to take recourse to unchivalrous means in order to achieve his end. One evening he introduced a body of soldiers in the guise of dancers into the fort for giving a musical performance. When Āmaṇa and his retinue were absorbed in the entertainment, the soldiers threw off their mask and took the royal guards by surprise.[7] The palace revolution continued for some time

causing heavy casualties. Cart-loads of wounded soldiers were sent out through the villages. The neighbouring villagers got panicky at the news of the turmoil and fled away pell mell. Āmaṇa fell a captive into the hands of Rāmachandra who subsequently blinded and killed him.

6. RĀMACHANDRA

In the early years of Rāmachandra's reign the Sevuṇas made a desperate attempt to crush the power of the Hoysalas, and a large body of soldiers, under the leadership of the most eminent generals, was despatched against the Hoysala kingdom. Sāluva-Tikkama, Jeyideva, Haripāla, and Iruṅgala-Choḷa II of Niraguṇḍa overran the Belavāḍi country, modern Belur in the Hassan District, Mysore, and besieged Dorasamudra. A detachment of the Sevuṇa army under the great general Kannaradeva, and the ministers Chāvuṇḍarasa and Vanadevarasa attacked Doravāḍi, in the Kurugoḍu country, modern Karugodu, in the Manjarabad *Tāluk* of the Hassan District. Though Siṅgeya-Nāyaka, the officer-in-charge of the place under the Hoysalas, succeeded in killing Vanadevarasa, he had to yield to the invading army. The Sevuṇa army engaged in storming Dorasamudra, however, could not achieve its end. Chikkadeva, Aṅka Nāyaka, and Khaṇḍeya Raya Rāṇeya, generals under the Hoysala Narasiṁha III, killed a body of 12000 Sevuṇa cavalry and pursued the retreating Sāluva-Tikkama and his associates up to Dummi on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts. This was the last invasion of the Sevuṇas against the Hoysalas, which ended in disastrous failure. Rāmachandra's military operation against Gujarāt was also foiled by the Vāghela Sāraṅgadeva. He was, however, successful in his campaigns against the chiefs of Ḍāhala (modern Jabalpur and the adjoining territories), Bhāṇḍāgāra (modern Bhandāra in Madhya Pradesh), and Vajrākara (modern Wairagarh in the Chāndā District, Madhya Pradesh), and also defeated the petty chiefs of Palli, Māhima, Saṅga, and Kheṭa. The claims that he drove out the Muslims from Banaras, and that the king of Kānyakubja submitted to him are evidently without any historical value.

Inscriptions of Rāmachandra prove that in the early years of his reign he succeeded in maintaining intact the empire he had obtained from his predecessors. His Rāmtek and Lanji inscriptions further prove that he succeeded in pushing the eastern boundary of his dominions up to the Nāgpur and Bālāghāt Districts. Bhīmadeva-Rāṇe and Vāsudeva-Nāyaka were his governors in Sindavāḍi and Kisukāḍ respectively. Northern Konkan was governed by Achyuta-Nāyaka, Kṛishṇa, and Jaideva in succession. The Sāntara chief

Timmarasa ruled Sāntalige as a vassal of Rāmachandra. Hemādri, Śrīdhara and Purushottama served him as ministers. But the most trustworthy officer of the king was Rāghava, who administered the Empire as his deputy.[8]

When Rāmachandra was peacefully ruling his empire, 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, who was the governor of Kara under his uncle Fīrūz Shāh Khaljī, invaded Devagiri by way of Ellichpur in A.D. 1294. At this time a large body of the Sevuṇa army was away from the capital, and was engaged in escorting Rāmachandra's son Śaṅkaradeva and the queen to places of pilgrimage. Rāmachandra made a fruitless attempt to resist the invader at Lasura in the vicinity of Devagiri and ultimately withdrew to the citadel. 'Alā-ud-dīn pursued him there and pillaged the city. The Sevuṇa king was forced to conclude a treaty on payment of a heavy amount of gold. On receipt of the news of the invasion of Devagiri by the Muslims Śaṅkaradeva hastened back to Devagiri and, disregarding his father's advice, attacked the retreating Muslim army. He was overpowered by 'Alā-ud-dīn who then forced Rāmachandra to agree to more stringent terms. Though 'Alā-ud-dīn withdrew from the Deccan, the signal failure of Rāmachandra even to save his own capital from rapine and plunder irretrievably impaired the political prestige of the Sevuṇas. Their hereditary enemies in the east and south now began to press hard on them. In the early years of the fourteenth century the Kākatīya Pratāparudra succeeded in pushing the western border of his empire at least up to Medak and Raichur in Hyderābād. In A.D. 1303 the Hoysala Ballāla III, successor of Narasiṁha III, sent his general Gaṅgeya Sāhaṇi with a big contingent for the invasion of the Sevuṇa dominions. Gaṅgeya Sāhaṇi encamped in Banavāsi and fought a battle at Sirise in the Kādambalige country with the Sevuṇas. In A.D. 1305 Ballāla III himself led an army against Rāmachandra and wrested from him Banavāsi, Sāntalige, and Kogali. There is no evidence to prove that Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts were within the Sevuṇa empire after A.D. 1300. On the other hand a minister of Ballāla III is known to have been administering Sāntalige in A.D. 1307.

When the Sevuṇas were fighting for the defence of their dominions in the south the Deccan was again raided by the Muslims. The story runs that some time after the conquest of Gujarāt 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī ordered his officers to capture Vāghela Karṇa's daughter Devaladevī, who was betrothed to Śaṅkaradeva. When Śaṅkaradeva's younger brother was conveying the princess from Nandurbār, in West Khāndesh, to Devagiri, she was seized by the Muslims, who then sent her to Delhi. If there is any truth in this story the un-

toward incident certainly made the relation between the Sevuṇas and the Muslims acrimonious. In any case Rāmachandra swerved from his allegiance to the government of Delhi, and in A.D. 1307 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī sent Malik-Nāib Kāfūr with an army to the Deccan to chastise him. Malik-Nāib overran the Sevuṇa kingdom and took Rāmachandra prisoner, who was then carried to Delhi. After a period of six months Rāmachandra was released with honour and was allowed to rule his kingdom as a vassal under the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1308 Malik-Nāib, on his arrival at Devagiri with his army for an invasion of Teliṅgāṇa country, received substantial help from Rāmachandra. Rāmachandra also furnished the Muslim army with equipments when Malik-Nāib marched against Ballāla III of Dorasamudra in February, 1311.

7. ŚAṄKARADEVA AND HARAPĀLADEVA

The last known date of Rāmachandra from the epigraphic source is September, 1310. He was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaradeva some time after February, 1311. Śaṅkaradeva antagonised the Sultān by his hostile activities. In A.D. 1313 Malik-Nāib, with the consent of 'Alā-ud-dīn, directed an expedition against the Deccan, killed Śaṅkaradeva, and assumed the government of Devagiri. But he had soon to leave Deccan as his service was urgently needed by the ailing Sultān. The government of Delhi was passing through stress and strain on the eve of 'Alā-ud-dīn's death. Taking advantage of this situation Harapāladeva, who was the son-in-law of Rāmachandra, and seems to have been identical with his general Haripāla, revolted and declared independence. He captured the fort of Devagiri with the assistance of Rāghava, who was the deputy and minister of Rāmachandra. In A.D. 1317 Mubārak, son and successor of 'Alā-ud-dīn, recovered Devagiri after defeating and killing Haripāla. Rāghava, with 10,000 cavalry, retreated to a hill where he was pursued by Khusrav Khān, the commander of Mubārak's army. Rāghava received a severe wound in the engagement and fled.[9] The kingdom of the Sevuṇas then finally passed into the hands of the Muslims.[10]

1. These chiefs claimed descent from the Yādavas who, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā, and then, from the time of Krishṇa, became sovereigns of Dvārāvatīpura. The usual Puranic genealogy from Brahmā, through Atri, Soma, Yadu, etc., appears first in a record of A.D. 1000 and is given more fully in Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* (thirteenth century A.D.). According to this authority, Subāhu was a universal sovereign, but he is not mentioned in any epigraphic record. His son Dṛiḍhaprahāra, who is mentioned in the Bassein grant of A.D. 1069 (*IA*, XII. 119), may be regarded as the first historical king of this family.

It may be mentioned that the kings of this dynasty had the hereditary title of *Dvārāvatī-puravar-ādhīśvara* (supreme lord of Dvārāvatī, the best of towns)

and *Vishṇu-vaṁśodbhava* (born in the race of Vishṇu). They carried the *Suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja* (banner of a golden Garuḍa), which also appears as the device on the seals of their charters, sometimes alone, and sometimes along with the figure of Hanumān. In at least one case, the monkey-god alone appears as *lāñchhana* or crest.

Not much is known of the twenty chiefs who flourished between Dṛiḍha-prahāra and Bhillama V, though their names are given both in *Vratakhaṇḍa* and the epigraphic records. According to these, the queen of Bhillama II was probably the daughter of a Śilāhāra chief and "sprang on her mother's side from the Rāshṭrakūṭa family". Bhillama is said to have fought against Muñja on behalf of Raṇaraṅgabhīma, who has been identified with Tailapa. Bhillama's father Vaddiga is, however, represented as a follower of Kṛishṇarāja, probably Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. The family thus transferred their allegiance from the Rāshṭrakūṭas to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa when the latter overthrew the former.

There is a curious discrepancy among the different authorities, about the parentage of Bhillama V. While *Vratakhaṇḍa* and several inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D. give his father's name as Mallugi, a record of the time of Bhillama himself, dated A.D. 1191, definitely says that his father was Karṇa. It is no less curious that in *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I, Part II (pp. 230 ff, 511 ff), which may be regarded as the chief authority for the history of Yādavas, so far published, the two different views are supported respectively by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (p. 238) and Dr. Fleet (pp. 516 ff).

2. *EC*, XIV. 207, No. 255.
3. *Ibid*, XI, Jg. 30, p. 155. But the Panungal inscription mentions Jajālla as the king of Kimiḍi (*Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 13).
4. Inscriptions of Siṅghaṇa make extravagant claims that he defeated the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Magadha, Nepāla, Kāśī, Mathurā, Sindh, Barbarika, Chera, Choḷa, and Turagapati.
5. *EI*, XIX. 19, v. 12 *līlonmūlita-rāshṭra kaṇṭaka-chamū-chakrāṁ* etc.
6. *Hyd. Arch. S.* No. 13.

6a. Cf. Kalegaon copper-plate grant of Mahādeva—*Summaries of Papers, AIOC*, 1955, p. 88.

7. *EI*, XXV. 221, v. 14.
8. *Ibid*, 7.
9. *HIED*, III. 558. Khusrav Khān's fight with Raghu has been mentioned in Amīr Khusrav's *Nuh Sipihr*, the historical value of which has been ignored by the modern scholars without reason. Raghu, mentioned here as the deputy and minister of Rāmachandra, is most probably identical with Rāghava of the Rāmtek inscription (*EI*, XXV. 8, ll. 16-17), who was the most important of the officers of Rāmachandra.
10. Dates of the Yādava kings are given differently by different authors (cf. *HSI*, 190 ff.; *JOR*, XII. 47-52).

CHAPTER VIII

DYNASTIES OF EASTERN DECCAN

1. THE KĀKATĪYAS

The Kākatīyas, who were members of the Durjaya family, were Śūdra by caste. They believed that their remote ancestor Karikālacholа founded or first settled in Kākatipura, which cannot be now identified.[1] The kings of the Kākatīya dynasty always took pride in calling themselves the "lords of Kākatipura", though they are sometimes referred to as kings of the Andhra or Teluṅga country. The earliest known king of the dynasty is Beta I, who is said to have belonged to "the feudatory family of the working class."[2] Beta I was a subordinate of a Pallava king, and was overthrown by the Choḷas, probably during Rājendra Choḷa I's northern campaigns. Some time after the departure of the Choḷa Emperor, Era, a subordinate of Beta I, defeated the Choḷa governor and placed his master on the throne. Beta I flourished in the first half of the eleventh century and ruled the Koravi country which included at least a part of the Nalgonda District of Hyderābād State. He was succeeded by his son, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Prola I.

Prola I acknowledged the supremacy of the Chālukya Someśvara I Trailokyamalla (A.D. 1043-1068). He fought successfully, apparently on behalf of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, against the Nāgas of Chakrakoṭa, Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇa-*maṇḍala,* Bhadraṅga, and the son of Dugga of Kāḍparti, and killed in battle Gonna, the chief of Purakūṭa. Probably in recognition of this military service he "obtained permanently from king Trailokyamalla, by way of grant, Anmakoṇḍa-*vishaya,*" the country round Hanamkonda, in the Warangal *Tāluk* (Warangal District, Hyderābād State). Prola was succeeded by his son Tribhuvanamalla Beta II, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1126) of Kalyāṇa.

Stone inscriptions of Beta II's reign, dated A.D. 1079 and 1090, have been found in Hanamkonda and Kazipet. Some time before A.D. 1090 Beta II won victories over the Paramāra Udayāditya, king of Mālava, and Kulottuṅga Choḷa I of Tanjore, obviously under the leadership of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Evidently after this achievement he saw the Emperor in his capital, who rewarded him with the ownership of Sabbisayira one thousand. Sabbisayira

one thousand seems to be identical with Sabbināṇḍu, which is located in or near the Karimnagar District, in Hyderābād State. Beta II established his capital at Anmakoṇḍa where he built a tank called Śivapurī and a temple after his own name. He was succeeded by his son Prola II,[3] whose earliest known date is A.D. 1115.

In the early years of his reign Prola II owed allegiance to Vikramāditya VI, after whose death in A.D. 1126 the Chālukya empire began to disintegrate. Taking advantage of this situation Prola II revolted and attacked the feudatories of the Chālukyas in the Teliṅgāṇa and Andhra countries. He defeated Govindarāja and handed his kingdom Koṇḍapalli, in the Kṛishṇā District, over to Udaya or Choḍodaya, whose brother *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Gokarṇachoḍa was ruling as his feudatory near Panugal (Nalgonda District). He also defeated and killed Guṇḍa, also described as Mantena or Manthanya Guṇḍa, ruler of Mantrakūṭa (modern village of Mantena, in the Nuzvid *Tāluk,* Kṛishṇā District) and annexed his kingdom. Prola's attempt to push his arm further into the Velanāṇṭi kingdom was frustrated by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Choḍarāja. Hostile activities of the Kākatīyas led the Chālukya Tailapa III (A.D. 1151-1162) to invade the Teluṅga country along with his feudatory Jagaddeva of the Sāntara family of Patti-Pomburchapura. They advanced as far as Anmakoṇḍa and besieged it. But Prola rose equal to the occasion, took Tailapa III prisoner, and forced Jagaddeva to withdraw his army. The Emperor was subsequently released. Henceforward the Kākatīyas began to rule as independent chiefs and even cherished an ambition for the establishment of an empire. Prola had two sons, Rudra I and Mahādeva. Rudra succeeded him on the throne some time before A.D. 1158.

Some time before A.D. 1162 Rudra I attacked Tailapa III and dealt the final blow on him. It is stated that out of fear for him "the king Tailapa with body completely overcome by dysentery died". During the early part of the reign of Rudra I there was a general revolt of the feudatories in the Kākatīya kingdom. The king brought under control Ḍomma and Meḍa, who was a chief of the Pākhāl *Tāluk* to the north-east of Warangal, and deprived Mailigideva of his kingdom of Polavāsa-*deśa* (modern Polas, in the Yelgandal District in Hyderābād State). The Kākatīya army burnt the city of Choḍodaya, the ruler of Koṇḍapalli, who is said to have died about this time out of fear for the king. Bhīma, who poisoned his brother Gokarṇachoḍa to death, fled to the forest leaving his capital Vardhamānapura at the mercy of the Kākatīyas. Thus by the year A.D. 1162 Rudra succeeded in establishing peace and order in the Kākatīya kingdom. To the south of his kingdom was the

kingdom of Andhra, consisting of the Kurnool, Guntur, Kṛishṇā, and the Godāvarī districts, which was ruled by the Velanāṇṭi chiefs as feudatories of the Imperial Choḷas. Shortly before A.D. 1173 the supremacy of the Choḷas in the Andhra country was ended by the Kalachuri Sovideva of Kalyāṇa. Loss of the support of the Choḷas greatly weakened the military strength of the Velanāṇṭi chiefs, who were forced to surrender Kurnool District to Rudradeva some time before A.D. 1185.

Rudra I was a well-known writer, and the Sanskrit work *Nītisāra* is said to have been written by him. During his reign temples were built in Anmakoṇḍa, Pillamari, and Mantrakūṭa. The city of Oruṅgallu, modern Warangal, was at this time rising into prominence; Rudra founded there a number of quarters and built a temple of Śiva. He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva shortly after A.D. 1195.[4]

Mahādeva was devoid of princely qualities. He came under the influence of the Śaiva teacher Dhruveśvara, and devoted his time to religious performances. An inscription, apparently of his reign, states that after acquiring the sovereignty he "cared a straw for it and became one completely engrossed in the worship of Śiva." He had, however, to pay the penalty for his neglect of administrative duties. The Yādava Jaitugi, king of Devagiri, attacked the Teluṅga country with all his forces. In vain did Mahādeva and his son Gaṇapati try to resist the invader. Mahādeva lost his life in the battle, and Gaṇapati, whose life was spared, was taken prisoner. Subsequently, Jaitugi took compassion on the young prince and installed him on his paternal throne.

Gaṇapati ascended the throne in A.D. 1198. He was a contemporary of the last three Choḷa Emperors, Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1246), and Rājendra Choḷa III (A.D. 1246-1279). Choḷa empire began to disintegrate from the time of Kulottuṅga III. A protracted struggle began between the Kākatīyas, Hoysalas, and the Pāṇḍyas for supremacy over the territories of the Choḷas. Gaṇapati occupied the kingdom of Andhra to the west of the Godāvarī river by putting an end to the rule of the Velanāṇṭi chiefs, and forced the Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III, king of Kaliṅga, who only shortly before carried his arms into the Veṅgī country, to surrender to him the Godāvarī District to the east of the Godāvarī river. Koṭas of Amarāvatī, Telugu-Choḍas of Guntur, Nāthavāḍi chiefs of the Kṛishṇā District and many other chiefs acknowledged his supremacy. He next conquered Nellūrapura (Nellore) after defeating Manuma Gaṇḍagopāla. Gradually all the territories up to Kāñchī or Conjeeveram passed into his hands. The

extension of the Kākatīya kingdom up to the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts brought it to the border of the kingdom of the Hoysalas, who had asserted their supremacy over the Bellary and Anantapur Districts. Though Gaṇapati claims to have won a victory over the Karṇāṭas *i.e.* Hoysalas, he could not wrest any territory from them. In the third decade of the thirteenth century Siṅghaṇa, king of Devagiri, ousted the Hoysalas from the Bellary and Anantapur Districts and established there the authority of the Yādavas. Somewhere in this region Gaṇapati seems to have come into conflict with king Siṅghaṇa. As both the kings claim victory, the result of the battle was evidently indecisive. In the north-east Gaṇapati fought successfully with a chief of Tummāṇa, in the Bilāspur District, Madhya Pradesh.[5]

Stone inscriptions of Gaṇapati's reign have been found in the Warangal, Nalgonda, and Mahbubnagar Districts, in the Hyderābād State, and in the Godāvarī, Kṛishṇā, Guntur, Kurnool, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittur, and Chingleput Districts, in the Madras State. His empire thus extended from the Godāvarī District up to Chingleput, and from Yelgandal, in Hyderābād State, up to the sea. He put two of his able generals, *viz.* Sāmanta-Bhoja and Gaṅgeya Sāhaṇi, in charge of the defence of the bordering districts in the west. Sāmanta-Bhoja, who issued an edict of the Emperor from Kāñchī, was connected with Chingleput and Chittur. Gaṅgeya Sāhaṇi, who successfully repulsed the attacks of the rebellious chiefs Dāmodara of the west and Rākkasa-Gaṅgarasa, administered the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts. Gaṇapati, however, could not keep this newly established empire intact up to the end of his reign. Some time after A.D. 1250 Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1251-1268) of Madurā, after subduing the Choḷas and the Hoysalas, invaded Kāñchī. A sanguinary battle was fought between the Kākatīyas and the Pāṇḍyas at Mudugūr "in which the dead bodies were strewn up to the banks of the Perāru." Gaṇapati was defeated, and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya conquered Kāñchī and occupied Nellūrapura. Stone inscriptions of this Pāṇḍya king have been found at Conjeeveram and Nellore.

Gaṇapati transferred his capital from Anmakoṇḍa to Orguṅgallu (Warangal), also known as Ekaśilānagarī, which enjoyed that privileged position till the final collapse of the Kākatīyas. Gaṇapati encouraged over-sea trade by abolishing oppressive taxes on the foreigners. Motupalli, now in the Kṛishṇā District, was an important sea-port in his kingdom, frequently visited by cargo vessels. Beautiful temples were erected at Ramappa, Palampet, Pillamari and in many places during his reign. He himself built the

beautiful gateways in the Warangal fort. Under his benevolent patronage the great Śaiva teacher Viśveśvara Śambhu, an inhabitant of West Bengal, established useful institutions in the Andhra country for the benefit of the villagers. Gaṇapati had no son, and only two daughters, Rudrāmbā and Gaṇapāmbā. He designated Rudrāmbā, who was married to Chālukya Vīrabhadreśvara, by a male name Rudradeva, and associated her with the government from A.D. 1258-59. The last known date of Gaṇapati's reign is A.D. 1261.

After the assumption of the royal power Rudrāmbā had to encounter a series of troubles. The Yādavas of Devagiri were the sworn enemies of the Kākatīyas. Some time after the death of the Yādava Siṅghaṇa the Kākatīyas gave shelter to his younger son Sa(ṁ)rṇapāṇi, who was deprived of the throne of Devagiri by his brother Jaitugi II's sons Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva. This Yādava prince was appointed to rule the territory of Pānuṅgal, modern Panugal (Nalgonda District). The Yādava Mahādeva (A.D. 1261-1271) could not tolerate his rival to the throne of Devagiri flourishing under the care of the Kākatīyas. He invaded the Teluṅga country and captured some elephants and musical instruments by defeating Rudrāmbā, but spared her life as she was a woman. This victory of the Yādavas greatly impaired the political power of Rudrāmbā. Her feudatory Ambadeva-mahārāja, whose headquarters were at Valluri-paṭṭana, established friendly relation with her enemies, the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍyas, and declared independence in the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts. He also defied the power of the Kākatīyas by placing one Manuma-Gaṇḍagopāla, who was formerly dethroned by Gaṇapati, on the throne of Nellūrapura. The Kākatīyas could not reconquer Nellore, Cuddapah, and Kurnool during the reign of Rudrāmbā. About this time the Pallava Kop-Peruñjiṅga of Śendamaṅgalam, who took possession of Kāñchī in A.D. 1260, won a victory over the Kākatīyas.

The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited Motupalli about A.D. 1293, speaks highly of the administrative qualities of Rudrāmbā. Rudrāmbā had a daughter named Mummaḍambā, who was given in marriage to Mahādeva. Rudrāmbā adopted Mummaḍambā's son Pratāparudra as her successor to the throne,[6] and associated him with the government from A.D. 1290.

Immediately after his accession Pratāparudra engaged himself in the task of restoring the lost territories of the Kākatīyas. Ambadeva was dethroned and his kingdom was annexed. Pratāparudra's general Aḍidamma attacked Nellore and killed its ruler Manuma-Gaṇḍagopāla, but could not take possession of the city. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla *alias* Rāja-Gaṇḍagopāla, presumably a succes-

sor of the deceased chief, ruled Nellore at least up to A.D. 1315. In the early years of the fourteenth century the war-like activities of the Muslims under the Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī created an alarming situation in the Deccan. Pratāparudra had to postpone his military campaigns in the south in order to make suitable arrangements for the defence of his kingdom against the new danger. He fought bravely with Malik Kāfūr, the general of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, when he invaded Warangal in A.D. 1309-1310, but despairing of victory purchased peace by surrendering all his treasures to the invader. Some time after the departure of the Muslim army Pratāparudra re-opened his southern campaigns. He wrested Nellore from Vijaya-Gaṇḍagopāla and having captured Kāñchī by defeating Ravivarman Kerala, installed there as governor his own protégé named Mānavīra. This brilliant achievement encouraged Pratāparudra to push his arms further south. Within a very short time he conquered all the countries up to Trichinopoly, which was then ruled by the Hoysalas, and even defeated the Pāṇḍya king.[6a] He also fought an indecisive battle with the Yādava Rāmachandra. Stone inscriptions of his reign have been found in the Trichinopoly, Chingleput, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Nellore, Guntur, Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī Districts in the Madras State, and in the Nalgonda, Warangal, Raichur, and Medak Districts in Hyderābād State. Thus in the latter part of his reign the Kākatīya kingdom extended from the Godāvarī river to Trichinopoly and from Medak to the sea. Pratāparudra could not enjoy this vast empire for a long time. In A.D. 1322 Ulugh Khān, son of the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, invaded Warangal and took Pratāparudra prisoner. The whole of Teliṅgāṇa was conquered by the Muslims, who appointed their own officers for its administration. According to Shams-i Sirāj'Afīf Pratāparudra died on his way to Delhi. But this seems to be erroneous in view of the fact that a stone inscription of Pratāparudra's reign, dated A.D. 1326, has been found in the Guntur District. Nothing further about the political activities of this monarch or his successor is known.[7] He was a patron of poets. His court was graced by Vidyānātha, the author of *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūshaṇa.*

II. THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAS

As noted above,[8] the Andhra country was torn asunder by civil war towards the latter part of the tenth century A.D., and Śaktivarman I, son of king Dānārṇava, who ascended the throne in A.D. 999, restored peace and order by putting down all refractory elements. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vimalāditya in A.D. 1011. The Eastern Chālukyas ruled the Andhra country as

protégés of the Imperial Choḷas. Vimalāditya married Kundavā, the daughter of the Choḷa Rājarāja the Great, who gave birth to his elder son Rājarāja. His other queen, also a Choḷa princess, gave birth to his younger son Vijayāditya. He was succeeded by Rājarāja in A.D. 1018.

Rājarāja's coronation took place in A.D. 1022. He maintained friendly relation with the Choḷas, but could not rule peacefully due to the hostile activities of his half-brother Vijayāditya. The latter revolted, carved out a small kingdom in the eastern corner of the Chālukya kingdom in the Visakhapatnam District, and performed his coronation ceremony there in A.D. 1030. Rājarāja married Ammaṅgādevī the daughter of his maternal uncle, the great Rājendra Choḷa I, who gave birth to his son Rājendra Choḷa II, later known as Kulottuṅga Choḷa I. In the early part of his life Rājendra Choḷa II lived in the Choḷa capital under the care of his grandmother, the queen of Rājendra Choḷa I. In A.D. 1060 a serious disaster befell Rājarāja. His half-brother Vijayāditya usurped the throne of Veṅgī when he was away from the capital.

Vijayāditya abdicated the throne in favour of his son Śaktivarman II, whose coronation took place in A.D. 1061. After a rule of one year Śaktivarman died and Vijayāditya again assumed the royalty. About this time Veṅgī became the target of attacks of the neighbouring kings. Vijayāditya was dislodged from his throne by the combined forces of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and the Paramāra Jayasiṁha. But the Choḷa Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1063-1070) came to his rescue, and having defeated the Chālukyas and the Paramāras reinstated him on the throne. Vijayāditya enjoyed his kingdom without further trouble so long as Vīrarājendra occupied the Choḷa throne. Within a short time after the death of that monarch there was a civil war in the Choḷa country, which ended in A.D. 1070 with the accession of Rājendra Choḷa II *alias* Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, nephew of Vijayāditya. After consolidating his position in the Choḷa country Kulottuṅga Choḷa demanded the throne of Andhra from his uncle. The situation became worse for Vijayāditya when, shortly before A.D. 1073, the kingdom of Veṅgī was plundered by the Kalachuri Yaśaḥkarṇa of Tripurī. It was not possible for him now to check the onrush of the Choḷa army. He surrendered the Andhra country to Kulottuṅga and took shelter with the Gaṅga Rājarāja I of Kaliṅganagara, who allowed him to rule over a small territory on the western part of his kingdom. Kulottuṅga annexed the Andhra country to the Choḷa empire in A.D. 1076. He and his successors, who were in reality princes of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, occupied the throne of the Choḷas up to A.D. 1271.

III. THE EASTERN GAṄGAS

The history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, up to the accession of Vajrahasta Anantavarman, has been traced in a preceding chapter.[9] This king, Vajrahasta V, was anointed king in A.D. 1038. He issued a number of inscriptions from the capital Kaliṅganagara, and assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. His mother was a Vaidumba princess, and he himself married the daughter of a Haihaya king. During his reign Kaliṅga was invaded by the Kalachuri Karṇa, who also assumed the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. He was succeeded by his son Rājarāja I Devendravarman, who was crowned in A.D. 1070.

Rājarāja antagonised Kulottuṅga Choḷa I by giving shelter to Vijayāditya VII, the deposed king of the Andhra country. Kulottuṅga sent his son Mummaḍi-Choḍa with an army to chastise the Gaṅga king shortly after A.D. 1076. Rājarāja, who was then associated with his son Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in the government, succeeded in repulsing this attack. About this time the grave political situation in the Utkala or Orissa country, which was under the rule of the Somavaṁśī kings, encouraged Rājarāja to make an attempt for the expansion of his kingdom in that direction. The last known king of the Somavaṁśī dynasty from epigraphic sources is Uddyotakesarī,[9a] who flourished some time in the eleventh century. In the latter part of this century there were two rival claimants to the throne of Orissa. Rājarāja supported the cause of one of them, whose name seems to have been Karṇakesarī, and succeeded in placing him on the throne. He had an able general named Vanapati, who claims to have defeated the king of the Choḍa country, the army of Utkala, the king of Veṅgī, kings of Kimiḍī, Kosala, and the Giḍrisiṅgi countries, and killed one Daddārṇava. Rājarāja's queen was Rājasundarī, the daughter of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, who gave birth to his son and successor Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga.

Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was anointed king in A.D. 1078. In the early part of his reign Kulottuṅga Choḷa I sent a big army against Kaliṅga under his general Karuṇākara. The Choḷa army took possession of Viśākhapaṭṭaṇa (Visakhapatnam) and changed its name to Kulottuṅgaśolapaṭṭaṇam. Anantavarman could not resist the advancing Choḷa army. The whole of Kaliṅga up to the border of Orissa fell into the hands of Karuṇākara, probably shortly after A.D. 1083, the date of a stone inscription at Mukhalingam of the reign of Anantavarman. If there is any truth in the claim that Rājarāja Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1084-1088), son of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, and the viceroy of Veṅgī, held sway over a territory extending up to the Mahendra mountains, the position of Anantavarman must have been very serious indeed. But even in this predicament he

did not lose heart. Within a few years he not only recovered his throne, but also wrested the Visakhapatnam District from the Choḷas before the year A.D. 1090. After the death of Kulottuṅga the Chālukyas under Vikramāditya VI captured the Andhra country and ruled it for some years. As soon as Vikramāditya VI died (A.D. 1126) Anantavarman attacked the Andhra country and brought all the territory up to the banks of the Godāvarī under his sway. But he could not enjoy this new possession in the Godāvarī District for a long time. Some time before A.D. 1134 Kulottuṅga Choḷa II, with the help of his feudatories Maṇḍa II and Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Choḍa, drove out the Gaṅgas from the Godāvarī District. Visakhapatnam District, which was ruled by the Eastern Chālukyas for several centuries, became a part and parcel of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas from the time of Anantavarman.

Anantavarman also looked for the expansion of his kingdom to the east. About this time Karṇakesarī, king of Utkala, and a protégé of the Gaṅgas, was overthrown by Rāmapāla, king of Bengal, who placed his own nominee on the throne of that country. Anantavarman could not take this challenge lying down. He defeated the nominee of Rāmapāla and restored Karṇakesarī or his successor to power. Some time before A.D. 1118 the whole of Orissa was annexed to the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. Henceforward the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty assumed the title "the lord of Utkala" along with the title "the lord of Trikaliṅga". After the death of Rāmapāla the kingdom of the Pālas began to break up. The weakness of the Pāla kings made their feudatories in south Bengal helpless. This offered Anantavarman a favourable opportunity for further expansion of his kingdom. His advance into south Bengal was held back by Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumārapāla, son of Rāmapāla, for some time. But as soon as Vaidyadeva was called to Assam by a more critical situation[11], Anantavarman renewed his military operations. He defeated the chief of Mandāra, pillaged his capital Āramya, modern Arāmbāgh (Hooghly District), and pursued him up to the bank of the Gaṅgā. During these wars he seems to have received the co-operation of Vijayasena, a ruling chief in Rāḍhā. The kingdom of Anantavarman now extended from the Gaṅgā up to the Godāvarī, and his epigraphic records and those of his successors boldly claim that he exacted tributes from his subjects living in the countries between these two rivers. His attempts to push the boundary of his realm further to the north were, however, frustrated by the Kalachuri Ratnadeva II (A.D. 1120-1135), king of Southern Kosala, and the Paramāra Lakshmadeva (A.D. 1088-1094), king of Mālava. Stone inscriptions of his reign

have been found in the Ganjām and Visakhapatnam Districts, and in Drākshārāma, in the Rāmchandrapur *Tāluk* of the Godāvarī District.

Anantavarman founded the magnificent temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Śatānanda, a resident of Puri, composed the astronomical work *Bhāsvatī* during his reign, in A.D. 1099. Anantavarman had a number of queens and had by them four sons, Kāmārṇava VII, Rāghava, Rājarāja II, and Aniyaṅkabhīma or Anaṅgabhīma II. He anointed Kāmārṇava VII king in A.D. 1142. The last known date of Anantavarman is Ś. 1072 (= A.D. 1150).

Kāmārṇava VII (A.D. 1148-55)[12] was succeeded by his half-brother Rāghava (A.D. 1157-1170) during whose reign Vijayasena put an end to the supremacy of the Gaṅgas in south Bengal and established there the authority of the Senas. After Rāghava his two half-brothers, Rājarāja II (A.D. 1171-1192) and Anaṅgabhīma II (A.D. 1192), ruled in succession. From the time of Anaṅgabhīma's son and successor Rājarāja III (A.D. 1205-1206) Orissa (Jājnagar) became a target of attacks of the Muslims who had firmly established themselves in west and north Bengal. In A.D. 1205 Muhammad Bakhtyār sent Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran at the head of an army towards Lakhanor and Jājnagar. But the premature death of Muhammad Bakhtyār forced the Sheran brothers to retreat to Devakoṭa. Rājarāja III wrested the Godāvarī District to the east of the Godāvarī from the Velanāṇṭi chiefs. During the reign of his son and successor Anaṅgabhīma III (A.D. 1216-1235) Khaljī Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Iwaz, the Muslim ruler of Bengal, invaded Orissa, but was repulsed by the Gaṅgas. This invasion took place some time between A.D. 1211 and 1224. Anaṅgabhīma III led a successful military campaign against the Kalachuri Paramardī of Tuṁmāṇa and established a friendly relation with him by giving his sister in marriage to him. From the time of his father Rājarāja III the Godāvarī was the western boundary of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas. Anaṅgabhīma III invaded Veṅgī to wrest the Andhra country from the Velanāṇṭi chiefs. Though he won some preliminary victories the Kākatīya Gaṇapati forced him to surrender even the whole of the Godāvarī District to the east of the Godāvarī river some time between A.D. 1230 and 1237.

Anaṅgabhīma III was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha I in c. A.D. 1238. His reign marks a glorious period in the history of Orissa. He was one of the few Hindu kings of this age who thought it more prudent to launch aggressive campaigns against the Muslims than to play the defensive part. The Muslims were now in possession of the greater part of Rāḍhā (W. Bengal), but large parts of Hooghly and Nadiā districts were still unsubdued. Towards the end of

A.D. 1243, Narasiṁha sent an army to Bengal, and the Muslim historian Minhāj-i-Sirāj characteristically refers to it as 'molesting' the kingdom of Lakhnāwatī. Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, the Muslim ruler of Bengal, took the field against Narasiṁha in March, A.D. 1244, and the historian Minhāj also joined in "this holy war". The Orissan army made a strategic retreat, without fighting, to the fortress of Katasingh on their frontier, a region full of dense jungles and cane-bushes. In April, 1244, the Muslim forces made an assault on the fort and obtained some initial success. But while they were taking rest at mid-day, the Hindu soldiers appeared both in their front and rear. The Muslim army was seized with panic and fled in hot haste, pursued by the Orissan forces. Tughril Tughān was unable to make a stand even in his own fort of Lakhanor, 70 miles north-west of Katasingh. It was a veritable disaster for the Muslims.

Narasiṁha I captured Lakhanor and put an end to the Muslim rule in Rāḍhā. He then invaded Varendra (N. Bengal) and advanced as far as Lakhnāwatī (March, 1245). Tughril, who had already sent swift messengers to Delhi asking for military assistance, shut himself in his capital city. Fortunately for him the Sultān ordered the Governors of Kara-Mānikpur and Awadh to proceed at once to "exterminate the infidels" of Orissa. Their united forces reached the vicinity of the Rājmahal hills when Lakhnāwatī was besieged by Orissan forces. On hearing of this reinforcement, Narasiṁha raised the siege of the capital city but maintained his position in Rāḍhā. His dominions now extended to the Gaṅgā river which, according to one of his inscriptions, "assumed the dark countenance of the Yamunā by the collyrium-stained tears of the Yavana women of Rāḍhā and Varendra (West and North Bengal)."

It was not till the end of A.D. 1253 that the new Muslim Governor of Bengal, Yūzbak, made an attempt to recover Rāḍhā. He was stubbornly opposed by a feudatory of Narasiṁha who is called Savantar in Muslim chronicles, which probably stands for Oriya Santra. This feudatory chief was a son-in-law of Narasiṁha and ruled as his vassal over a strong principality with its capital at Madāran in Hooghly District. Three battles were fought in the last of which Yūzbak suffered a defeat with heavy loss and implored assistance from the Sultān of Delhi. Towards the end of A.D. 1255 Yūzbak again invaded Rāḍhā and captured Madāran. He succeeded in re-establishing Muslim authority over Rāḍhā.

Although Narasiṁha could not maintain his hold in Bengal, his aggressive compaign and success against the Muslim forces for a period of ten years entitles him to a high place of honour among the Hindu kings of Northern India during this age. He has also

earned undying fame by building the magnificent Sun Temple at Konārak, which has been described in the chapter on Art.

The reign of Bhānudeva I (A.D. 1264-79), son and successor of Narasiṁha I, was an uneventful one, from political point of view. But during the reigns of Bhānudeva I and his son Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1279-1306) the great religious teacher Narahari Tīrtha lived and preached in Orissa, and gave a great impetus to Vaishṇava religion which replaced Śaivism as the dominant creed of the country. As the reign of Narasiṁha II introduced a new phase in the history of Orissa, it will be treated in the next volume.

IV. THE SOMAVAṀŚĪS

The history of the Somavaṁśīs up to the death of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I has been narrated above.[13] Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I was succeeded by his son Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II who ruled probably about the beginning of the eleventh century (*c.* A.D. 1000-15). During this reign, Siṁhadatta continued to serve as minister for war and peace. One of the feudatories of Mahābhavagupta II was the Māṭhara chief Puñja who resided at Vāmaṇḍāpāṭi, possibly the same as modern Bāmrāgarh in the old Bāmrā State. Puñja, who was a *Parama-māheśvara* like his overlord but was also devoted to the goddess Kāleśvarī (probably a form of Kālī, the consort of Śiva in Hindu mythology), has been described as *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda, Māṇḍalika-Rāṇaka* and *Pañchadaśa-pallikādhipati (i.e.* "lord of fifteen small villages"). His seal bears the swan emblem.

The latest known date of Bhīmaratha is the thirteenth year of his reign. According to the Balijhari[14] (Narsinghpur State) and Bhuvaneswar[15] inscriptions of Uddyotakesarī, Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II was succeeded by his son Dharmaratha (*c.* A.D. 1015-20), probably styled Rājamalla and Mahāśivagupta II. Dharmaratha died without leaving a son and was succeeded by his brother Nahusha (Naghusha), probably styled Mahābhavagupta III. There is evidence to show that Nahusha ruled in troublous times (*c.* A.D. 1020-25). According to the Bhuvaneswar inscription, which does not mention Nahusha, some time passed after Dharmaratha had died without leaving a son, when various combatant chiefs *(bhaṭas)* were devastating the whole *rāshṭra* (*i.e.* the Somavaṁśī dominions) and a great hero, no doubt pointing to Chaṇḍīhara (Yayāti) belonging to the royal family, was passing his days elsewhere. This Chaṇḍīhara, who was the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravīra, and great-grandson of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I, was then raised to the throne by the *amātyas* (ministers). The new king (*c.* A.D. 1025-55) freed both the *rāshṭras* (Kosala and Utkala) from

enemies. The Balijhari inscription says that Nahusha was succeeded by his *anuja* (younger cousin in this case) Yayāti (Chaṇḍīhara), styled Mahāśivagupta III, who freed both the *rāshṭras* of Kosala and Utkala which had been seized *(avashṭabdha)* by combatant chiefs *(bhaṭas)*. It is thus clear that Kosala and Utkala were regarded as two component parts of the Somavaṁśī dominions about the middle of the eleventh century, and that both the countries had been overrun by enemies shortly after the death of Dharmaratha. But when and under what circumstances exactly the dominions of the Karas passed to the Somavaṁśīs cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Who moreover were the enemies of the Somavaṁśīs with whom king Nahusha seems to have been engaged in a struggle for existence? Although there is evidence to show that the Kalachuris were encroaching upon Somavaṁśī territories about this time, it is tempting to suggest that the enemies referred to were the Choḷas who, according to their records, defeated and seized king Indraratha of the Chandrakula (*i.e.* Somavaṁśa), together with his family, at the battle of Yayātinagara,[16] and captured, probably as a result of this success, Oḍravishaya and Kosalanāḍu, shortly before A.D. 1023. There is no doubt that Indraratha, also known from the Udayapur *praśasti*[17] to have been defeated by the Paramāra king Bhoja, belonged to the family of Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha, but he can hardly be placed between any two of the Somavaṁśī rulers discussed above without disturbing the probable regularity of the alternate occurrence of the two names *Mahābhavagupta* and *Mahāśivagupta* in the family. It is, therefore, not improbable that Indraratha was just another name of Nahusha Mahābhavagupta III who was a brother of Dharmaratha and possibly a son of Bhīmaratha. It may be mentioned in this connection that a Choḷa chief named Yaśorāja, whose successors are known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chhindaka-Nāgas of Bastar, is said to have carved out a kingdom in Kosala about the middle of the eleventh century. It is unknown whether Yaśorāja's success was at the expense of the Kalachuris or the Somavaṁśīs.

Thus Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III seems to have freed Kosala and Utkala (apparently the same as Oḍra of the Choḷa records), probably from Choḷa occupation, some time in the second quarter of the eleventh century. He appears to have been a powerful ruler. To him no doubt belongs the Maranjamura (also called Jatesinga-Dungri) inscription[18] written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, who was the son of a brother of Siṁhadatta (minister under Mahāśivagupta I and Mahābhavagupta II) and the grandson of Harshadatta. According to this record Mahāśivagupta III conquered Trikaliṅga by his own prowess[19] and became the lord of

Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda (in the Ganjām District), Utkala and Kosala. He also claims to have come into conflict with the kings of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Rāḍhā and Gauḍa. Although the description may, no doubt, be taken as a mere eulogy *(praśasti)*, it may be noted that it suits Mahāśivagupta III better than any other king of the family bearing the same name. The reference to his struggle with the Karṇāṭas probably points to a date earlier than the eastern expeditions of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. A defective passage of the record seems to speak of the king's success against *Bhūviṭa* which may be a mistake for *Draviḍa* meaning the Choḷas.[20] The king is further described as a *Parama-māheśvara* and as Mahābhavagupta-*pādānudhyāta,* possibly pointing to his predecessor Nahusha, who, as suggested above, appears to have been also known as Indraratha and Mahābhavagupta III. The Maranjamura grant was issued in the king's third regnal year. The actual duration of the rule of Mahāśivagupta III cannot be determined.

Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III was succeeded by his son Uddyotakesarī Mahābhavagupta IV (*c.* A.D. 1055-80) some time about the middle of the eleventh century. Uddyotakesarī was a devout Śaiva like his father. His hold over both the Sambalpur tract and lower Orissa is proved by the Balijhari charter issued in the fourth regnal year from Yayātinagara, recording a grant of land in Oḍradeśa, and by the Bhuvaneswar inscription recording the construction, in his eighteenth regnal year, of the temple of the deity Brahmeśvara at Ekāmra (*i.e.* Bhuvaneswar) by the king's mother Kolāvatī who was born in the solar dynasty. His father's minister for war and peace, named Rudradatta, who is known from the Maranjamura grant to have been the grandson of Harshadatta and the nephew of Siṁhadatta, is mentioned in the Balijhari grant of the earlier year of Uddyotakesarī's reign as the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* for both the countries of Utkala and Kosala. The same minister Rudradatta is mentioned as the son of Devadatta in the Kesarkella grant[21] of the eleventh regnal year of king Mahābhavagupta who seems to have been no other than Uddyotakesarī. The seal attached to this charter bears the Śaivite emblem of a horned *bull* surmounted by a crescent. The mention of Rudradatta as minister for Utkala and Kosala is interesting as the earlier ministers of the Datta family were only in charge of the Kosala country. This seems to suggest that the Utkala country formed a part of Somavaṁśī kingdom some time about the second quarter of the eleventh century.

Uddyotakesarī Mahābhavagupta IV was the last great king of the family. The Bhuvaneswar inscription credits him with victory over the rulers of Ḍāhala, Oḍra, and Gauḍa.[22] That he came into

conflict with the Kalachuris of Central India and the Pālas of Bengal is not improbable; but the ruler of Oḍra was probably one of his father's adversaries. Uddyotakesarī, whose latest known date is his eighteenth regnal year, appears to have been a contemporary of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Vajrahasta III (A.D. 1038-70) of Kaliṅga-nagara (in the Srikakulam District) and the latter's son Rājarāja I (A.D. 1070-78) who claims to have defeated the kings of Utkala and Kosala. Rājarāja's son Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1150) is described as having, at first, reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala, and later, not only as having defeated the king of Utkala, but also as having been decorated with the full sovereignty of the whole of Utkala. The claims that Choḍagaṅga exacted tribute from the whole land as far as the Gaṅgā in the east, and that he destroyed the capital of the king of Mandāra (probably Garh Mandāran in the Hooghly District), show that by A.D. 1112, which is the date of Choḍagaṅga's Korni grant,[23] independent Somavaṁśī rule must have been terminated in lower Orissa by the Gaṅgas and that Uddyotakesarī's rule had ended some time before that date.

The king of Utkala named Karṇakesarī, mentioned in the *Rāmacharita* as having been defeated by Jayasiṁha, the feudatory ruler of Daṇḍabhukti under king Rāmapāla of Bengal, seems to have been a successor of Uddyotakesarī and probably a subordinate ally of Choḍagaṅga who shortly afterwards extirpated Somavaṁśī rule from Orissa.

Raṇakesarī, another king probably of the same family, is known from his Govindapur (old Nayagarh State) inscription which seems to be dated in the Gaṅga year 611,[24] corresponding to A.D. 1107-09. He may have been a subordinate ally of Choḍagaṅga and a claimant for the Somavaṁśī throne. According to the *Mādaḷāpāñjī*, which gives a legendary account of the Somavaṁśī rulers that is hardly reliable, Suvarṇakesarī was the last Somavaṁśī ruler extirpated by Choḍagaṅga. But nothing definite is known about him.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the capital (or secondary capital) of the Somavaṁśīs in Utkala was probably Jājpur (in Cuttack District), apparently a corruption of *Yayātipura*, named probably after Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III, who seems to have been the first Somavaṁśī king of lower Orissa. In the days of the Somavaṁśīs, Jājpur seems to have been called both Yayātipura and Yayātinagara, the latter being also the name of the capital of the Somavaṁśīs in Kosala. The Muslim chronicles referred to Orissa as the kingdom of Jājnagar, probably because Jājpur (Yayātipura or Yayātinagara) became for a short period a secondary capital of the Gaṅgas after the extirpation of the Somavaṁśīs from Utkala.

The Somavaṁśīs, who were ousted from the southern part of their dominions by the Gaṅgas, also lost Kosala. In the first half of the eleventh century, probably during the reign of Kalachuri Gāṅgeya of Ḍāhala, a Kalachuri prince named Kaliṅgarāja established himself at Tuṁmāṇa (modern Tumana in the Bilāspur District) in the western part of Dakshiṇa-Kosala, and apparently became a thorn in the side of the Somavaṁśī kings. His son Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgeya in prosperity and claimed, like Gāṅgeya himself, a victory over the ruler of Utkala, probably a Somavaṁśī king. Kamalarāja's grandson Pṛithvīdeva I, whose Amoda grant[25] of A.D. 1079 describing him as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda* shows that he was still a feudatory of the house of Ḍāhala (Tripurī), seems nevertheless to have been a semi-independent ruler who assumed the title *Sakala-Kosalādhipati* (lord of the entire Kosala country), apparently as the result of a successful campaign against the Somavaṁśīs. Pṛithvīdeva's son Jājalla I, whose Ratanpur inscription[26] is dated A.D. 1114, claims to have defeated and captured Someśvara, while another record[27] refers to his victory over Bhujabala, king of Suvarṇapura (Sonpur in the eastern part of Dakshiṇa-Kosala in the kingdom of the Somavaṁśīs). Now the northern enemies of the Somavaṁśīs stood face to face with their southern adversaries, and it is interesting to note that Jājalla's son Ratna II claims to have defeated Choḍagaṅga.

We have seen that the greatest achievement of Jājalla I (A.D. 1114) is described as a victory over Someśvara in one record and over Bhujabala of Sonpur in another. This may suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalamalla was a *viruda* of Someśvara. Someśvara, defeated by the Kalachuris of the western part of Dakshiṇa-Kosala in the early years of the twelfth century, seems to be no other than the Somavaṁśī *Kumāra* Someśvara, lord of Paśchima-Laṅkā (probably the district round Sonpur), who issued the Kelga plates from Suvarṇapura. Someśvara calls himself *Kumāra* and *Kumārādhirāja* (cf. the case of the Paramāra *Mahākumāras*), but also assumes the imperial titles *Parameśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. He seems to have ruled over the district round Sonpur when the other parts of the Somavaṁśī dominions were occupied by the enemies. He issued the Kelga plates[28] after the end of the rule *(atīta-rājye)* of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kosala kingdom presented to him by Uddyotakesarī. It appears that Uddyotakesarī, during the latter part of his rule, made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his kingdom which lay in Kosala, while he himself ruled in Utkala. This arrangement might have been devised to check Kalachuri and Chhindaka-Choḷa encroachment upon Kosala and Gaṅga aggression against Utkala. As

Someśvara seems to have ruled in the early years of the twelfth century, Abhimanyu may be assigned to the last quarter of the previous century. The position of Someśvara and Abhimanyu in the genealogy of the Somavaṁśīs cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu (son of Vichitravīra and grandson of Mahābhavagupta I) and a brother or cousin of Uddyotakesarī. As to the extirpation of Somavaṁśī rule from Kosala, it may be pointed out that the Chhindaka (Nāga) king Someśvara (*c.* A.D. 1090-1110) of Bastar, and Yaśorāja, who was probably a Choḷa feudatory of the Chhindakas and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century,[29] claim to have conquered Kosala or parts of that country. Yaśorāja's great-grandson *Rāṇaka* Someśvara, who called himself "lord of the whole of Kosala" and flourished probably in the first quarter of the twelfth century, actually issued his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur). Considering the date of this Choḷa lord of Kosala (Someśvara), who appears to have been a feudatory of his Chhindaka-Nāga namesake (Someśvara, *c.* A.D. 1090-1110), it seems very probable that these two Someśvaras were responsible for the extirpation of their Somavaṁśī namesake, *Kumāra* Someśvara, lord of Paśchima-Laṅkā.

The name of the Somavaṁśī *Kumāra* may suggest that for a time the Somavaṁśīs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chhindaka-Nāga king Someśvara I. This is not improbable in view of the Telugu-Choḍa influence on the style of Somavaṁśī Someśvara's charter. In that case, *Kumāra* Someśvara's short rule may have been the result of a successful revolt against Chhindaka-Nāga authority.

V. THE NĀGAS OR CHHINDAKAS

A number of inscriptions of a dynasty of rulers belonging to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga race have been found in Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. These Chhindaka-Nāgas are sometimes described as the kings of Chakrakoṭṭa (also called Chakrakūṭa, Chakrakoṭa, etc.), which was the old name of Bastar. They appear to have ruled from Bārasūru (modern Barsur about 55 miles from Jagdalpur, chief city of Bastar). They belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and had the snake-banner and the 'tiger-with-cub' crest. One of their significant titles was "the lord of Bhogāvatī (Bhogavatī), the best of cities." Bhogavatī was the mythical capital of the snake-demons, called Nāgas, who lived in *Rasātala,* forming a part of *Pātāla* or the subterranean world.

The above informations about the Chhindaka-Nāgas of Bastar clearly point to their close relationship with the Sindas of the

Kannaḍ country.[30] The land of the Sindas, called Sindavāḍi, comprised parts of northern Mysore, Bellary, Dhārwār and Bijāpur, and is mentioned in a record of A.D. 750. The Sinda families ruled from Bāgalkot and Yelburga in Bijāpur and Hollavūr and Belaguṭṭi in Mysore. There is no doubt that the family name *Chhindaka,* preferred by the Nāgavaṁśīs of Bastar, is the same as *Sinda,* although the Sindas fabricated a mythology to explain their family name as derived from the name of the river Sindhu. The fabricated genealogy of the Sindas sometimes says that the eponymous progenitor of the dynasty was a "long-armed" Sinda who was the human son of a snake king named Dharaṇīndra and that he was born at Ahichchhatra near the Sindhu and was reared by a tiger. Elsewhere, however, the same mythical Sinda is described as the son of the god Śiva from the river-goddess Sindu and as brought up by the snake-king with tiger's milk. We have no such explanation of the family name in the inscription of the Chhindakas; but it is quite significant that, like them, the Sindas also claimed the Nāga lineage, the snake-banner (sometimes explained as the banner having the figures of the Nāga-chiefs Ananta, Vāsuki and Takshaka represented on it), and the hereditary title "lord of Bhogāvatī, the best of cities." It may be suggested that the Chhindakas left their original home in the Kannaḍa country before the fabrication of the above genealogy by the Sindas, some time after the middle of the eleventh century.

The earliest Nāgavaṁśī instription in Bastar is a fragmentary record[31] from Errakot, about ten miles from Jagdalpur. The name of the Chhindaka-Nāga king mentioned in it cannot be fully read, but may be Nṛipatibhūshaṇa (or Kshitibhūshaṇa?). It is said that the inscription bears a date in Śaka 945 (= A.D. 1023). This date seems to suggest that the Chhindakas entered Bastar in the train of the army of the Choḷa king Rājendra I, which is known to have invaded the said area some time before A.D. 1023. It should, however, be noted that personal names in this family like Dhārāvarsha and Kanhara would suggest its original subservience to the imperial house of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, while the popularity of the name Someśvara in this dynasty and also in that of its Telugu-Choḍa feudatories seems to indicate that both of these houses acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chālukya monarch Someśvara I Āhavamalla (A.D. 1043-68) of Kalyāṇa. This may have been a result of the expedition led by Vikramāditya VI, son of Āhavamalla, against the East Indian countries some time during his father's reign.

An inscription[32] from Barsur, which bears a date in A.D. 1060, refers to the reign of a Chhindaka-Nāga king named *Mahārāja* Dhā-

rāvarsha *alias* Jagadekabhūshaṇa. It is stated that his feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Chandrāditya-*mahārāja,* who belonged to the Telugu-Choḍa family and was the lord of Ammagrāma, built a Śiva temple and excavated a tank at Bārasūru (modern Barsur, the find-spot of the record in question). Chandrāditya is further said to have purchased a village from his overlord and dedicated it in favour of the deity installed in the temple. King Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa is stated to have been present when this transaction was made. Now the above fact appears to indicate that the feudatory chief Chandrāditya had his headquarters at Ammagrāma while his Chhindaka-Nāga overlord ruled from the city of Bārasūru.

King Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa does not appear to have survived long after A.D. 1060 as the Chhindaka-Nāga throne was occupied by another member of the family, named Madhurāntaka, some time before the fifth of October, 1065, the date of the latter's Rājapura plates.[33] It cannot be determined whether the fragmentary Dantewara inscription[34] of A.D. 1061 belongs to Dhārāvarsha or Madhurāntaka. King Madhurāntaka was soon ousted from the throne by Dhārāvarsha's son Someśvara I whose earliest known date is A.D. 1069. The names of these two rivals of the same family for the Chhindaka-Nāga kingdom of Bastar may suggest that Someśvara was supported by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, while Madhurāntaka received help from the Choḷas. It is interesting to note in this connection that a Choḷa inscription[35] of A.D. 1074 refers to certain victories achieved by Kulottuṅga I at an earlier date in Vayirāgaram (Wairagarh in the Chāndā District) and Sakkarakoṭṭam (Chakrakoṭṭa).

The Rājapura copper-plate inscription of Madhurāntaka, bearing the date A.D. 1065, records the grant of the village of Rājapura (findspot of the record, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur) in the Bhramarakoṭya (Bhramarakoṭṭa)-*maṇḍala,* probably as a compensation for supplying victims for human sacrifices. The Bhramarakoṭṭa-*maṇḍala* was either identical with Chakrakoṭṭa or a part of the latter. The king was a Śaiva and had the banner bearing the representation of a lotus and a plantain leaf on the back of Airāvata instead of the snake-banner used by other members of the family.

Someśvara I, son of Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa, is known from several records, the earliest of which, as indicated above, is dated in A.D. 1069. The latest known date of this king is A.D. 1097. One of the two Kuruspal (22 miles from Jagdalpur) inscriptions[36] of Dhāraṇamahādevī, the second queen of the Chhindaka-Nāga king Someśvara I, bears a date in the Khara Saṁvatsara which fell in

A.D. 1069. Two other inscriptions[37] of the reign of the same king, one from Kuruspal and another from Gadia, are dated in A.D. 1097.

The most important record of the reign of Someśvara I is a fragmentary inscription from Kuruspal.[38] This epigraph mentions the king's son Kanhara and seems to have been engraved late in his reign. Someśvara is stated in the inscription to have acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakūṭa (Chakrakoṭṭa) through the grace of the goddess Vindhyavāsinī. He is further said to have killed king Madhurāntaka who is undoubtedly the issuer of the Rājapura plates of A.D. 1065. Madhurāntaka was a ruler of Chakrakūṭa of which Someśvara I claimed to have been the hereditary king. The record also credits Someśvara with many other military activities such as the burning of Veṅgī, the subjugation of Bhadrapattana and Vajra, and the seizure of the six *lakhs* and ninety-six villages of Kosala (South Kosala). Veṅgī, the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas, was now a part of the Choḷa-Chālukya empire, and Vīrachoḍa, also mentioned in the record under review, was governing it in A.D. 1078-84 and 1088-92 as the viceroy of his father Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120). We have already noticed that Kulottuṅga claimed some success against Wairagarh (probably the same as Vajra in Someśvara's record under discussion) and Chakrakoṭṭa, achieved by him some years before A.D. 1074. Bhadrapattana of the inscription has been identified by scholars with modern Bhandak in the Chāndā District. According to the *Padma Purāṇa*,[39] the conventional or traditional number of *grāmas* in Kosala was ten *lakhs*, although this is certainly an exaggerated statement if the word *grāma* or village is taken in the ordinary sense of the term.[40] The Chhindaka-Nāga king Someśvara I thus seems to have claimed the possession of a large part of South Kosala. This success may have been achieved at the expense of both the Kalachuris and the Somavaṁśīs. In this connection, we cannot ignore the fact that Yaśorāja I, father of the Telugu-Choḍa chief Chandrāditya who was ruling at Ammagrāma as a feudatory of Someśvara's father, also claimed to have carved out a kingdom in Kosala. It is not altogether unlikely that Yaśorāja I entered Kosala as a lieutenant of Someśvara I and was rewarded by the governorship of a portion of the country he had conquered on behalf of his overlord. Another interesting fact is that *Kumāra* Someśvara of Suvarṇapura and Paśchima-Laṅkā, who belonged to the Somavaṁśa that was overthrown by the descendants of Yaśorāja I, was probably named after the Chhindaka-Nāga king Someśvara I. This may suggest that for a time the later Somavaṁśīs had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chhindakas. The suggestion seems to be supported by the in-

fluence of the Telugu-Choḍa grants on the style of the copper-plate charter of Somavaṁśī Someśvara. The inscription of Chhindaka Someśvara I under review also mentions the king of Ratnapura (capital of the Kalachuris of South Kosala) as one of his antagonists and points to the fact that he came into conflict with the Kalachuris as well. Some scholars are inclined to identify the king named Someśvara, whom the Kalachuri king Jājalla I claimed to have seized in a battle some years before A.D. 1114,[41] with the Chhindaka-Nāga ruler Someśvara I.

According to the Kuruspal inscription, besides the antagonists mentioned above, Chhindaka Someśvara I came into conflict also with the kings of Uḍra (Orissa), Lāñjī (in Bālāghāt District) and Lemnā (Lavana in Bālāghāt District). The king of Uḍra was possibly the Somavaṁśī ruler Uddyotakesarī.

The Nārāyanpāl inscription[42] of A.D. 1111 mentions Guṇḍa-Mahādevī who was the queen of Dhārāvarsha, mother of Someśvara I, and grand-mother of Kanhara. It is clearly stated that Kanhara was then ruling after the death of his father. Thus Someśvara I must have ended his reign some time before A.D. 1111.

A Barsur inscription,[43] dated Śaka 1130 (A.D. 1208), mentions Gaṅga-Mahādevī as the queen of the Chhindaka-Nāga king Someśvara, who may be identified with king Rājabhūshaṇa Someśvara II known from the Gadia inscription.[44] Rājabhūshaṇa-*mahārāja* is also known from an undated Dantewara inscription.[45] An inscription[46] from Barsur similarly mentions a king named Kannara who seems to be a later member of the family and may be styled Kanhara II. Hiralal, however, believed that the date of Gaṅga-Mahādevī's inscription is a mistake for Śaka 1030 (A.D. 1108) and that she was a queen of Someśvara I, son of Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa.

The Jatanpal inscription[47] of A.D. 1218 and the Dantewara inscription of A.D. 1224 speak of a Chhindaka king named Jagadekabhūshaṇa Narasiṁha who seems to be identical with *Mahārāja* Jagadekabhūshaṇa mentioned as the worshipper of the goddess Māṇikyadevī (modern Danteswari of the Dantewara temple) in an inscription from Bhairamgarh.[48] The undated Sunarpal inscription mentions another king of the family, named Jayasiṁha, whose relation with Jagadekabhūshaṇa Narasiṁha is unknown. King Hariśchandra of Chakrakoṭa, possibly a later member of the Chhindaka-Nāga family, is mentioned in the Temara inscription of A.D. 1324.[49]

VI. THE CHOḶAS OR TELEGU-CHOḌAS

The Kumarisimha[50] and Patna Museum plates[51] were issued by a king named Someśvara II, the first in the eleventh and the second in the seventeenth year of his reign. He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and the Choḷa or Choḍa family which is described as the race of the sun. He was a devotee of Śiva as well as Vishṇu, and is described as a worshipper of the god Vaidyanātha whose temple is situated on the Tel, about 12 miles from Sonpur. A significant title of the king is Kāverī-nātha (lord of the river Kāverī) which points to his claim of descent from the Choḷas of Karikāla's house. He claims to have enjoyed the title "lord of the entire Kosala (South Kosala)," although his subordinate position is clearly indicated by the feudatory titles *Rāṇaka, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,* and *Mahāvyūhapati.* The king is also called *Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa,* which was a Kannaḍa title known to have been assumed by the feudatories and generals of the Chālukya emperors of Kalyāṇa. He had the *rakta-dhvaja* or blood-red banner and the *siṁha-lāñchhana* or lion crest. The Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates of Someśvara II of the Choḷa or Choḍa family were issued from Suvarṇapura which had been previously one of the capitals of the Somavaṁśīs of Kosala. This Someśvara appears to have flourished about the first quarter of the twelfth century and to have been responsible for the final expulsion of the Somavaṁśī *Kumāra* Someśvara from Suvarṇapura.

The Kumarisimha plates describe Someśvara II as the son of Yaśorāja II and the grandson of Chandrāditya, while the Patna Museum plates inform us that Chandrāditya was the brother of Someśvara I, son of Yaśorāja I, and grandson of Challama of the Choḷa family sprung from the sun. Yaśorāja I is stated to have carved out a kingdom in the Kosala (South Kosala) country.

The Barsur and Potinar inscriptions[52] of A.D. 1060 speak of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mahārāja* Chandrāditya, ruler of Ammagrāma, as the feudatory of the Chhindaka-Nāga king Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa, who had his headquarters at Bārasūru, modern Barsur in Bastar. The date of these records would suggest that Chandrāditya and his brother Someśvara flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Thus Chandrāditya's son Yaśorāja II and grandson Someśvara II may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Similarly his father Yaśorāja I and grandfather Challama may be roughly placed in the first half of the eleventh century, although, as indicated above, Yaśorāja I may have been serving as a general of the Chhindakas even after A.D. 1060.

Chandrāditya is stated to have built a temple of the god Chandrādityeśvara, excavated a tank called Chandrāditya-*samudra,* and planted a garden called Chandrāditya-*nandanavana,* all at Bārasūru, the capital of his overlord. He also granted two villages (one of which is said to have been purchased from his Chhindaka overlord Dhārāvarsha) for the maintenance of the temple and the garden. All the epithets of the Telugu-Choḍas are attributed to Chandrāditya who is further stated to have been a scion of the Karikāla family ruling from the city of Orayuru (modern Uṟaiyūr near Trichinopoly) and holding sway over the region of the Kāverī.

These Choḷas of Bastar and South Kosala enjoyed the same *birudas* as the Telugu-Choḍas flourishing in different parts of the Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.[53] There is, therefore, little doubt that they migrated to Bastar from the Telugu country. As many of the Telugu-Choḍa chiefs of the Andhra country are known to have owed allegiance to the Chālukya emperors of Kalyāṇa, it is not unlikely that Challama or his son entered Bastar in the train of Vikramāditya VI who is known to have led an expedition against the eastern countries some time during the reign of his father Someśvara I Āhavamalla (A.D. 1043-68). The popularity of the name Someśvara among the Chhindakas and their Telugu-Choḍa feudatories, the Kannaḍa title *Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa* assumed by these Telugu-Choḍa chiefs, and the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vāgharakoṭṭa discussed separately suggest that these ruling families acknowledged the supremacy of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa at least for some time.

The Mahada plates were published long ago with an inaccurate transcript, and the charter was wrongly assigned to a ruler named Yogeśvaradevavarman.[54] Actually this grant was issued by a Telugu-Choḍa chief named Someśvaradeva-varman who was the son of Dhāralladeva-varman and the grandson of another Someśvara. The date of the charter is the issuer's twenty-third regnal year. It is stated that the grant was made when the ruler in question was standing before Laṅkāvarttaka on the banks of the Chitrotpalā (Mahānadī). Laṅkāvarttaka seems to indicate a deity that was worshipped on the Laṅkeśvarī hillock in the bed of the Mahānadī at Sonpur. The description of the issuer of the Mahada plates is strikingly similar to that of the Telugu-Choḍa chiefs of Chakrakoṭṭa and Kosala, and there is no doubt that he was closely related to Someśvara II who issued the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates. But Someśvaradeva-varman of the Mahada plates appears to have flourished at a later date and may have been a grandson of Someśvara II. The comparative lateness of the Mahada plates

is suggested by the fact that the issuer of the charter is endowed with the epithets *Pañchamahāśabda-samanvita, Mahāmahīmaṇḍaleśvara, Mahābhūpati* and *Chakravarttin.* In these we find a combination of both paramount and subordinate titles, which shows that Someśvaradeva-varman owed only a nominal allegiance to the family of the overlords of his predecessors. This is further indicated by the fact that *Mahāmahīmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Mahābhūpati* are clearly deliberate modifications of the feudatory titles *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Mahāvyūhapati* enjoyed by Someśvara II. Moreover, the issuer of the Mahada plates as well as that of the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates apparently ruled over the same region with headquarters at the same city (Suvarṇapura or Sonpur). We are therefore inclined to take Someśvaradeva-varman of the Mahada plates as Someśvara III, grandson of Someśvara II. He seems to have flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. Nothing is known about his father Dhāralla.

VII. THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

Various Rāshṭrakūṭa ruling families are known to have flourished in different parts of India. But so far no family of Rāshṭrakūṭa origin was traced in Orissa. The recently discovered Bargarh plates of Parachakraśalya prove the existence of a Rāshṭrakūṭa ruling family in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa about the twelfth century A.D.

The Bargarh plates may be assigned to the twelfth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The charter is dated in the year 56, probably of the Chālukya Vikrama era of A.D. 1076. The date of the grant thus seems to be A.D. 1131. It was issued by *Rāṇaka* Parachakraśalya who was the son of Dhaṁsaka and grandson of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mahāmāṇḍalika Rāṇaka* Chamaravigraha who is described as a devotee of Śiva and an ornament of the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage. As Dhaṁsaka is mentioned without any epithet, he seems to have predeceased his father, and Parachakraśalya probably succeeded his grandfather. In spite of the Śaiva religion preferred by the family, the seal of the Bargarh plates bears the figure of Garuḍa, Vishṇu's *vāhana.* An interesting epithet of Chamaravigraha is *Llātalora-vinirgata,* apparently pointing to the original home of the family at Llātalora. This Llātalora is undoubtedly the same as Lattalūra, otherwise called Lattalūr, Lattanūr, Latanaura, etc., the traditional home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. A feudatory of the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), who belonged to the Mahā-Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage, is described

as "emigrated from Latalaura"[55] exactly like Chamaravigraha in the Bargarh inscription.

The description of Chamaravigraha as having the *Garuḍa-darpaṇadhvaja* reminds us of the fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan enjoyed the *Pālidhvaja, Oka-ketu* and *Garuḍa-lāñchhana.* Chamaravigraha claims to have frightened his enemies with the sound of the *trivali,* which undoubtedly refers to the musical instrument of the same name which is known to have heralded the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers of the Deccan in public. Chamaravigraha is further stated to have enjoyed the white umbrella and the yellow *chowrie.*

The description of the issuer of the Bargarh plates and his grandfather and predecessor may raise the suspicion that these Rāshṭrakūṭas had really nothing to do with Orissa, although the plates were found in a locality in the Sambalpur tract. Such a contention is, however, completely negatived by the epithet *ashṭādaśa-ghaṭṭa-Gondram-ādhipati* applied to Chamaravigraha. "Lord of the eighteen Gondramas" or "lord of all the Gondramas" is a typical epithet of many early rulers of Orissa. The "eighteen" (really meaning "many") Gondramas are now believed roughly to indicate the same thing as Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta,* a collective name for all the native states recently merged in Orissa. The earliest reference to the "eighteen" states in an Orissan record seems to be that in the Kanas plate of A.D. 599-600 which describes the kingdom of Tosalī (Orissa) as comprising eighteen *aṭavī-rājyas.*

The Bargarh plates were issued from Vāgharakoṭṭa which was apparently the name of a fort. Vāgharakoṭṭa, which was no doubt the capital of Rāshṭrakūṭa Parachakraśalya, may be modern Bargarh in Sambalpur, although it is difficult to be definite on the point. The Rāshṭrakūṭas appear to have ruled over a small district around their capital. Their relations with other ruling families of Upper Orissa are as yet unknown.

These Rāshṭrakūṭas of Kannaḍa origin may have entered Orissa in the train of the eastern expedition led by Chālukya Vikramāditya VI some time before the death of his father in A.D. 1068. This seems to be suggested not only by the history of the Chhindaka-Nāgas and Telugu-Choḍas, discussed above, but also by the establishment, some time in the eleventh century, of the Senas, claiming Karṇāṭa descent, in Bengal and of the Karṇāṭaka family in Mithilā.

VIII. THE TAILAPAVAṀŚĪS

Like the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Orissa, another ruling family of Kannaḍa origin, settled in the Eastern Deccan in the same age, is known from an inscription[56] discovered at Upalada in the Parlakimedi *Tāluk* of the Ganjām District. The epigraph may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century. It records the grant of the village of Upalavaḍā (the same as Upalada where the inscription was found) by *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva.

Rāmadeva was a feudatory ruler. This is indicated by his title *Rāṇaka* as well as by his epithet *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*. *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva; but he also claims to have enjoyed the favour of the goddess Agidevī, apparently a form of the Mother-goddess.

It is stated in the Upalada inscription that *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva sprang from the Tailapa-*vaṁśa*, *i.e.* the Tailapa dynasty. Tailapa, from whom Rāmadeva apparently claimed descent, seems to be none other then the Western Chālukya monarch Tailapa II who overthrew the Rāshṭrakūṭas and re-established Chālukya sovereignty in the Deccan about A.D. 973. He was the great-great-grandfather of Vikramāditya VI who is known to have led an expedition against Eastern India. It is not unlikely that Rāmadeva or one of his immediate predecessors came to the east coast country in the company of Vikramāditya VI in his eastern expedition. But the way in which Rāmadeva claims descent from the Chālukya emperor Tailapa seems to suggest that he was not a member of the Chālukya family, but was merely the son or descendant of a princess of the Chālukya house.

1. There were villages Kākati-khaṇḍi and Kākati-pallika in the Visakhapatnam and Ganjām Districts (*EI*, V. 109, *IMP*, Gj. 167). Gaṅga Sāhaṇi, a feudatory of the Kākatīya Rudrāmbā, who ruled in the Cuddapah District, calls himself a prince of Kākatīyapuram (*IMP*, Cd. 63).
2. *Sāmanta-vishṭi-vaṁśa*....(*IND*, p. 25).
3. The Kazipet inscription (*IND*, 30) seems to be suggesting that Dugga Tribhuvanamalla was the son and successor of Beta II. There is no other evidence to corroborate it.
4. Hemādri, in his *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, states that the Yādava Jaitugi killed Raudra, king of Tillaṅga (*EHD*, 243, v. 41). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar takes Raudra, which means the son of Rudra, to be error for Rudra. But in view of the fact that Jaitugi killed Mahādeva, brother and successor of Rudra, the expression 'Raudra' seems to be referring to this unfortunate Yādava king.
5. The Pākhāl inscription of Ganapati gives a long list of countries conquered by the king (*Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. 4; *IND*, p. 52).
6. *Pratāparudrīyam* of Vidyānātha gives a long list of countries conquered by Pratāparudra when he was a Yuvarāja (*BSS*, LXV, Int. XIV, XV).

6a. Cf. *Ancient India*, V. 56.

7. For the condition of Teliṅgāṇa and Andhra after Pratāparudra, cf. *JAHRS*, V 217; *EIM*, 1923-24, p. 13.

8. Vol. IV, Ch. VI.
9. Vol. IV, Ch. VI.
9a. The latter part of the name of these rulers is written either as "kesarī" or "keśarī."
10. V. Rangacharya wrongly reads the date of a stone inscription of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I in the Vizagapatam Dist. as of Śi 1021 (cf. *Hist. Ins.* 91).
11. See p. 32.
12. The extreme known dates of the kings mentioned in this para have been given in the parenthesis. No attempt has been made to determine the years of their accession with the help of stone inscriptions bearing regnal years along with dates in Śaka year, as there is no agreement between them. Sometimes regnal years given in the stone inscriptions exceed the reign-periods mentioned in the copper-plates. In order to meet these difficulties M. M. Chakravarti suggests that regnal years given are as a matter of fact *aṅka* years which will have to be calculated by a particular method in order to get the actual figures (Cf. *JASB*, LXXII, 100; G. Ramdas, *JBORS*, XVIII. 285; Subba Rao, *JAHRS*, VI. 208). But the application of this system also does not lead to the correct solution of the problem.
13. Vol. IV, pp. 145-8.
14. *JBORS*, XVII. 15 ff; *IHQ*, XXII, 300 ff.
15. See *JRASBL*, XIII, 63 ff. The Bhuvaneswar inscription actually reads the names of Yayāti I (1.4), Bhīmaratha (1.5) and Dharmaratha (1.6). The reading of the second and third names as Dīrgharava and Apavāra is not supported by the published eye-copy.
16. The name of the Chandrakula king is often believed to be Dhīratara of Ādinagara. But this seems to be wrong. The Choḷa records appear to suggest some relation of this king with Oḍra and Kosala mentioned without reference to rulers; cf. *PIHC*, IV. 66-67.
17. *EI*, I. 235.
18. *JBORS*, II. 52.
19. It is sometimes suggested that the epithet *sva-bhujopārjita-trikaliṅgādhipati* would indicate only the first king of the family of the Somavaṁśī lords of Trikaliṅga. This is not convincing, as the title could be assumed after averting any danger to the succession or to the state; cf. the epithet *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya* applied to Pallava Skandavarman (I) of the Omgodu grant No. 1, who was not the first of the Pallava family (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 201).
20. The charter records the grant of two villages in the Uṅgoḍa and Gandharavāḍi districts, both attached to Kosala. *Gandharavāḍi* seems to be no other than *Gandhaṭapāṭi* mentioned in an inscription of Mahāśivagupta I, which has been discussed above. Gandhaṭapāṭi is the modern Gandharāḍhi in Baudh.
21. *EI*, XXII. 138.
22. The eye-copy suggests the reading *ḍāhalaṁ ch=oḍra-gauḍau* and not *siṁhalaṁ choḍa-gauḍau.*
23. *JAHRS*, VIII. 40.
24. The date was read by B. Misra as 811.
25. *EI*, XIX, 78.
26. *EI*, I. 32.
27. *EI*, XXI. 159.
28. *EI*, XII, 239; XXVIII, 321.
29. See Sections V, VI, above (pp. 214-221).
30. *Bom. Gaz.* I, ii, pp. 572 ff; *EI*, III, 230 ff; Sewell, *HISI*, pp. 392-3 etc.
31. Hiralal, *ICPB*, 2nd ed. p. 166 (No. 285).
32. *Ibid*, pp. 158-59.
33. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, 163-64.
34. *Ibid*, p. 165.

35. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
36. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.
37. *Ibid*, p. 163.
38. *EI*, X. 25 ff.
39. *Kumārikā-khaṇḍa*, ch. 39.
40. See *JBRS*, XL, i, 8 ff.
41. *EI*, I. 38.
42. *Ibid*, IX. 311 ff, 161-62.
43. *Ibid*, IX. 162.
44. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
45. *Ibid*, p. 166.
46. *Ibid*, p. 169.
47. *Ibid*, p. 164.
48. *EI*, X. 40; Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
49. Hiralal, *ibid*, p. 165.
50. *JKHRS*, I. 229 ff.
51. *EI*, XIX. 97 ff.
52. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59.
53. *EI*, XI. 343-44.
54. *Ibid*, XII. 218 ff; XXVIII, 283 ff.
55. *Bomb. Gaz.* I, ii, p. 384, note 4.
56. *EI*, XXII. 141 ff.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOYSALAS

1. ORIGIN OF THE HOYSALAS

The Hoysalas had their origin in the hilly tracts to the north-west of Gaṅgavāḍi in Mysore. The original home of the Hoysalas is traditionally located in a village in Mudgere *Tāluk* of the Kaḍūr District, Mysore, where there is a Vāsantikā temple. The story runs that a Jain resident of the locality went to the Vāsantikā temple for worship and found in the temple a Jain ascetic wrapt in meditation in front of the goddess and oblivious to all else outside. A tiger from the forest, finding him in that condition, was about to spring upon him but, at the word of the ascetic "poy, Sāḷa"—"strike, Sāḷa", the lay worshipper, without the slightest hesitation, drew out a dagger from his waistband and killed the tiger after a struggle. Appreciating the achievement of the man, the saint bespoke the favour of the goddess Vāsantikā and promised him sovereignty over the territory round about; hence the line of kings was called Poysala or Hoysala. This is the legend recorded in the earlier inscriptions of the Hoysalas. We find, however, a similar story of a wrestle with a tiger ending in its death mentioned as the distinct achievement of another immigrant chieftain of the locality, Irungo Veḷ of Araiyam, who came 48 generations after the *Mahābhārata* war. This is found in an address by the poet Kapilar, who appealed to the chieftain to accept for his spouse one of the daughters of his friend, the patron Pāri, who died before marrying off the girl suitably. Like the Hoysalas, this early Tamil chieftain also claimed descent from the Yādava stock.

The Hoysala kingdom lay between the Choḷa and the Later Chālukya territories, a region much disputed between the rival powers. Ever since the emergence of the Chālukyas in A.D. 973 they became heirs of the Rāshṭrakūṭas to the rivalry against the Choḷas for the possession of Gaṅgavāḍi. Since the days of the Choḷa Rājarāja the Great, Choḷa authority superseded that of the Gaṅgas in this region, *viz.* the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 and parts of Noḷambavāḍi in the neighbourhood reaching up to the borderland of Banavāsi to the north-west of both. Rājarāja's authority in that region became well established before A.D. 1000, and hostilities went on, as noted below,[1] during the subsequent reigns of Rājendra and his sons with undiminished vigour on both sides.

In course of the struggle between the Chālukyas and the Choḷas, the hill chieftains in the intervening region had their opportunities to display their valour and acquire small principalities. The most successful of them seems to have been the Hoysala chieftain, who distinguished himself in various wars and ingratiated himself with his liege lord, the Chālukya ruler. The Hoysala chieftains thus achieved prominence and became in a way the trusted lieutenants of the Chālukya emperor on this border. Rising from this subordinate position, they created a kingdom for themselves under the Chālukya supremacy. When the Chālukya power declined, the Hoysalas stood forth as the independent successors in authority over the southern territory of the Chālukyas.

2. EARLY KINGS

Sāḷa, the first chieftain of the line and the hero of the tiger story, may perhaps be identified with Nṛipakāma, though some deny any connection between the two. The achievement of killing the tiger seems to have been a historical fact, as the later Mackenzie manuscripts definitely state that Nṛipakāma was engaged in hunting and killing the tigers of the locality and was rewarded by the payment of an annual fee of one *paṇa* for the service. This seems far more likely than the other story about the tiger and the saint; but it might as well be a rationalization of the legend. He gradually made himself headman and hero of the locality round about his village, Sosāvīr, or in Sanskrit Śaśakapura. He seems to have been a man of ability and assumed the title *Rājamalla Perumāṇ Aḍi,* which superseded his ordinary name Kāma Hoysala. His son and successor, Vinayāditya, was a feudatory of the Chālukyas under Vikramāditya VI. Vinayāditya's reign-period coincided with that of the protracted struggle between the Choḷas and the Chālukyas for the possession of the Gaṅgavāḍi province. As stated above, the Choḷas were in possession not only of Gaṅgavāḍi, but of a considerable part of Noḷambavāḍi, right up to the frontier of the Western Ghāts and Banavāsi. These had to be conquered after a severe struggle which provided the opportunity for a talented chieftain, well placed on the frontier, to achieve a position for himself. Both Vinayāditya and his son Ereyaṅga fought loyally for the Chālukyas, and the latter was known as the right-hand man of the Chālukya emperor. Some of the Hoysala inscriptions credit Vinayāditya with rule over the territory bounded by Koṅkaṇa, Āḷuvakheḍa, Bāyalnāḍu, Taḷakāḍ, and Sāvimalai. This is exactly the boundary of Gaṅgavāḍi, which we find later on under Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana. In all the campaigns of Vinayāditya, his son was associated with him

until he predeceased his father. When Vinayāditya died in A.D. 1101, his eldest grandson Ballāla I succeeded him. He shifted the capital from Sosāvīr to Belūr (or Velāpura), although Dvārasamudra (modern Halebid) was an alternative capital. He married the three daughters of a military officer in the same pavilion, as one of his grants declares. He conducted a campaign against the Changāḷvas in A.D. 1104 and, along with his brother Vishṇu, made a successful invasion of the Pāṇḍya dominion of Noḷambavāḍi. He is also said to have repulsed the Paramāra prince, Jagaddeva, as noted above.[2] The inscriptions of Ballāla's time are all dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era, which means that he regarded himself as a feudatory of the Chālukya emperor.

3. BIṬṬIGA OR VISHṆUVARDHANA

When Ballāla died some time about the year A.D. 1106, his younger brother Biṭṭiga or Biṭṭideva succeeded to the throne. This Biṭṭideva, generally known by the synonymous title Vishṇuvardhana assumed by him, is the real maker of the Hoysala kingdom, corresponding to modern Mysore. The name Biṭṭideva is the vernacular equivalent of what in Sanskrit would be Vishṇudeva; the somewhat sacerdotal title Vishṇuvardhana is thus not exactly a new name, but only the old name put in a new form. The first mention of him occurs in A.D. 1100 in association with his brother Ballāla, the last of whose records is dated A.D. 1106. It is ten years later that inscriptions speak of him and his exploits. He began by carrying on successful invasions against Noḷambavāḍi and Gaṅgavāḍi, and it is the conquest of most of these two divisions after years of war that constitutes his title to greatness. The capture of Taḷakāḍ in A.D. 1117 marks the climax of this conquest, credit for which is claimed by Biṭṭideva as well as a number of generals. The capture of Taḷakāḍ seems to have been a decisive event as after that he assumes the titles *Vīragaṅga* and *Taḷakāḍu-goṇḍa*. He toured through his dominions and advanced as far as the eastern frontier of Kolār, as a record of his mentions his having been in Bethamangalam, when his younger brother Udayāditya's daughter died. He had to carry on an expedition against Noḷambavāḍi again in which he won a victory at a place called Dumme on the border between Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts. By A.D. 1117 Vishṇuvardhana had become ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi and claimed portions of Noḷambavāḍi. He is said to have defeated successively one after the other, the various chieftains who occupied territories in the immediate neighbourhood, and built up a little kingdom for himself, the boundaries of which are given as Nangili in the east, Koṅgu, Cheram and Anamalais in the

south, Barakanūr in the west and Sāvimalai in the north. This would mean that he had already taken possession of what came to be recognised as the Hoysala kingdom later on. Nangili is the village on the eastern frontier of Kolār. The Koṅgu country is Salem and Coimbatore Districts, Cheram is the Chera country westward, and Anamalais are the hills to the south of the Pālghāt gap; Barakanūr is in S. Kanara at the end of the main road leading over the Western Ghāts from the Shimoga District into the coast region. Sāvimalai is yet unidentified, but the northern boundary at one time extended to the Kṛishṇā.

We have a record of A.D. 1121 which shows Vishṇuvardhana, resident at Dvārasamudra, his capital, making a grant to the Śiva temple, which apparently was a foundation of the Choḷas. The remarkable fact about this is that he made the grant in full *durbar* with his Jain queen Sāntaladevī and the five great ministers, who were responsible advisers, most of them, if not all, being Jains. His younger brother Udayāditya died and Vishṇuvardhana made a grant for the merit of his soul. He made the grant of a village to his Jain wife Sāntaladevī, which was converted into a Brāhmaṇa settlement with 220 houses. It is a big Brāhmaṇa village even today, and goes by the name Sāntalagrāma. In A.D. 1125 he made a grant to a Jain divine Śrī Pala. He is found in his palace at Yādavapura in A.D. 1128 and from there makes a grant to Marbalatīrtha, the Śiva temple on the Chāmuṇḍi hill. This grant exhibits his catholic attitude in religion, for he had adopted the Vaishṇava teachings of Rāmānuja and was proclaimed a Vaishṇava.

Having secured the southern frontier against the Choḷas he began to carry on wars of aggression in the north. He was in possession of Gaṅgavāḍi, and had annexed a good part of Noḷambavāḍi to his territory. This attracted the attention of emperor Vikramāditya, who directed a number of his *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* in the neighbourhood to check the advance of Vishṇuvardhana. Though Biṭṭideva's generals claim a victory against the imperialists, his advance towards the north must have been checked. His preoccupations during these years were all along the northern frontier. An inscription, dated A.D. 1131, claims for him rule over Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, the Banavāsi 12,000 and Hānuṅgal 500. This would mean the whole of the modern state of Mysore and considerable portions of the borderland outside the Mysore frontier in the north. Along with the Pāṇḍya of Uchchaṅgi and Kadamba Jayakeśi II, Biṭṭiga advanced up to the Kṛishṇā, but Vikramāditya, aided by Sinda Āchugi II, drove him back to his territory and enforced the acknowledgement of his suzerainty.

In A.D. 1131 Biṭṭiga also made a grant to the Śiva temple at Maddūr, which was otherwise called Narasiṁhachaturvedimaṅgalam, the land granted having been claimed as a gift by the Gaṅga king Śivamāra, whose copper-plate grant was exhibited in evidence. The same year his queen Sāntaladevī died, and two years later his right-hand man, general Gaṅgarāja, who captured Taḷakāḍ, also died. This Gaṅgarāja had the reputation of having restored all the Jain shrines destroyed in course of the Choḷa invasions. His son Bappa, who succeeded him as Vishṇuvardhana's commander-in-chief, built a Jain shrine at Halebid in honour of his father and got it consecrated by a Jain divine Nayakīrti. This shrine is in existence now, and is exhibited to visitors. The consecrated food from this shrine was sent to Vishṇuvardhana while he was in camp on the banks of the Kṛishṇā in course of his northern campaigns. Simultaneously messengers came bringing the happy news that his queen Lakshmīdevī had given birth to a son and heir. These messengers reached him as he was returning victorious to his camp from the battlefield. Hence he ordered his baby son to be named Vijaya Narasiṁha and the Jain shrine Vijaya Pārśvanātha.

Vishṇuvardhana's records proclaim him as a feudatory of the emperor Someśvara III. He had his capitals at Taḷakāḍ in the south and Baṅkāpura in the north, two fortified places which he occupied as occasion demanded. It was in A.D. 1137 also that he performed the great ceremony of Tulāpurusha, which may be interpreted as the symbol of his assuming royal power. The next year, however, he had to campaign again beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā. The emperor Someśvara III died in that year and was succeeded by his son. Vishṇuvardhana is described as being encamped at Baṅkāpura, victorious against his enemies, in the year A.D. 1147. He ruled probably up to A.D. 1152, possibly till A.D. 1156, but the date cannot be definitely determined.[3] Vishṇuvardhana may be regarded as the maker of the Hoysala kingdom, although he did not assume independence, which was to come half a century later under his grandson.

4. BALLĀLA II, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT KING

Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala was succeeded by his son Vijaya Narasiṁha I, who was associated in the government with his father almost from his very birth. On his death in A.D. 1173, he was succeeded by his son Ballāla II. Ballāla successfully maintained the position of precedence that Vishṇuvardhana had established in the course of his long and active reign, though he had to fight hard against the Noḷambas and the Kalachuris, two of the most active

feudatories of the Chālukya empire. His prolonged fight with the Yādavas has been discussed above in Chapter VII. After the first twenty years of his rule, marked by hard fighting, he felt confident that he could assume independence. The empire proved to be powerless to assert its authority against the Kalachuri usurpers and had to struggle for existence against the powerful feudatories, the Yādavas, who were rising into prominence. Vīra Ballāla himself was constantly engaged in fighting against the imperial feudatories, primarily the Kadambas in the south-west corner of the Banavāsi division, and it was as the result of a successful campaign against them that he felt that the empire was as good as non-existent. He, therefore, solemnly declared himself ruler of his territories in the year A.D. 1193, from which time we may date the independence of the Hoysala kingdom. He aided the Choḷa Kulottuṅga III and Rājarāja III against Sundara Pāṇḍya whom he compelled to restore the Choḷa country to its rulers (A.D. 1217). He seems to have died about A.D. 1220, and was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha, the second of the name in the dynasty.

5. NARASIṀHA II AND THE HOYSALA EMPIRE

Narasiṁha's reign began about A.D. 1220 and lasted on to A.D. 1234. From the beginning of his reign, the northern frontier of the Hoysalas was exposed to attacks by the Yādavas. Narasiṁha Hoysala had to intervene again to save the Choḷas from Pāṇḍya aggressions. Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims great achievements against the Choḷa kingdom; among others, to have burnt down the capital cities of Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr. Simultaneously Rājarāja III was very hard put to it to hold his own against his refractory vassal, the Kāḍava Kop-Peruñjiṅga, round about Cuddalore and Kāñchī. Narasiṁha II intervened in A.D. 1231, defeated Sundara Pāṇḍya at Mahendramaṅgalam on the Kāverī, and released and restored to the throne Rājarāja III who had been thrown into prison by Kop-Peruñjiṅga. In the course of these activities, it became clear that the Choḷa kingdom was in constant danger of being overwhelmed by the aggressive Pāṇḍyas, and Narasiṁha's son and successor, Someśvara (A.D. 1234-1263), felt it necessary to establish himself in the south for the protection of the Choḷa kingdom against the Pāṇḍya menace. He built for himself a capital at Kaṇṇanūr, about four to five miles from Śrīraṅgam, on the northern bank of the Coleroon, and renamed it Vikramapura. From there he was able to offer effective protection to the Choḷa against his powerful feudatories, the Śambuvarāyas of North Arcot and Kop-Peruñjiṅga of Cuddalore, not to mention the others. He had to leave the

administration of his kingdom proper to his elder son Narasiṁha III and keep with him the younger prince Rāmanātha. He had to fight against the Pāṇḍyas vigorously, and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya lays claim to several victories over him. The wars between the Pāṇḍyas and the Hoysalas became very frequent and grave till at last the Pāṇḍya ruler could boast of having driven Someśvara from his southern capital, taken possession of the Choḷa kingdom, and marched northwards unmolested. Someśvara's fight with the Yādava Kṛishṇa and consequent loss of territory have been mentioned above.

6. THE FALL OF THE HOYSALAS

When Someśvara was killed in course of one of these campaigns, about A.D. 1263, his kingdom was partitioned. The elder son Narasiṁha III took possession of the Hoysala territory proper, while the southern region was governed by his younger brother Vīra Rāmanātha from the southern capital at Kaṇṇanūr. As mentioned above Narasiṁha repulsed the Yādava invasions under Mahādeva and Rāmachandra, and held the Hoysala frontier in the north successfully against Yādava aggressions till A.D. 1291, when he died. Meanwhile Rāmanātha and his ally, the Choḷa Rājendra III, suffered defeat at the hands of Pāṇḍya Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1279. Rāmanātha, who thus lost his kingdom in the Tamil land, now started a war with Narasiṁha and occupied part of his territory which he ruled from Kundāṇi in the Bangalore District. After he died, his son had but a brief rule of a few years, and the two parts of the kingdom were united again under Ballāla III, the son of Narasiṁha. Ballāla ruled from A.D. 1291 to his death at Trichinopoly in A.D. 1342.[4] His successful aggressive campaigns against the Yādavas have been noted above. He had also to fight hard against the powerful rebellious feudatories of the empire. He ably ruled over his kingdom and protected his southern frontier against powerful Pāṇḍyan rulers, inclined to be aggressive if opportunity offered. He recovered Kiṅga, Mugadai, and Toṇḍaināḍ, and Kāñchī and Tiruvannāmalai became his subsidiary capitals. He thus maintained his kingdom successfully till about A.D. 1310 when Malik Kāfūr invaded it during the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī to which a detailed reference will be made in the next volume. The Hoysala had to pursue a policy of alternately submitting to the superior power and trying to re-establish his authority. His capital was overthrown in one of the Muhammadan invasions, and his son was sent as a prisoner to Delhi. The capital itself suffered destruction and Ballāla had to reconstruct it. When at last the Khaljī rulers

were supplanted by the Tughluqs, Ballāla had to defend himself against invasions of Muhammad Tughluq and his generals. Subsequently, when the Tughluq empire fell, a Muhammadan dynasty ruled over Madurā, with a strong garrison of Muhammadans established at Kaṇṇanūr. These were like nails driven into the coffin of the Hoysala kingdom. Vīra Ballāla, as he is called, struggled hard in order to clear South India of these Muhammadan garrisons, but after years of campaigning he lost his life in a battle against the Madurā Muhammadans at Trichinopoly, almost at the moment of victory. That is the last we hear of the Hoysala kingdom, although a son of his succeeded and ruled for a short while. The Hoysala dynasty, from the time of Vishṇuvardhana, ruled in great glory for more than a century, but came to an inglorious end at the moment of success, and it was left to another Hindu dynasty to achieve what its last ruler attempted to do, *viz.* to turn out all the Muhammadan garrisons from South India and to assure Hindu independence. This was successfully accomplished by Vijayanagara at a later date, but the way was paved for it to a great extent by the struggle of the Hoysalas, particularly the last one, Vīra Ballāla III.[5]

1. See pp. 234 ff.
2. See p. 175.
3. Rice fixed A.D. 1141 as the date of Vishṇuvardhana's death, but cf. K. A. N. Sastri's views in *PIHC,* XI. 129.
4. There is some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the dates of Hoysala kings. Cf. *The Hoysala Vaṁśa* by W. Coelho (Bombay, 1950).

   Prof. K. A. N. Sastri has suggested the following dates in his latest publication, *A History of South India* (1955), p. 215:

   1. Nṛipakāma (1022-47); 2. Vinayāditya (1047-98); 3. Ereyaṅga (1063-1100); 4. Ballāla I (1100-10); 5. Vishṇuvardhana (1110-52); 6. Narasiṁha I (1152-73); 7. Ballāla II (1173-1220); 8. Narasiṁha II (1220-38); 9. Someśvara (1233-67); 10. Narasiṁha III (1254-92); 11. Ballāla III (1291-1342).
5. Further account of Vīra Ballāla will be given in Vol. VI.

CHAPTER X

THE CHOḶAS

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

Rājarāja the Great (A.D. 985-1014)

Rājarāja I, the son of Sundara Choḷa, ascended the throne in June-July, 985. His brother Āditya II was murdered at the instance of Uttama Choḷa,[1] who had made Rājarāja heir apparent. Consequently, he was enabled before his accession to the throne to acquire extensive knowledge of public affairs during several years. His early titles were *Rājakesari Arumoḷi* and *Mummaḍi Choḷa,* the latter meaning "three times Choḷa", similar to the surnames *Immaḍi* (twice) and *Nūrmaḍi* (hundred times). The inscriptions of Rājarāja range from his second to his thirty-first regnal years. He started the practice of prefixing 'historical introductions' to his inscriptions, which was followed by his successors, and these official records of public events are thus of great help to the historian of the Choḷas. No other contemporary accounts of Rājarāja are extant.

The Tanjore inscription of the twenty-ninth regnal year of Rājarāja mentions his warlike achievements in its 'historical introduction.' "He was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, and conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles, Veṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Noḷambapāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam, Īḷamaṇḍalam (which was the country) of the Siṅgalas who possessed rough strength, the seven and a half *lakshas* of Iraṭṭapāḍi and 'twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea', deprived the Śeḷiyas of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere." The first great triumph of Rājarāja was secured early in his reign when he destroyed the Chera navy at Trivandrum. The Tamil expression *'Kāndaḷūrśālaik-Kalamaṟuttaruḷi'* means "pleased to destroy the ships in the roadstead of Kāndaḷūr (Trivandrum)". We learn from another source that Viḷiñam was destroyed before the seizure of Kāndaḷūr Śālai. Inscriptions state that Kollam or Quilon was attacked separately. The Kerala ruler during this period was Bhāskara Ravivarman (A.D. 987-1036). Rājarāja next conquered Madurā and seized Amarabhujaṅga Pāṇḍya; subsequently he turned his attention to Kuḍamalai-nāḍu or Coorg and got into possession of the stronghold of Udagai,

in order to check the power of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cheras. The expedition to Īḷamaṇḍalam or Ceylon resulted in the dislodgement of Mahendra V and the annexation of the northern part of the island. Rājarāja ruined Anurādhapura, made Polonnaruva his capital, and built there a substantial stone temple, the Śiva Devāle.

Gaṅgavāḍi, Taḍigaivāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi were political divisions of the Western Gaṅga country. Rājarāja conquered them all about A.D. 991 and they remained a part of the Choḷa empire till about A.D. 1117. The Choḷa army invaded Iraṭṭapāḍi or the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas during the reign of Satyāśraya, and ravaged it so mercilessly that children and Brāhmaṇas were massacred and women dishonoured according to a Chālukya inscription of A.D. 1007. But soon Satyāśraya succeeded in recovering his position and confining the Choḷas to the south of the Tuṅgabhadrā.

Rājarāja's interference in Eastern Chālukya affairs was the result of the distracted condition of the Veṅgī kingdom during the tenth century. As noted above[2] he helped Śaktivarman to secure the throne after the long interregnum from A.D. 973 to 999. The Choḷa emperor did so partly in order to frustrate the scheme of Satyāśraya to combine the resources of the Western and Eastern Chālukyas against the Choḷas. Putting an end to the civil war in Veṅgī, Rājarāja claimed to be its conqueror. The alliance between the powers was cemented by the marriage of Kundavā, Rājarāja's daughter, with Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011-1018), the younger brother of Śaktivarman I. Ultimately this marriage prepared the way for the union of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Choḷas.

Rājarāja's conquest of Kaliṅga must have followed his subjugation of Veṅgī, as Kaliṅga sought to aggrandize itself at the expense of its southern neighbour. Lastly, Rājarāja conquered the Maldive islands, "the 12,000 ancient islands" of the inscription. His empire included the whole of South India up to the Tuṅgabhadrā, the Maldives, and a part of Ceylon; the Andhradeśa was in feudatory alliance with him. Some of his titles reflect his achievements: *Mummaḍi Choḷa; Choḷamārtāṇḍa; Jayaṅgoṇḍa; Pāṇḍyakulāśani; Keralāntaka; Śiṅgaḷāntaka* and *Teliṅgakulakāla.*

Rājarāja was one of the greatest sovereigns of South India, a famous conqueror and empire-builder, an administrator of ability, a pious and tolerant man, a patron of art and letters and, above all, an amiable personality. He not only conquered extensively, but saw to it that the conquered territory was properly administered. He started a great land survey in A.D. 1000, strengthened the imperial administration, and encouraged local self-government throughout his dominions. In A.D. 1012 he associated in the government of

the empire his only son Rājendra who had already been active on the battlefield, and the latter's reign period was reckoned from his coronation as *yuvarāja*. This system improved the administration by placing, in future, the energies of several princes at the service of the empire. It prevented struggles for succession and familiarised the heir apparent with imperial affairs. This sort of joint rule accounts for the overlapping dates of Choḷa dynastic history. Rājarāja, who was devoted to Śiva, assumed the title of *Śivapāda-śekhara*. The great Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore, the most beautiful and perfect Tamil temple, was completed in A.D. 1010, and was maintained by the revenue of many villages scattered throughout the empire. Rājarāja's policy of religious toleration is indicated by some Buddhist sculptures in the Tanjore temple and the erection of temples for Vishṇu which enjoyed his patronage and that of his sister. He co-operated in the construction of the Chūḍāmaṇi Vihāra, a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam, by the Śailendra Emperor Māravijayottuṅga-varman (of Malay Peninsula, Java and Sumatra) in A.D. 1006 and gave away the village of Ānaimaṅgalam to the Buddha of that monastery.[3] The great and solid work of Rājarāja was the foundation upon which Rājendra built; the work of the son is the most authentic testimony to the work of the father. Rājarāja had several queens including Loka Mahādevī, the greatest of them all; one son and three daughters including Kundavā. His mother, Vānavan Mahādevī, was a Malaiyamān princess and she committed *satī* on the death of her royal husband in A.D. 973. The most respected lady of the imperial household was Śembiyan Mahādevī, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, who lived on till A.D. 1001. The Chera queen of Sundara Choḷa also lived till that date. Rājarāja had a sister also named Kundavā.

2. *Rājendra I, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Choḷa (A.D. 1012-1044)*

As noted above, Parakesari Rājendra took an active part in public affairs before his accession to the throne, and was associated with his father in the government of the empire. He ruled from A.D. 1012 to 1044, and made his son Rājādhirāja heir apparent as early as A.D. 1018. The inscriptions of Rājendra describe his wars and conquests and exhibit his greatness as a conqueror. The famous Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant (thirty-one copper-plates) of his sixth regnal year (A.D. 1017) recites his achievements, and additions were made to the account in Sanskrit about A.D. 1025 after his conquest of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram.

Another important record of Rājendra is his Tirumalai rock inscription issued in his thirteenth regnal year (A.D. 1024), which

gives a complete list of his continental conquests. "Parakesarivarman *alias* the lord Śrī Rājendra Choḷadeva, . . . seized by (his) great, warlike army (the following): Iḍaituṟaināḍu; Vanavāsi .... Koḷḷippākkai; Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam, the crown of the king of Īḷam ....; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍya) had previously deposited with that (king of Īḷam); the whole Īḷamaṇḍala..., the crown praised by many and the garland of the sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (king) of Kerala rightfully wore; many ancient islands...., the crown of pure gold ...., which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortification of Śāndimattīvu impregnable, had deposited (there) when, in anger, he bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven-and-a-half-*lakshas* of Iraṭṭapāḍi, (which was) strong by nature (and which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasiṁha, who turned his back at Muśaṅgi and hid himself; Śakkarakkoṭṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maṇḍala...., Nāmaṇaikkoṇam...., Pañchappaḷḷi...., the good Māśuṇideśa...., Indraratha of the old race of the Moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar....; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach...., the good Kosalai-nāḍu where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Takkaṇalāḍam, whose fame reached (all) directions (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅgāḷa-deśa, where the rain-water never stopped (and from which) Govindachandra fled....; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battlefield the strong Mahīpāla together with Śaṅgu....; Uttiralāḍam ...., and the Gaṅgā...."

Regarding the identification of the names mentioned above, there is no agreement among scholars in some cases. Iḍaituṟaināḍu is the Raichur Doāb; Vanavāsi is Banavāsi; Koḷḷippākkai is Kulpak, near Hyderābād; Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam is Mānyakheṭa, Mālkhed; Īḷam is Ceylon; "many ancient islands" refer to the Maldives; Śāndimattīvu is an island in the Arabian Sea famous in legend; Iraṭṭapāḍi is the Western Chālukya country; Jayasiṁha (II) is the Western Chālukya king (Jagadekamalla I) who ruled from A.D. 1015 to 1043; Muśaṅgi or Muyaṅgi is Maski in Hyderābād State; Śakkarakkoṭṭam is a place in Bastar; Madura-maṇḍala, Nāmaṇaikkoṇam and Pañchappaḷḷi may be regarded as parts of Māśuṇideśam or Bastar under the Nāgavaṁśī rulers; Ādinagar is Jājnagar in Orissa; Indraratha was probably a Somavaṁśī king; Oḍḍa-vishaya is Orissa; Kosalai-nāḍu was on the banks of the Mahānadī; Taṇḍabutti is Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapore District); Dharmapāla, Raṇaśūra and Govindachandra were

local rulers in Bengal; Mahīpāla was Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār[4] and Śaṅgu was probably his general; Takkaṇalāḍam and Uttiralāḍam were southern Rāḍhā and northern Rāḍhā which together comprised that part of Bengal which lies to the south of the Gaṅgā; and Vaṅgāḷadeśa was eastern and southern Bengal.

The Tirumalai inscription refers at the beginning to the military achievements of Rājendra as *Yuvarāja*. In A.D. 1018 Ceylon was completely conquered, followed by destruction and looting on a large scale. Rājendra redeemed Parāntaka I's failure by seizing the Pāṇḍya crown and other royal insignia in the custody of the Sinhalese ruler; he also took away the crowns of the king and queen of Ceylon. The conquered country was governed as a province, and several Śiva and Vishṇu temples were erected. In the same year he deprived the Chera ruler also of his crown. In A.D. 1018-1019 Rājendra appointed his son as viceroy of Madurā, where a palace was built, and Kerala was subsequently added to his charge. Though Jayasiṁha was defeated at Muśaṅgi (Maski) in A.D. 1021, he soon recovered the Raichur Doāb, re-established his authority up to the Tuṅgabhadrā and even penetrated into the Bellary region. Therefore the statement in the Tirumalai inscription that Rājendra conquered the whole of Iraṭṭapāḍi can only be regarded as royal rodomontade.

The next military effort of Rājendra was the expedition to Eastern India, which was entrusted to his general. Crossing the Godāvarī and passing through Bastar and Orissa, the Choḷa army reached Western Bengal, defeated two rulers, crossed the Gaṅgā, overthrew another ruler, recrossed that river, triumphed over Mahīpāla I and returned home. The victorious general received the congratulations of his sovereign on the banks of the Godāvarī. Water was brought from the Gaṅgā and poured into the *Choḷa-gaṅgam*, the large irrigation tank excavated near the new capital, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram (Uḍaiyārpāḷayam *Tāluk*, Trichinopoly District; near Chidambaram), built by Rājendra who assumed the title *'Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholа'*. The northern raid was not perhaps without some permanent results. Some scholars attribute to it the settlement of some South Indian chiefs in Bengal and Mithilā leading to the foundation of the Sena principality of Bengal and the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. Besides, we have clear evidence of the establishment of Śaivas from Northern India in the Tamil country.

The Tamil epigraphical account of the campaign of Rājendra against Kaḍāram runs as follows: "(who), having despatched many

ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅga-varman, the king of Kaḍāram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) Śrīvijaya ....; Paṇṇai....; the ancient Malaiyūr....; Māyiruḍiṅgam....; Ilaṅgāśoka....; Māppappāḷam....; Meviḷimbaṅgam; Vaḷaippandūṟu....; Talaittakkolam; Mādamāliṅgam....; Ilāmurideśam....; Māṇakkavāram....; and Kaḍāram of fierce strength which was protected by the deep sea." Śrīvijaya was a kingdom in Sumatra; Paṇṇai was on the east coast of the same island; Malaiyūr was probably between Śrīvijaya and Paṇṇai; Māyiruḍiṅgam may be located near Ligor in Malaya, to its south was Ilaṅgāśoka; Māppappāḷam was probably near the isthmus of Krā. The next two places cannot be identified. Talaittakkolam is identical with Takkola and was near the isthmus; Mādamāliṅgam was perhaps near the Bay of Bandon in Malay Peninsula; Ilāmurideśam (mod. Lamri) was in northern Sumatra; Māṇakkavāram is the Nicobar Islands; and Kaḍāram may be identified with Kedah, near Penang.[5] Thus Rājendra's oversea expedition was confined to Sumatra and Malay Peninsula.

It seems that Rājendra seized the various divisions of the kingdom of Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅga-varman and finally his capital Kaḍāram, in one and the same campaign. It is, however, difficult to guess the real object of the expedition. For the Śailendra emperor was the successor of Māra-Vijayottuṅga-varman, who had founded a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam in the twenty-first regnal year (A.D. 1006) of Rājaraja I, and Rājendra, at the commencement of his reign, had renewed his father's grant of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam to the Buddha of that monastery. We cannot say how the friendly relation between the two great powers changed into one of hostility during the decade between Rājarāja's death in A.D. 1014 and Rājendra's expedition to Kaḍāram about A.D. 1025. Probably the Choḷa emperor desired to increase the prestige that had accrued to him from his Gangetic expedition, by a naval demonstration against the Śailendra empire. It is also not unlikely that the Choḷa king was actuated by the motive of controlling the rich trade between India and the Far East. We do not also know whether his mastery over this region was only temporary and whether his conquests in Sumatra and Malay were maintained by him and his successors.

Rājendra's warlike activities did not cease after the conquest of Kaḍāram. About A.D. 1029 a struggle for independence started in Ceylon. There were also rebellions in the Pāṇḍya and Chera countries, which were put down by Rājādhirāja, the heir apparent since

A.D. 1018. The last years of Rājendra witnessed the Choḷa invasion of the Western Chālukya dominions ruled over by Someśvara I Āhavamalla (A.D. 1043-1068). Rājādhirāja won a victory at Pūṇḍi on the Kṛishṇā, sacked Kalyāṇa, and brought home the *dvārapālaka* (doorkeeper) image which is now found at Dārāśuram (Tanjore District). The Choḷa invasion was particularly ruinous and humiliating to the Western Chālukyas. Minor campaigns were conducted in some parts of Mysore, with the result that "cows were carried off and women's girdles were unloosed." The Choḷas offended seriously against the ethics of warfare even in the days of Rājarāja the Great and Rājendra the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholа.

Rājendra, the greater son of a great father, was active for about thirty-two years in extending the power and prestige which the Choḷa Empire had acquired during the previous reign. His most famous titles epitomise his greatness: *Muḍikoṇḍa, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, Kaḍāraṅgoṇḍa* and *Paṇḍita Choḷa.* The first title means that he captured the crowns of the Pāṇḍya, Kerala and Ceylonese kings; the second and third indicate his great continental and oversea achievements; the fourth receives substance and reality from an inscription at Eṇṇāyiram (South Arcot District), assignable to about A.D. 1025, which records the provision made at an important Vaishṇava centre for a Vedic College with 340 students learning the *Vedas, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā,* and *Nyāya* under fourteen teachers. Three of them taught the *Ṛigveda;* four the *Yajurveda;* two the *Sāmaveda;* and five the *Sūtras,* the *Rūpāvatāra* (a work giving the elements of grammar), *Vyākaraṇa,* the *Mīmāṁsā* of Prabhākara and *Vedānta.* Teachers and pupils received a daily allowance of paddy which was supplemented by a money payment. The highest salary was paid to the teacher of *Vyākaraṇa,* but the teacher of *Vedānta* received no money payment. This institution was maintained from the produce of forty-five *velis* of land. The educational policy of Rājendra was continued by his successors. Inscriptions mention four of his queens. His three sons, Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II, and Vīrarājendra I ascended the throne in succession, and his daughter, Ammaṅgādevī, was the queen of Rājarāja I of Veṅgī and mother of Kulottuṅga I.

3. *Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-1052) and Rājendra II (A.D. 1052-1064)*[5a]

Rājādhirāja was made joint ruler with his father as early as A.D. 1018. During his independent reign from A.D. 1044 to 1052 the Ceylonese troubles continued. Drastic steps were taken to remove them, including barbarities like the mutilation of the nose of the

Ceylonese queen-mother, and in most parts of the island Choḷa authority was maintained intact. The war with the Chālukyas, also characterised by the destruction of their cities and buildings, culminated in A.D. 1052 in the hard fought battle of Koppam,[6] in which the Chālukya king Someśvara was defeated, but the Choḷa emperor lost his life. His younger brother, Rājendra II, who had been chosen heir apparent, in supersession of the claims of Rājādhirāja's sons, crowned himself on the battlefield, where he had distinguished himself by his bravery. He advanced to Kolhāpur and erected a pillar of victory there. In spite of the frequent defeats of the Chālukyas and the serious injury done to some parts of their dominions, the Choḷas failed to reduce them to vassalage or annex permanently any portion of their territory. Rājādhirāja performed a horse sacrifice about A.D. 1044 and pursued an uninterrupted martial career for more than thirty years. An inscription of A.D. 1048 at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry, mentions a Vedic college with an endowment of seventy-two *velis* of land and with 260 students and twelve teachers, who were exempted from service on the committees of the local assembly. The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja's successors refer to him as *Ānaimeṟṟuñjina* or "who died on the elephant back."

Rājendra II (A.D. 1052-1064), the hero of Koppam, marched against Someśvara in A.D. 1062 in order to check the growth of his power and prevent his interference in the affairs of Veṅgī and defeated him as mentioned above.[7] Rājendra's eldest son, Rājamahendra, became *Yuvarāja* about A.D. 1059, but after his death his place was occupied by Vīrarājendra I. Rājendra's daughter Madhurāntakī married the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājendra who was later known as Kulottuṅga I.

4. *Vīrarājendra I (A.D. 1063-1070) and Adhirājendra (A.D. 1068-70)*

Rājendra II was succeeded by his younger brother, Vīrarājendra I (A.D. 1063-1070), who invaded the Western Chālukya empire in A.D. 1067 in response to a challenge of Someśvara to meet him at Kūḍal-Śaṅgamam again. But the latter did not turn up, and the Choḷa army returned home after erecting a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā and offering insults to the effigy of Someśvara, who was then suffering from an incurable fever which subsequently led to his suicide by drowning in the Tuṅgabhadrā. The Choḷa inscriptions say that Vīrarājendra "saw the back" of (defeated) Someśvara five times. The Choḷa emperor proceeded to Veṅgī, defeated the Western Chālukyas near Vijayawada, strengthened his hold on Veṅgī, and returned to Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, the Choḷa

capital from the days of Rājendra I. Vīrarājendra sent an expedition to Ceylon and crushed the rebellion there. He is said to have conquered Kaḍāram and placed a friendly ruler on its throne about A.D. 1069. Vīrarājendra came into conflict with Someśvara II (A.D. 1068-1076), the son of Someśvara I, and both sides claimed victory. It seems that Someśvara II and his younger brother, Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), quarrelled, and on the latter's appeal to the Choḷa emperor, the former was forced to surrender a part of his dominions to his brother, who married a Choḷa princess. Vīrarājendra assumed a number of titles like *Āhavamallakulakāla* or destroyer of the family of Āhavamalla (great in war) Someśvara I, and *Vallabhavallabha,* or lord of the Western Chālukyas who called themselves *Medinīvallabhas* or lords of the world. An inscription of A.D. 1067 mentions the provision made for a Vedic college with a hostel and hospital at Tirumukkūḍal (Chingleput District), and the medical staff consisted of two doctors, two nurses and others. There were beds for fifteen in-patients, and water scented with cardamoms and *Khas Khas* (cus cus) roots was brought from Perambalūr (Trichinopoly District).

Vīrarājendra I was succeeded by his son Adhirājendra, who ruled from A.D. 1068 to 1070 with his father, and only for a few months as a sole monarch. His unnatural death and the accession of Kulottuṅga I resulted in the extinction of the Vijayālaya line. It is not easy to explain the confusion which followed Vīrarājendra's death, the intervention of Vikramāditya VI and his return, the death of Adhirājendra in the rebellion which broke out and the part played in these affairs by Kulottuṅga I. Adhirājendra is regarded by some as the *Kṛimikaṇṭha* (diseased neck) Choḷa of Vaishṇava tradition; he seems to have been the persecutor of Rāmānuja though some scholars regard Vīrarājendra I or Kulottuṅga as the enemy of that Vaishṇava saint and philosopher.

5. *Kulottuṅga I (A.D. 1070-1120)*

Rājendra II Eastern Chālukya or Kulottuṅga Choḷa I was the great-grandson of Rājarāja I Choḷa in two ways: his mother, Ammaṅgādevī, was the daughter of Rājendra I Choḷa (son of Rājarāja I Choḷa), and his father, Rājarāja I Eastern Chālukya was the son of Kundavā (daughter of Rājarāja I Choḷa) and Vimalāditya of Veṅgī. Thus Kulottuṅga I was seventy-five per cent Choḷa by blood. The career of this Chālukya-Choḷa from the death of his father in A.D. 1060 to his own occupation of the Choḷa throne in A.D. 1070 is obscure. During this period he fought successfully with some chiefs of Bastar and even with Vikramāditya VI as prince. It is likely

that Kulottuṅga was on good terms with Vīrarājendra I and helped him in the re-establishment of Choḷa authority in the kingdom of Veṅgī in A.D. 1067 against the encroachments of the Western Chālukyas. It is probable that his accession to the Choḷa throne was regarded with satisfaction as the confusion of the previous reign necessitated the restoration of the integrity and strength of the empire, though in the light of the conflicting evidences we cannot satisfactorily account for his advent to the Choḷa throne. No doubt the internal confusion in the Choḷa empire afforded a good opportunity, but the supposition of a struggle between him and Adhirājendra, or of a prolonged fight for the throne, is untenable.

About A.D. 1073 Yaśaḥkarṇa Kalachuri raided the Veṅgī country without any appreciable results. Vijayabāhu (A.D. 1055-1110) of Ceylon took advantage of the anarchy in the Choḷa empire before the accession of Kulottuṅga, captured Polonnaruva about A.D. 1070, crowned himself king of Ceylon in A.D. 1073, and became independent of the Choḷas; Kulottuṅga made peace with him in A.D. 1088, and gave his daughter in marriage to a Sinhalese prince. The Choḷa conflict with Vikramāditya VI broke out in A.D. 1076, and in the statement of its result, the Choḷa and Chālukya records are not in agreement. Anyhow it is clear that the great emperor of Kalyāṇa persistently thwarted the plans of Kulottuṅga, especially the union of the Eastern Chālukya and the Choḷa kingdoms. After the death or ejection of Vijayāditya VII Eastern Chālukya in A.D. 1076, Kulottuṅga appointed his sons as viceroys of Veṅgī. The troubles of Kulottuṅga during his early regnal years led to the revolt of the Pāṇḍya and Chera countries, but they were reconquered. Military colonies *(nilaippaḍai)* were established in these countries to keep them under control, but in matters of internal administration they were left free. Kulottuṅga claims to have destroyed Kaḍāram, but about A.D. 1090 an embassy came from its king and at his request, Kulottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery at Negapatam. The rebellion of Veṇāḍ about A.D. 1098 was put down by Naralokavīra, a famous general of Koluttuṅga.

Kulottuṅga twice invaded Kaliṅga. His first expedition about A.D. 1096 quelled the revolt of Southern Kaliṅga, a part of the Veṅgī province. The second and more important expedition in A.D. 1110 is dealt with in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍār, the court poet of Kulottuṅga, in which both the bright and seamy sides of warfare are brought out. The expedition started from Kāñchī and was led by a reputed general of Kulottuṅga, named Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān. He was a Pallava chieftain ruling over Vaṇḍuvāñjeri (Tanjore District), or Vaṇḍalūr (Chingleput District) according to some scho-

lars. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1150) of Kaliṅganagara, the son of the Choḷa princess Rājasundarī, was defeated. We do not know exactly why the Choḷa emperor waged war with Kaliṅga; but the failure of its ruler to send in the annual tribute is mentioned in the poem of Jayaṅgoṇḍār. Anyhow the second Kaliṅga war led to no annexations.

Kulottuṅga's inscription of A.D. 1111 shows his friendly relations with the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. About A.D. 1115 the Choḷa empire was almost as extensive as in the days of its glory, except for the loss of Ceylon. But within two or three years from that date Kulottuṅga lost the Gaṅgavāḍi and Veṅgī provinces.

As noted above, Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala conquered the Choḷa provinces of Gaṅgavāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi, captured Taḷakād and assumed the title of *Taḷakāḍugoṇḍa;* he is also said to have invaded the Tamil country and raided it as far as Rāmeśvaram. An inscription states that his attempt to carry away some images from Āḍuturai (Trichinopoly District) to Halebid was frustrated. About A.D. 1118 the province of Veṅgī came under the control of Vikramāditya VI, who maintained it till his death. This was his greatest victory over Kulottuṅga with whom he had always been on terms of hostility. Thus during the last decade of his long reign, Vikramāditya realised the object, cherished from the beginning of his reign, of separating the Eastern Chālukyas and the Choḷas.

Though Ceylon was permanently and wholly lost to the Choḷa empire, Veṅgī and parts of Gaṅgavāḍi were later recovered. It was Kulottuṅga who for the first time made Veṅgī an integral part of the Choḷa empire, but he was wise enough not to make any attempt to alter the Tuṅgabhadrā frontier. He gave a fresh lease of life to his empire by conferring on his subjects the benefits of internal peace and benevolent administration. Though Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram continued to be the imperial capital, the importance of Kāñchī steadily increased. Kulottuṅga assumed the titles of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* (Emperor of Three Worlds), *Virudarājabhayaṅkara* (a terror to Virudarāja *i.e.* Vikramāditya), and *Śuṅgandavirtta* or who abolished tolls, but the character of this fiscal reform is not known. He ordered a land survey in A.D. 1086, the date of Domesday Survey of England by a strange coincidence; and another survey was made in A.D. 1110. Kulottuṅga's queens were Madhurāntakī who died about A.D. 1100, Tyāgavalli and others. Seven sons and a daughter of his are known. Among the sons, Choḍagaṅga, Mummaḍi Choḷa, Vīra Choḍa, and Vikrama Choḷa were viceroys of Veṅgī under their father; his daughter married a Ceylonese prince.

6. *Vikrama Choḷa (A.D. 1118-1135) and Kulottuṅga II (A.D. 1133-1150)*

Kulottuṅga I was succeeded by his son Vikrama Choḷa who became sole ruler in A.D. 1120. He seized the opportunity afforded by the death of Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1126 to restore the Choḷa power in the Veṅgī kingdom, and also recovered Kolār and some other parts of Gaṅgavāḍi. About A.D. 1125 North and South Arcot Districts suffered from floods and famine. The year A.D. 1128 is memorable for the king's handsome donations to the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram which had been favoured by the Choḷa emperors since the days of Parāntaka I and which had become particularly important in consequence of the change of the capital from Tanjore to Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, not far from Chidambaram. Vikrama Choḷa toured frequently, and was living in his palace at Chidambaram in A.D. 1130. His surnames, *Tyāgasamudra* and *Akaḷaṅka*, suggest his liberality and moral purity. An inscription of A.D. 1121 refers to a Medical School at Tiruvāḍuturai (Tanjore District) teaching the *Saṁhitā* of Charaka and the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya Saṁhitā* of the younger Vāgbhaṭa.

Vikrama Choḷa was succeeded by his son Kulottuṅga II (A.D. 1133-1150), who became independent ruler after his father's death in A.D. 1135. He continued his predecessor's benefactions to the Chidambaram temple. He, however, exhibited religious intolerance by throwing the image of Govindarāja into the sea, though the antiquity of the Vaishṇava shrine is proved by Māṇikkavāchakar's reference to it. Kulottuṅga II has been identified by some scholars with the *Kṛimikaṇṭha Choḷa* of Vaishṇava literature, the Choḷa whose neck was diseased, or infected with germs, because of his impiety.[8] His reign is an epoch in literary history; he and his feudatories patronised Oṭṭakkūttan, Śekkiḷār and Kamban.

7. *Rājarāja II (A.D. 1146-1173) and Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1163-1179)*

During the reign of Kulottuṅga II's son, Rājarāja II, a civil war broke out about A.D. 1169 between Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya, and the latter seized Madurā and killed his opponent along with some members of his family. The help sought for by Parākrama Pāṇḍya from Parākramabāhu the Great, king of Ceylon, came too late. Laṅkāpura, the Sinhalese general, conducted a destructive campaign in the Pāṇḍya country necessitating Choḷa intervention on behalf of Kulaśekhara, won a victory over him, and put Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, in possession of the country. But soon Kulaśekhara was reinstated by the Choḷas, who invaded

Ceylon. Parākramabāhu changed his policy suddenly and allied himself with Kulaśekhara, who in consequence turned against the Choḷas. Therefore they also changed their policy and enthroned Vīra Pāṇḍya. This protracted warfare continued beyond the reign of Rājarāja II till about A.D. 1177. Thus, a century after the accession of Kulottuṅga I, the growth of trouble from the feudatories reached its climax and revealed the central weakness of the Choḷa empire. Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1163-1179), the successor of Rājarāja II and another grandson of Vikrama Choḷa, brought the Pāṇḍya Civil War to a close.

8. *Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216)*

Kulottuṅga III was chosen by Rājādhirāja II to be his successor but the relation between the two is not known. Though the help of Rājādhirāja secured the throne for Vīra Pāṇḍya, the latter intrigued with Ceylon and turned against the Choḷas. Probably about A.D. 1182, he was dethroned by Kulottuṅga who enthroned Vikrama Pāṇḍya, perhaps related to Kulaśekhara Pāṇḍya. About A.D. 1189 Vīra Pāṇḍya again created trouble with the aid of the Kerala king, sustained defeat at the hands of Kulottuṅga, and took refuge in Quilon. Ceylon joined in the fray as usual, and while Kulottuṅga claims a victory over her, Niḥśaṅkamalla, the Sinhalese ruler, is said to have invaded the Pāṇḍya country thrice, and appears to have seized Rāmeśvaram. Between A.D. 1190 and 1194 the Choḷa authority was asserted in the Koṅgudeśa. The relations of Kulottuṅga with his Telugu-Choḍa feudatories, who occupied the region between the North Arcot and Nellore Districts, were generally good, but about A.D. 1196 he recovered Kāñchī from them after their occupation of it for some time. About A.D. 1205 the third Pāṇḍya expedition was sent against Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, probably the son of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who was defeated but reinstated. Kulottuṅga, however, ravaged the country and destroyed the coronation-hall at Madurā. He despatched an expedition to the Andhradeśa about A.D. 1208. Towards the close of his reign Kulottuṅga reaped the fruit of his harsh Pāṇḍyan policy; he was overpowered by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (brother of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara) who could not however exploit his victory fully because of the Hoysala intervention on behalf of the Choḷas.

Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram remained the capital of the Choḷa empire. Kulottuṅga gave much attention to Pāṇḍya affairs and was largely successful except at the end of his reign. He assumed the title of *Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiyanmuḍittalaiyam Koṇḍaruḷiya* "who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya." He exercised firm control over the Telugu-Choḍas. Famine conditions

prevailed in A.D. 1201 and 1202 and relief works were started by private agency, according to an inscription at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (North Arcot District). An inscription of A.D. 1213 mentions an institution for the study of *Vyākaraṇa* at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras. Kulottuṅga was active in building temples and improving them and the finest work of his reign is the temple at Tribhuvanam (Tanjore District), with striking *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. Though he maintained his empire and its administrative system intact, his difficulties bring into relief the dangers that threatened his position. His personal qualities were responsible for the continuance of the empire under him, and he may be regarded as the last great Choḷa. Many feudatory chieftains rose to power, such as Telugu-Choḍas, Bāṇas, Śambuvarāyas, Kāḍavas, Malaiyamāns, Adigamāns and others, and this impaired the strength of the central authority. At last, the imperialism of the Pāṇḍyas ruined the Choḷa empire in the thirteenth century.

9. Rājarāja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and Rājendra III (A.D. 1246-79)

The relationship of Rājarāja III to his predecessor or successor is not definitely known, and his inscriptions refer to Kulottuṅga III as *Periyadevar* or the great king. Perhaps he was the son of Kulottuṅga, and father of Rājendra III. Rājarāja was confronted with a difficult political situation, consequent on the rise of the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas, the Kāḍavas, the Telugu-Choḍas, and the Kākatīyas, and his incompetence and folly aggravated his difficulties. He brought about a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas by violating the treaty with them. They inflicted a sanguinary defeat on him and seized his capital. A contemporary historical romance, the *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* of Kalakaḷabha, refers to the flight of Rājarāja, his capture after a battle by the Kāḍavarāya, Kop-Peruñjiṅga, and the Hoysala intervention in his favour.

One of the queens of Hoysala Ballāla II (A.D. 1173-1220) was a Choḷa princess. His son, Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1220-1234), provoked by the audacity of Kop-Peruñjiṅga, who had imprisoned Rājarāja at Śendamaṅgalam (South Arcot District) and ruined the Choḷa country and its temples, left his capital Dvārasamudra and pitched his camp at Pāchchūr, near Śrīraṅgam. After directing his generals against Kop-Peruñjiṅga, Narasiṁha, who had captured Śrīraṅgam and Kāñchī, marched as far as Rāmeśvaram where he is said to have erected a pillar of victory. The Tiruvendipuram (South Arcot District) inscription of Rājarāja III, dated A.D. 1231-2, narrates the story of Kop-Peruñjiṅga's revolt, of his imprisoning the king, of the march of the Hoysala generals, Appaṇṇa and Samudra Goppayya, to Śendamaṅgalam, of their liberation of the royal prisoner, and the death

of a Ceylonese prince who had befriended the Kāḍava. Narasiṁha became famous as the *Choḷarājyapratishṭhāpanāchārya,* or the founder of the Choḷa kingdom. After the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysala king entered into matrimonial relations with them. Thus Rājarāja became dependent on the Hoysalas. The administration of the Choḷa country deteriorated, and the feudatories freed themselves from imperial control. Though the Hoysalas saved the Choḷa power from extinction for the time being by their intervention, they consolidated their position in the Choḷa country and attempted with success to play the role of arbitrators in the affairs of the Tamils. Narasiṁha's son Someśvara (A.D. 1234-1263) established his position at Kaṇṇanūr, near Trichinopoly, about A.D. 1239 and played a part in the affairs of the declining Choḷa empire.

Rājendra III (A.D. 1246-1279), more capable and energetic than Rājarāja III, attempted to increase his power and prestige with the help of the Telugu-Choḍas. It is probable that he triumphed over Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, and the Hoysalas then inclined towards the Pāṇḍyas against the Choḷas. But the accession of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, the greatest of his line, changed Someśvara's hostile attitude towards Rājendra into one of friendship and co-operation. About A.D. 1250 Kāñchī was occupied by Gaṇapati Kākatīya. Taking advantage of this state of affairs Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya executed a grand military march which almost revolutionized the political condition of South India. Someśvara was defeated and slain in battle. The Choḷas were subdued; Kop-Peruñjiṅga was converted into a subordinate Pāṇḍya ally; the Telugu-Choḍas were vanquished; the Kākatīyas were expelled from Kāñchī; and Nellore was seized. Rājendra's political position was consequently that of a Pāṇḍyan feudatory from about A.D. 1258 to 1279. Thus the mighty royal power founded by Rājarāja and Rājendra came to an ignoble end. Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram continued as the capital down to the last days of the Choḷa empire.

10. Kop-Peruñjiṅga

The career of Kop-Peruñjiṅga or Mahārājasiṁha (A.D. 1229-1278) of Śendamaṅgalam best illustrates the decline of the Choḷa empire. He started as a loyal feudatory of Rājarāja, but defeated him about A.D. 1231 at Teḷḷāṟu, near Wandiwash, and imprisoned him at Śendamaṅgalam. After the intervention of Hoysala Narasiṁha II Kop-Peruñjiṅga again became a Choḷa feudatory. But in A.D. 1243 he assumed titles indicative of his independent status. Kop-Peruñjiṅga defeated the Hoysalas in A.D. 1252-3 at Perambalūr (Trichinopoly District), seized their ladies and expiated his guilt by gifts to the temple at

Vṛiddhāchalam. But Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya besieged Śendamaṅgalam, reduced him to vassalage in A.D. 1255, and secured his co-operation in his own northern campaigns.

The inscriptions of Kop-Peruñjiṅga are largely found in the South Arcot, North Arcot, and Chingleput Districts and to a lesser extent, in the Tanjore, Kurnool and Godāvarī Districts. He claims to have conquered the Choḷas, the Hoysalas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Kākatīyas. From his stronghold at Śendamaṅgalam he controlled Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vṛiddhāchalam and Kāñchī. He was devoted to God Naṭarāja at Chidambaram and built the eastern *Gopura* of the temple there. His titles are not only political, military and religious but also literary. There is some truth underlying the titles *Pāṇḍyamaṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra, Sahodara-sundara, Karṇāṭalakshmī-luṇṭāka, Kāṭhaka-kula-tilaka,* and *Peṇṇāna-dīnātha.* There is ample justification for his titles of *Sarvajña Khaḍgamalla, Vāḷbalaperumāḷ* and *Kanakasabhāpati-sabhā-sarvakārya-sarvakāla-nirvāhaka.* But whether his literary titles like *Kavisārvabhauma* and *Sāhitya-ratnākara* are well founded is more than one can say, though the title *Bharata-malla* may be justified by the sculptures of dance-poses he caused to be engraved on the eastern gateway of the Chidambaram temple; he shows self-restraint in describing himself as *Kāverī-kāmuka.* He claims to be a Kāḍuveṭṭi or Pallava by descent. His character and achievements before and after A.D. 1243 exhibit a remarkable inner unity. During an age of stress and storm, he established his power and prestige and his forceful personality and unbounded energy made his name and family famous in the triangular political contest among the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysalas, and the Kākatīyas for control of the fast declining Choḷa empire.

II POLITICAL ORGANISATION

1. *Central Government*

The extent and resources of the Choḷa empire increased the power and prestige of its sovereigns. The pomp of kingship was augmented not only by the great capitals like Tanjore, Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, Muḍikoṇḍan[9] and Kāñchī, the large imperial household and imposing state banquets, and the magnificent *dānas* or donations made in lieu of the *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices of old, but also by the giving of royal names to idols and the installation and worship of the images of kings and queens in temples. The system of hereditary succession to the throne was occasionally modified by the ruling king's choice as *Yuvarāja* of a younger prince in preference to his seniors. The princes were associated with the

ruling sovereigns and actively employed in war and peace. The absolutism of monarchy was tempered both by a ministerial council and by an organised administrative staff, the heads of departments being in close contact with the king, and often consulted by him. Royal tours contributed to the efficiency of the administration and the officers were paid by land assignments, and honoured and encouraged by titles. The higher officials enjoyed the status of *perundaram,* and the lower ones *śiṟutaram.* Administrative activities, as well as military and trade movements, were facilitated by *peruvaḷis* or trunk roads. There was brisk commercial intercourse with China, Sumatra, and Java in the east, and Arabia and other countries around the Persian Gulf in the west. Some merchant guilds were gigantic international organisations. Industries were in a flourishing condition, particularly jewellery and metal work, weaving, and manufacture of salt. Public revenue was derived mainly from land and collected in kind, or in cash, or in both, by village assemblies. Land was possessed by individuals and communities. There were peasant proprietorship and other forms of land tenure. Agricultural prosperity was ensured by the special attention given to irrigation by government as well as local authorities. The proper utilisation of the water of Kāverī and other rivers was supplemented by great tanks. Village assemblies were to perform the functions of maintaining tanks in good condition and of reclaiming forest and waste lands. The state's demand of land revenue seems to have been one-third of the gross produce in the time of Rājarāja I. This proportion was fixed after an elaborate land survey and we have already mentioned the surveys ordered by that emperor and by Kulottuṅga I. There were periodical revisions of the classifications of land and of the assessment of land revenue. The other items of public income were customs and tolls, taxes on various kinds of profession, mines, forests, saltpans, etc. The numerous taxes, though uneconomical from the modern point of view, were intended to supplement the land revenue with its fluctuations due to remissions in hard times. There were occasional famines, general or local; the visitation of A.D. 1152 evidently belonged to the former category. Unpaid labour was frequently employed. Though there is evidence of the sympathetic administration of the tax system—Kulottuṅga I earned fame by abolishing tolls—some cases of oppression are on record. Further, the rise into power of the feudal chiefs must have increased the tax burdens of the people. Failure to pay the land revenue involved the sale of the land in question, not excluding temple lands. The chief items of public expenditure were: the king and his court,

army and navy, civil administrative staff, roads, and irrigation tanks and channels besides temples and religious endowments.

The army consisted of elephants, cavalry and infantry—*mūnṟukai-mahāsenai* or the great army with three limbs. As many as seventy regiments, named after royal titles, are mentioned in inscriptions. They possessed a corporate organisation, participated in civic life, and made grants to temples. Attention was given to their training and discipline, and cantonments *(kaḍagam* or *paḍaivīḍu)* existed. There were recruits from Kerala in the army. The strength of the elephant corps was 60,000 and that of the whole army, about 150,000. It was composed chiefly of Kaikkoḷas (lit. men with strong arms) or Śeṅgundar (lit. spear-wielders). The Veḷaikkāras were the body-guard of the monarch, sworn to defend him with their lives and often ready to immolate themselves on his funeral pyre. Very costly Arabian horses were imported in large numbers in order to strengthen the cavalry, but most of them were short-lived in South India. Kings and princes led armies, and Rājāditya and Rājādhirāja I died on the battlefields of Takkolam and Koppam. Commanders enjoyed the rank of Nāyaka, Senāpati, or Mahādaṇḍanāyaka; they were Veḷḷāḷas, Brāhmaṇas and others. Wars sometimes started with cattle-lifting. Titles like *Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi* were conferred upon men with a distinguished record. The terrible character of Choḷa warfare was exhibited in the invasions of Iraṭṭapāḍi, Pāṇḍyamaṇḍalam and Ceylon. Much injury was done to the civil population, women not excepted, and mutilations like nose-slitting are on record. When we speak of the glories of temples and of the luxuries of kings and chieftains, we cannot forget that they obtained enormous spoils of war by the infliction of unspeakable miseries on their neighbours. Even the sanctity of ambassadors was sometimes violated.

The naval achievement of the Choḷas reached its climax during the reign of Rājarāja the Great and his successor. Not only were the Coromandel and Malabar coasts controlled by them, but the Bay of Bengal became a Choḷa lake. But we cannot form any idea of the technique of their naval warfare or of other details related to the navy. Some think that merchant vessels were employed in transporting the army and that Choḷa naval fights were land battles fought on the decks of ships.

The empire of Rājarāja the Great was divided into about eight *maṇḍalams* or provinces, and the latter, into *vaḷanāḍus* and *nāḍus*. The next administration sub-divisions were *kūṟṟams* or *koṭṭams* each consisting of a number of autonomous villages playing a vital and conspicuous part in the administration. We have seen that princes were in charge of the provinces of Veṅgī and Madurā.

2. *Local Self-Government: the Mahāsabhā and the Vāriyam*

Though there was corporate activity in economic and religious life and in territorial divisions like *nāḍus* and *nagarams* (towns), it was the village assemblies that exhibited the greatest and the most comprehensive group activity. The village and town assemblies were primary assemblies while those of *nāḍus* were representative institutions. Of the two kinds of assemblies called the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā* or *Mahāsabhā* which were gatherings of the adult male members of the local community, the former was of the general type and the latter was the assembly of the *agrahāra* or Brāhmaṇa settlement, and it is this type that looms large in Choḷa inscriptions.

Inscriptions referring to the *Mahāsabhā* or describing its activities are largely found in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and Choḷamaṇḍalam. The assemblies are found concentrated in certain regions, the major concentration being around Kāñchī and a minor one encircling Madras.

The two Uttaramerūr records of Parāntaka I of A.D. 919 and 921 contain the resolutions passed by the local *Mahāsabhā* on the constitution of *vāriyams* or Executive Committees, the second resolution improving on and superseding the first. According to the regulations of A.D. 921, each of the thirty wards of the village was to nominate for selection persons possessing the following qualifications:—Ownership of more than 1/4 *veli* (about an acre and a half) of land; residence in a house built on one's own site; age between thirty-five and seventy; the knowledge of the Vedic *mantra-brāhmaṇas;* in the alternative one-eighth *veli* of land and knowledge of one *Veda* and a *Bhāshya.* The following among others were excluded:—those who had been on any of the committees for the past three years; those who had been on the committee but had failed to submit the accounts, together with all their specified relations; those who had committed incest or other great sins as well as their relations (specified); those who had stolen the property of others; etc.

From among the persons duly nominated, one was to be chosen for each of the thirty *Kuḍumbus* or wards by *Kuḍavolai* (lit. pot-ticket) or lot for a year in the manner prescribed. Of the thirty so selected twelve, who were advanced in age and learning and had served on the garden and tank committees, were assigned to the *saṁvatsara-vāriyam* or annual committee; twelve to the *toṭṭavāriyam* or garden committee; and six to the *erivāriyam* or tank committee. Two other committees were similarly selected—the *pañchavāra-vāriyam* (a standing committee) and the *pon-vāriyam* (gold committee). The lot system was worked on the following lines: Names

of eligible persons were written on palm-leaf tickets which were put into a pot and shuffled, and a young boy was directed to take out as many tickets as there were members to be chosen. Inscriptions in other places than Uttaramerūr mention additional committees for justice, wards, and fields, the *udāsīna* committee and so on. The term *udāsīna* has been interpreted as ascetics, but it is better to take it as referring to strangers or foreigners. The number of committees and of members varied from village to village, and no payment was made for their services. The members of the committee were called *Vāriyapperumakkal;* the *Mahāsabhā* was called *Peruṅguṛi* and its members, *perumakkaḷ*. Ordinarily the assembly met in the village temple and occasionally under a tree or on the bank of a tank. There are no references to voting or to a quorum. General questions were discussed in the assembly and resolutions *(vyavasthai)* were passed and recorded.

Membership of the Committee required very high qualifications, regarding age, property, learning, capacity for committee work, and moral purity not only of one's self but also of one's relations; and no membership of any of the Committees was permitted until three years had elapsed from the period of last service on a Committee. Such a personnel rendering honorary service would have been available only in prosperous, enlightened and virtuous villages. To run the *Mahāsabhā* successfully, a village should have men, honest and true, learned and capable, self-supporting and experienced. The lot system would produce the best results only under such conditions. Otherwise it may give a chance to anybody irrespective of his qualifications; without the principle of rotation in office, it may do injustice to competent candidates. Uttaramerūr avoided the pitfalls of the *Kuḍavolai* system and it was the model for other *sabhās* in the Choḷa empire.

3. *Functions of the Mahāsabhā; Fiscal, Judicial and Ministrant*

The extent of village autonomy may be gauged from the functions performed by assemblies. The *Mahāsabhā* possessed proprietary rights over communal lands and controlled the private lands within its jurisdiction. It did everything preliminary to conveyance of property, which required the sanction of the central authority. The *Mahāsabhā* was concerned with the reclamation of forest and waste lands. It co-operated with royal officials in estimating the produce of cultivated land and assessing the land revenue due from the village. It collected that revenue and in cases of default had the power to sell the land in question by public auction. Disputes about land and irrigation rights were settled by it and in special cases assemblies from the neighbourhood were requested to co-

operate with it in reaching a decision. General surveys were undertaken by the Central Government, but the approval of the *Mahāsabhā* was necessary for any change in the classification of land within its sphere. It had powers of taxation for purposes connected with the village, and of remission of such taxation for specific reasons. Instead of paying land revenue every year, a landowner might pay a fixed sum to the assembly and compound all his future dues to the local and central authorities, the assembly regularly paying all such dues thereafter in perpetuity. Such arrangements were made in the case of lands set apart for charitable purposes.

The Committees looked after the village administration with the assistance of paid officials, who detected crime. The judicial committee, *Nyāyattār,* of the assembly settled disputes, pronounced on the innocence or guilt of the accused, and awarded punishments. The establishment of the guilt by a popular committee is the basis of the remark that the jury system prevailed under the Choḷas. Inscriptions reveal that various forms of homicide were distinguished and capital punishment was not inflicted in all cases. When death was caused by accident as in hunting, the guilty man was required to endow a perpetual lamp to be lighted in the village temple for religious merit of the deceased. Even in some cases of murder, the extreme penalty of the law was not meted out. The Choḷa administration of justice may thus be regarded as unduly lenient. The Uttaramerūr inscriptions discussed above emphasise the gravity of such offences as incest, adultery, theft, and forgery, and hint that "riding on an ass" was a punishment for some serious crimes.

The *Mahāsabhā* performed other functions like the maintenance of roads and irrigation works including tanks (the major public works being executed by the Central Government as their construction was beyond the resources of local bodies), supervision of endowments (religious, medical and eleemosynary) by the *dharmavāriyam,* and provision for learning, etc. from its own limited resources. Thus the Central Government concerned itself with external defence, the maintenance of internal peace and order, the promotion of the general prosperity and cultural progress of the empire, and left the village assemblies largely to themselves, exercising a general control and interfering in their affairs only in cases of conflict or other exceptional situations. Unions of villages might be effected with the approval of the Central Government. The administration of villages was well organised on popular lines, conducive to the progress and prosperity of their inhabitants, and it was such villages exhibiting corporate activity which, though in a state of decline, early in the nineteenth century, formed the "little republics" that extorted the admiration of famous Anglo-Indian administrators.

1. *Contra* Pandarathar, *Piṛkālach-Choḷar-Charittiram,* (in Tamil), Pt. I (Annamalainagar, 1949), pp. 76-78.
2. See Vol. IV, p. 139.
3. Cf. *Suvarṇadvīpa,* by R. C. Majumdar, Part I, p. 168, and also *infra,* Ch. XXI.
4. See above, pp. 24-26.
5. For these identifications and the Choḷa conquest of this region, cf. *Suvarṇadvīpa* by R. C. Majumdar, Part I, pp. 167 ff, who holds that "the Choḷa emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire, at least for nearly a century."

5a. The dates of these and some subsequent kings are given somewhat differently by different writers. Thus K. A. N. Sastri gives the following dates in his second edition of the *'Coḷas'* (published in 1955) which differ from those given above:

Rājādhirāja I (A.D. 1018-1054).
Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1063-1069).
Kulottuṅga III (ruled upto A.D. 1217-18).

In *'A History of South India'*, also published in 1955, K. A. N. Sastri gives A.D. 1016 as the date of Rājarāja's death (p. 200) instead of A.D. 1014, as given in the text above, and also in his *'Coḷas'* (p. 183).

6. See above, pp. 169-170.
7. See above, p. 170.
8. But cf. above, p. 242.
9. Mudikoṇḍa-Choḷapuram; known as Paḷaiyārai (near Kumbhakonam) and Nandipuram before the eleventh century (Pandarathar, *op. cit.,* 82).

CHAPTER XI

THE LATER PĀṆḌYAS

1. INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

The first empire of the Pāṇḍyas was ruined by their defeats at Teḷḷāṟu, Arichit, and Śrīpuṟambiyam, and Rājasiṁha II was overthrown by Parāntaka I about A.D. 920. But the battle of Takkolam revived their importance and Rājarāja I found them to be very powerful. He reconquered them and Rājendra I seized the Pāṇḍya crown from Ceylon, appointed one of his sons as the Choḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy and constructed a great palace at Madurā. But his successors were troubled by Pāṇḍya princes in alliance with Ceylon. The anarchy during Adhirājendra's reign gave scope for their intransigence which was put down with a strong hand by Kulottuṅga I, who changed the system of administration by Choḷa princes and established military colonies on the highways of the Pāṇḍya country without, however, attempting to control its internal affairs. The further marks of Pāṇḍyan subordination were the Choḷa names given to places and the payment of tribute. The inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyas increase and those of the Choḷas diminish in number during the period of Kulottuṅga and his successors. The steady growth of Pāṇḍya power was however paralysed by a civil war, which lasted from A.D. 1169 till about A.D. 1177. This gave the Choḷas another chance of asserting their power in the southern kingdom. We have sketched above[1] the three Pāṇḍya campaigns of Kulottuṅga III about A.D. 1182, 1189 and 1205. In the last of these campaigns, he overpowered Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1190-1216) who was a great ruler and the harbinger of his country's independence. His inscriptions are found in the Madurā, Rāmnād and Tinnevelly Districts, and Travancore was subordinate to him. He seems to have assumed the title of *Rājagambhīra.*

2. MĀṚAVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA

Māṟavarman Sundara (A.D. 1216-1238), probably the brother of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara, inaugurated the second empire of the Pāṇḍyas which lasted right through the thirteenth century. An inscription of his third regnal year describes him as *Śoṇāḍuvaḷangiyaruḷiya,* "who was pleased to effect the rendition of the Choḷa country." Quite at the beginning of his reign he invaded the kingdom of Kulottuṅga III, burnt Uṟaiyūr and Tanjore, drove the Choḷa king into the wilderness, and marched as far as Puliyūr or Chidambaram.

Hoysala intervention prevented Sundara Pāṇḍya's reaping the full benefits of his victory, and he had to give back the conquered territory to the vanquished enemy who accepted the position of a vassal. Kulottuṅga died soon after his reinstatement. Māṟavarman's later inscription states that "the Choḷa (Rājarāja III) no longer considered it the proper course to owe allegiance to the Pāṇḍya who had bestowed the crown on him on a former occasion. He began once more to feel that his security lay in his own fertile country and declined to do the usual honour to the commands (of the Pāṇḍya), refused to pay the usual tribute, and instead despatched a large army". Rājarāja's violation of the peace proved disastrous to his kingdom, and again Hoysala intervention was necessary for repairing the effects of his stupidity. Māṟavarman defeated the Choḷa, and occupied large parts of his territory. Rājarāja was seized and imprisoned by his vassal, Kop-Peruñjiṅga, and the Hoysalas interfered, released the prisoner, defeated the Pāṇḍyas, invaded their country and obliged them to acquiesce in the restoration of the Choḷa emperor. Thus both the victories of Māṟavarman against the Choḷas were rendered nugatory. But he ruled over a powerful kingdom. Besides his own country his dominions included parts of the Trichinopoly District and Pudukkoṭṭai, and he assumed titles indicative of his seizure and rendition of the Choḷa country. He was succeeded by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1238-1251), whose weakness was taken advantage of by Rājendra III. The inscriptions of the latter describe him as " an expert in cutting off the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya", "who plundered the Pāṇḍya country", etc. It is probable that his overlordship was acknowledged by Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

3. JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA PĀṆḌYA I

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (c. A.D. 1251-1268) was the greatest king of his line. His grand imperial career started with the defeat of the Chera king, Udayamārtāṇḍa. Jaṭāvarman overcame the Hoysalas at Kaṇṇanūr near Trichinopoly, caused their withdrawal from the Kāverī region, reduced the Choḷa to subordination, proceeded against Śendamaṅgalam (the capital of Kop-Peruñjiṅga), rejected the Kāḍava's offer of tribute, defeated him and seized his territory, but subsequently reinstated him as a subordinate ally. Between A.D. 1254 and 1256 Northern Ceylon was reduced to vassalage. Thus, during the first six years of his reign, Jaṭāvarman conquered the Chera, Hoysala, Choḷa, Kāḍava and Sinhalese powers, and his authority extended from Travancore to the South Arcot District. Subsequently, he marched against Gaṇḍagopāla the Telugu-Choḍa chief, defeated and killed him, captured Kāñchī, overcame

Gaṇapati Kākatīya, and reached Nellore, where he celebrated his victories by a *Vīrābhisheka.* We are in the dark regarding the exact order of Jaṭāvarman's conquests. He annexed the Koṅgudeśa, and in another conflict with the Hoysalas killed their king Someśvara in the neighbourhood of Śrīraṅgam in A.D. 1262.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's imperialism was thorough-going, and the Choḷa kingdom was incorporated in the Pāṇḍya Empire; in the language of his inscription the Ponni (Kāveri) land (the Choḷa country) became the Kanni land (the Pāṇḍya country). The whole region from Ceylon to Nellore and Cuddapah, excluding Mysore, was under his imperial control. He assumed many imposing titles: *Samastajagadādhāra* or support of the whole world; *Emmaṇḍalamum Koṇḍaruḷiya* or who was pleased to take every country; *Hemāchchhādanarāja* or the king who covered (the temple) with gold; *Mahārājādhirāja-śrīparameśvara; Marakata-pṛithvī-bhṛit* or the emerald king; *Kāñchīpuramkoṇḍān; Ellāndalaiyānān* or supreme over all. His conquests made him exceedingly rich and he largely endowed the Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam temples. His numerous gifts to the latter temple, amounting to eighteen lakhs of gold pieces, are enumerated in his Śrīraṅgam inscription. He provided the Chidambaram and Śrīraṅgam temples with golden roofs and built a golden hall in the Chidambaram temple. He crowned himself at Nellore and Śrīraṅgam and performed many *tulābhāras* at these two places. His records emphasise his warlike qualities, his liberality, his love of pomp and display, and above all, his profound appreciation of the extent of his empire and of the credit accruing to him therefrom. His Śrīraṅgam inscription begins by recording the death of "the moon of the Karṇāṭa family" (Someśvara Hoysala), and mentions the overthrow of the king of Kāṭhaka (Kop-Peruñjiṅga) besides specifying the king's various gifts to god Raṅganātha. Further, his superiority as "the Sun among kings" is emphasised by the frequent use of the phrase *Rājatapana* and its numerous synonyms.

The chronology of the later Pāṇḍyas is characterised by overlapping dates. Thus we find Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1253-1275) ruling along with Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Marco Polo refers to the "five Royal Brothers," and the reference is supported by Chinese evidence. The Muslim historian, Wassaf, mentions the king's three brothers who were independent rulers. Hence arose the theory of the joint rule of five Pāṇḍya brothers. But overlapping dates occur in Choḷa and Sinhalese chronology as well, and are explained with reference to the position of the *Yuvarājas.* Inscriptions do not exhibit the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as divided into five separate parts. Moreover the rule of five brothers is hardly ever

feasible. Therefore it is generally held that the later Pāṇḍyan monarchy was a single monarchy, of which the unity was by no means impaired by the presence of 'sub-kings.' Most of the achievements, with which Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya is credited in his records found in the Madurā, Rāmnād and Tinnevelly districts and in Pudukkoṭṭai, are those of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I himself. Therefore the former must have played a prominent part in the affairs of the realm during the reign of Sundara.

4. MĀṚAVARMAN KULAŚEKHARA PĀṆḌYA

During the reign of the last great Pāṇḍya Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara (c. A.D. 1268-1310), the following four princes co-operated with him in the administration of the empire: Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II, and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III, who came to power in A.D. 1276, 1283, 1296 and 1303 respectively — the two last being sons of Kulaśekhara. The emperor assumed the titles: "the conqueror of all countries," "who had no equal," and "captor of Kollom" (Quilon). His inscriptions say that he conquered Keraḷa, Koṅgu, Choḷamaṇḍalam, Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and Ceylon. He inflicted final defeat on Rājendra III Choḷa and Hoysala Rāmanātha in A.D. 1279, and annexed their territories. About A.D. 1284, his general, Ārya Chakravartī, invaded Ceylon and returned home with the Tooth Relic of Buddha during the interregnum in Ceylonese history from A.D. 1283 to 1302. Parākramabāhu III (A.D. 1302-1310) submitted to Kulaśekhara and recovered the Tooth Relic by peaceful negotiation during a visit to Madurā.

The greatness of Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara is vouched for by Marco Polo and Muslim historians like Wassaf. Marco Polo, who visited the Pāṇḍya country about A.D. 1293, observes: "The great province of Ma'bar (the coast of South India from Quilon to Nellore) ....is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies....the finest and noblest in the world. At this end of the province reigns one of those five royal brothers, who is crowned king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Davar (Sundara Pāṇḍya Devar). In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls.... Cail (Kāyal at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī) is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar (Śekhar?) the eldest of five brother kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf) and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale.... There is a great business done in this city.... The king possesses vast treasures and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and ex-

tends great favour to merchants and foreigners so that they are very glad to visit his city." The Venetian traveller's account of social life refers to the king's 500 wives, the nakedness of the people and absence of tailors, the prevalence of *satī*, the belief in omens and astrology, and the dancing girls attached to temples. Marco Polo draws pointed attention to the speedy death of most of the imported horses, owing to mismanagement and absence of farriers, and to the consequent colossal financial loss. He also notes the poor fighting equipment of the warriors who are described as "most wretched soldiers."

The remarks of Wassaf are very valuable. "The curiosities of Chin (China) and Machin (Canton) and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships....sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum (Turkey) and Europe are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind....Kales Dewar (Kulaśekhara Devar), the ruler of Ma'bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1200 crores of gold (dinars) deposited.... Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds more than is in the power of language to express." Muslim historians inform us further that some Arab merchants occupied a high place in the councils of the Pāṇḍyas. Abdur Rahman is described as Prime Minister in charge of the customs to which office his son and grandson succeeded.

Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara had two sons, the legitimate Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and the illegitimate Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya. The association of Vīra Pāṇḍya in the government as early as A.D. 1296 and choice of him as heir apparent caused Sundara Pāṇḍya to usurp the throne after murdering his father in A.D. 1310. Expelled from Madurā by Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya appealed for help to 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī or Malik Kāfūr. Vīra Pāṇḍya aided Vīra Ballāla III Hoysala (A.D. 1291-1342) against Kāfūr. Malik Kāfūr who would probably have invaded Ma'bar in any case, as a part of the imperial policy of the Khaljīs even if there had been no Pāṇḍya war of succession, or any other cause of complaint, led an expedition against the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The sequel of this invasion will be described in the next volume.

1. See p. 246.

CHAPTER XII

CEYLON

The story of the liberation of Ceylon by Vijayabāhu I Śrīsaṅghabodhi (*c.* A.D. 1055-1110) from the Choḷa yoke about A.D. 1070 has been narrated in the previous volume.[1] The period of about a century and a half after Vijayabāhu's success against the Choḷas is regarded by historians as the Polonnaruva age of Ceylonese history. Vijayabāhu changed the name of the city from Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) to Vijayarājapura. An important feature of the history of this period is the rivalry between the Pāṇḍya and Kaliṅga factions at the Ceylonese court.

Vijayabāhu I invested his next younger brother Vīrabāhu with the dignity of *Uparāja,* and made over to him the province of Dakshiṇa-deśa. On his youngest brother Jayabāhu he conferred the dignity of an *Ādipāda,* and bestowed on him the province of Rohaṇa. Līlāvatī, daughter of king Jagatīpāla (*c.* A.D. 1042-46) who was a former ruler of Ceylon, escaped from the Choḷa country and came back to the island. She was consecrated by Vijayabāhu I as his *Mahishī* (Queen). The king's daughter from Līlāvatī was married to Vīravarman who was made viceroy of the province of Merukandara. The king also brought to the island princess Trilokasundarī of the royal family of Kaliṅga and consecrated her as his *Mahishī.* Trilokasundarī must have been related to the contemporary Imperial Gaṅga monarch Rājarāja I (A.D. 1070-78) of Kaliṅganagara.[2] She gave birth to Vikramabāhu and several daughters. Her kinsmen Madhukārṇava (Madhukāmārṇava?), Bhīmarāja and Balātkāra came from the Kaliṅga capital Siṁhapura and settled in Laṅkā on receipt of befitting maintenances from the king. Trilokasundarī's daughter Ratnāvalī, married to Mānābharaṇa, gave birth to Parākramabāhu who became the ruler of the island in the latter half of the twelfth century. A sister of the Kaliṅga princes settled in Laṅkā, named Sundarī, and queen Līlāvatī's daughter's daughter bearing her name, were given in marriage to prince Vikramabāhu. Two of Vijayabāhu's daughters from Trilokasundarī were married to his younger brothers Vīrabāhu and Jayabāhu. On the death of Vīrabāhu the king made Jayabāhu the *Uparāja* and Vikramabāhu an *Ādipāda,* conferring on the latter the viceroyalty of Rohaṇa. King Vijayabāhu gave his sister Mitrā in marriage to a prince of the Pāṇḍya royal house of South India.

Vijayabāhu built many Buddhist monasteries, repaired a number of tanks and *vihāras,* and invited and settled in his kingdom numerous monks from Rāmaṇya (Ramaññadeśa, Lower Burma). He tried to maintain diplomatic relations with the Karṇāṭa (Western Chālukya) and Choḷa kings. In the 30th year of his reign (*c.* A.D. 1085) the king declared war against the Choḷas; but the Tamil mercenaries settled in Ceylon and known as the Velakkāras were unwilling to fight with their kinsmen across the sea and rebelled. Vijayabāhu succeeded in subduing the revolt. In the 45th year (*c.* A.D. 1100), the king was preparing for defence against a Choḷa attack; but the Choḷas did not appear. The king ruled for 55 years (50 or 80 years according to some traditions).

On Vijayabāhu's death in *c.* A.D. 1110 his sister Mitrā with her Pāṇḍya husband's help raised Jayabāhu to the throne at Polonnaruva and her own son Mānābharaṇa to the dignity of *Yuvarāja,* although prince Vikramabāhu of the Kaliṅga faction was entitled to this latter position. This led to a struggle between North and South Laṅkā. Vikramabāhu (II), who was the viceroy in the South, conquered Rājarāshṭra and made Polonnaruva his headquarters; but he lost the South to his enemies. He, however, did not crown himself as king. Vikramabāhu had also to fight with an invader called Vīradeva, who is described as the lord of Āryadeśa and the sovereign of Palandvīpa and was apparently an Indian adventurer. Vīradeva is stated to have occupied Rājarāshṭra for a time, but to have been soon afterwards killed. There was also constant fight between the partisans of the North and the South.

On the death of Jayabāhu, *Mahādipāda (Yuvarāja)* Mānābharaṇa, also styled Vīrabāhu, considered himself his successor. He soon died, leaving his young son Parākramabāhu. His brothers Kīrtiśrīmegha and Śrīvallabha now led the partisans of the South.

Vikramabāhu II (*c.* A.D. 1116-37) died after a rule of 21 years (28 years according to some traditions) and was succeeded by his son Gajabāhu (*c.* A.D. 1137-53) at Polonnaruva. In the South, Kīrtiśrīmegha died and Parākramabāhu succeeded him in his dominions. Parākramabāhu assumed the title *Mahādipāda* with an eye to the succession to the throne of Polonnaruva after Gajabāhu's death. He organised a huge army and, as a first step, conquered the mountainous district called Malaya. A protracted war then ensued between Gajabāhu and Parākramabāhu, in which the former was ultimately captured along with the princes Choḍagaṅga and Vikrāntabāhu. About this time, prince Mānābharaṇa, the son of Parākramabāhu's uncle Śrīvallabha from queen Sugalā, rose against Parākramabāhu, occupied Polonnaruva, and got Gajabāhu in his

power. But his army was soon overpowered by Parākramabāhu's forces that reconquered Polonnaruva. Gajabāhu succeeded in taking shelter at Koshṭhasāra (probably near Kantalai) and Mānābharaṇa repaired to Rohaṇa with the sacred relics of the Buddha. Gajabāhu then made Gaṅgātaṭāka (Giritala, about 7 miles west-north-west of Polonnaruva) his residence. He died after having reigned in all for twenty-two years according to one tradition, although it is difficult to be definite on the point. Before Gajabāhu's death there was a tripartite civil war disturbing the peace of the whole island. But essentially it was part of a long struggle between the North and the South. Parākramabāhu was for a time compelled to take shelter at Vikramapura, not far from the city of Polonnaruva. But he succeeded ultimately in recovering the city and Mānābharaṇa fled to Rohaṇa where he died.

Parākramabāhu I (c. A.D. 1153-86), surnamed Arirājaveśyābhujaṅga, ruled for thirty-three years (thirty-two years according to one tradition). As we have seen, his grandmother Trilokasundarī, queen of Vijayabāhu I, was a princess of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga. He married Rūpavatī born in the family of king Kīrtiśrīmegha. Parākramabāhu was a powerful king and a great builder. He was learned in the science of medicine and founded many hospitals and other charitable institutions. The city of Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) and old Anurādhapura, destroyed by the Choḷas, were rebuilt by him. He laid out many gardens and built numerous religious edifices. He reorganised civil and military administrations, and his irrigation works led to the prosperity of his dominions. He also reorganised the Buddhist Church. But he oppressed the subjects with heavy taxation.

Parākramabāhu I suppressed a rebellion of the Sinhalese and Kerala (Malayali) mercenaries of Koshṭhasāra (a military garrison not far to the east of Polonnaruva) who combined themselves with the Dravidian military corporation known in Sinhalese history as the Velakkāras.

Queen Sugalā, wife of Śrīvallabha and mother of Mānābharaṇa, was ruling independently over the province of Rohaṇa from Uddhanadvāra (probably Galabada near Monaragala). She was in the possession of the sacred relics (Buddha's tooth and alms-bowl) which were a source of great income and prestige. An expedition was sent by Parākramabāhu against Rohaṇa, which was conquered, and the sacred relics were secured for the king of Ceylon. But the king's authority could not be firmly established in Rohaṇa and another rebellion in the region had to be suppressed in his 8th regnal

year. Among the generals who conducted the expeditions in Rohaṇa was a Damila (Tamil) named Raksha.

There were formerly friendly relations between Ceylon and Rāmaṇya (Lower Burma). The Burmese contemporary of Parākramabāhu I, however, ill-treated the Ceylonese envoys. He raised the prices of elephants and refused to sell them to Ceylon. He also did away with the old custom of presenting an elephant to the vessel carrying the Ceylonese king's presents to him, and on one occasion seized a princess sent by the Ceylonese king to the king of Kambuja (Cambodia). These incidents provoked Parākramabāhu I to order a Damila (Tamil) general named Āditya to organise a naval expedition against Arimardanapura (Pagan, the Burmese capital). Ships were built for five months and were equipped with rice and other food-stuff, armours and many hundred thousands of sharp-pointed *Gokarṇaka* arrows of iron for defence against elephants, different kinds of medicines in cow-horns for wounds caused by poisoned arrows and for treating diseases caused by poisoned water, iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads, skilful physicians and nurses, etc. It is said that some of these ships succeeded in landing Ceylonese soldiers in Rāmaṇya, and that they defeated the Rāmaṇyas, killed their king, and established Ceylonese supremacy in that country. The Rāmaṇyas are stated consequently to have agreed to pay tribute in elephants. Although the story greatly exaggerates the amount of Ceylonese success against the Burmese, an inscription[3] of Parākramabāhu I actually refers to the king's resolve to send an expedition against Bhuvanāditya, the king of Aramaṇa (Rāmaṇya), in the twelfth year of his reign.

When Madurā, capital of the Pāṇḍya king Parākrama, was beseiged by his rival Kulaśekhara (c. A.D. 1167-71) backed by the Choḷas, Parākrama Pāṇḍya appealed to the Ceylonese monarch for help. Parākramabāhu I agreed to help the Pāṇḍya king who had, however, been defeated and killed before the Ceylonese army landed in the Rāmeśvara region under the generals Laṅkāpura and Jagadvijaya (called Jagattraya in Choḷa records). The chronicles speak of successful engagements of the Ceylonese forces against the lieutenants of Kulaśekhara, and of the installation of Vīra Pāṇḍya, son of the deceased Parākrama Pāṇḍya, on the throne of Madurā by the Ceylonese generals. But the story is abruptly closed and available evidence shows that it is not a faithful account of the whole campaign. The Choḷa records admit the initial success of the Ceylonese forces and refer to Laṅkāpura's return to the island some time before A.D. 1167-68, the date of the Arpakkam grant, as brought about by divine aid.[4] This apparently points to the first phase of

the war. But the Pallavarayanpettai inscription[5] of the eighth regnal year (A.D. 1170-71) of the Choḷa king Rājādhirāja II (A.D. 1163-79) says that Laṅkāpura was defeated and killed, that his head was nailed to the gate of Madurā, and that Kulaśekhara was reinstalled in the Pāṇḍya capital. This was the second phase of the struggle. The third phase of the war is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription[6] of the 12th regnal year (A.D. 1174-75) of the same king. This record tells us how Kulaśekhara later allied himself with the king of Ceylon and how the Choḷa king deposed him and replaced Vīra Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne. It also refers to the help the Choḷa king rendered to Śrīvallabha, nephew of the Ceylonese king, in his struggle against Parākramabāhu I. The next phase of the war is indicated by the records of the Choḷa king Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216), which refer to the expulsion of Vīra Pāṇḍya and the Ceylonese soldiers being driven into the sea by the forces of the Choḷa king.[7] Vīra Pāṇḍya had been won over by the Ceylonese king and the Choḷa monarch was now supporting Vikrama Pāṇḍya, as stated above.[8]

The next ruler was Vijayabāhu II who ruled for one year about A.D. 1186-87. He was the son of a sister of the previous king who had been apparently married to a prince of the Gaṅga house of Kaliṅga. According to a Polonnaruva inscription,[9] Vijayabāhu II was staying at Siṁhapura, capital of Kaliṅga, when Parākramabāhu summoned him to Laṅkā. Vijayabāhu II, who was a great scholar, is stated to have contracted a friendly treaty with the king of Arimardanapura (Pagan, Burma).

Mahendra VI of the Kaliṅga clan then killed the king. But Kīrtiniḥśaṅka or Niḥśaṅkamalla, who was born in Kaliṅga and was the *Uparāja* of Vijayabāhu II, killed Mahendra VI after five days and became king. He ruled for nine years (*c.* A.D. 1187-96). The inscriptions[10] of Niḥśaṅkamalla state that he was born at Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga as the son of king Jayagopa and queen Pārvatī, and that he was summoned by the king of Laṅkā to take over the administration. This Jayagopa seems to have been a scion of the Gaṅga royal family and the ruler of a district under the contemporary Imperial Gaṅga monarch.

Niḥśaṅkamalla built many temples, excavated a number of tanks, and made numerous gardens. He set up mile-stones at every *gavyuti* on the main roads. The king regularly visited the sacred places on the island. In his inscriptions[11] he claims to have fought successfully with the Choḷas, Pāṇḍyas and other peoples of South India, although the real nature of the claim cannot be determined. He also claims to have built the Niḥśaṅkeśvara temple at Rāmeśvara

on the Indian coast and to have had diplomatic relations with distant lands like Rājputāna and Cambodia.[12]

On Niḥśaṅkamalla's death, his son Vīrabāhu II seems to have been murdered after a rule of one night. The next king was Niḥśaṅkamalla's younger brother Vikramabāhu III (or II) who ruled for three months. He was killed by Choḍagaṅga (c. A.D. 1196-97) who was a sister's son of Niḥśaṅkamalla. The name of the new ruler shows that he claimed relations with the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of Kaliṅganagara. After a rule of nine months Choḍagaṅga was deposed by the general Kīrti who raised Līlāvatī (c. A.D. 1197-1200), the first *Mahishī* of king Parākramabāhu I, to the throne.

After a period of three years, Sāhasamalla of the Ikshvāku clan, who was really a step-brother of Niḥśaṅkamalla, ascended the throne on the 23rd August, A.D. 1200.[13] He was deposed after a rule of two years (c. A.D. 1200-1202) by the general Āyushmat who raised Kalyāṇavatī, the first *Mahishī* of Niḥśaṅkamalla, to the throne. Kalyāṇavatī (c. A.D. 1202-08) ruled for six years (six months according to a tradition).

Thereafter general Āyushmat raised to the throne a boy of three months, named Dharmāśoka. After a rule of one year, the young king was killed together with his general by *Mahādipāda* Anīkaṅga (Aniyaṅka), who was the father of Dharmāśoka and came from the Choḷa kingdom with a great army. But Anīkaṅga was himself killed after a rule of seventeen days by a general named Vikrāntachamūnakra who reinstalled on the throne queen Līlāvatī, the first *Mahishī* of Parākramabāhu I, and conducted the administration for one year (c. A.D. 1209-1210). Then Lokeśvara (c. A.D. 1210-11) came from South India with a large Damila (Tamil) army, subdued the whole of Laṅkā and ruled for nine months (five months according to some traditions) at Polonnaruva. After this a general named Parākrama raised queen Līlāvatī again to the throne. The queen ruled for seven months (four months according to one tradition) after which Parākrama Pāṇḍya came from the Pāṇḍya kingdom with a Pāṇḍya army, deposed the queen, and ruled for three years (c. A.D. 1211-14). It is difficult to determine whether he was a member of the Pāṇḍya branch of the Ceylonese royal family or a scion of the Pāṇḍya dynasty of Madurā. Parākrama Pāṇḍya was deposed by Māgha (or Magha) who came from Kaliṅga with 24,000 soldiers including a large number of Kerala (Malayali) mercenaries. Māgha (c. A.D. 1214-35) then ascended the throne and ruled for twenty-one years (nineteen years according to one tradition). He

as stated to have oppressed the Buddhists of the island and destroyed many Buddhist monasteries.

The Polonnaruva period of Ceylonese history ends with Māgha. The later kings mostly ruled from places like Dambādeniya (Kurunegala District), Gampola, etc. But Polonnaruva did not completely lose its importance all at once. Parākramabāhu II (c. A.D. 1236-71) temporarily occupied the city, and Vijayabāhu IV (c. A.D. 1271-73) and Parākramabāhu III (c. A.D. 1302-10) ruled from there. But none of the later rulers enjoyed supremacy over the whole island. The Tamils were in occupation of wide areas since the days of Māgha. The Pāṇḍya kings of Madurā invaded the island several times and, for nearly two decades about the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Pāṇḍyas were the dominant power in the island. Parākramabāhu III acknowledged the supremacy of the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1268-1310). The Tamils founded the kingdom of Jaffna which for some time owed allegiance to the emperors of Vijayanagara. The Rājput mercenaries appear also to have exercised some influence, and Bhuvanaikabāhu I is stated to have succeeded in gaining the throne about A.D. 1273 with their help. About the middle of the thirteenth century the island was invaded by a Javanese of Tāmraliṅga, named Chandrabhānu, with a mixed host of Pāṇḍyas, Choḷas and Javanese. The Ceylonese king Vīra Alakeśvara or Vijayabāhu VI is known to have been captured by the leader of a Chinese embassy and carried off to China in A.D. 1411. All this shows a period of gradual decline which ultimately led to the Portuguese occupation of the island.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1 The Polonnaruva Period (Special Issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, 1954-55), ed. by S. D. Saparamadu.

2 *Art and Architecture of Ceylon* by S. Paranavitana, 1954.

1. Vol. IV, p. 173.
2. Ch. 59 of the *Chūlavaṁsa* refers to Vijayabāhu's marriage with the Kaliṅga princess Trilokasundarī and the settlement of the three Kaliṅga princes of Siṁhapura, capital of Kaliṅga, in his kingdom. In this connection Geiger (*Chūlavaṁsa*, Eng. trans., Part I, p. 213, note 1) observes: "Sīhapura (Siṁhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs.* 6.35) was founded in Lāḷa (Rāḍha) by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north of the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Trilokasundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs.* 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutia Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum." It has, however, to be noticed that in the age of Vijayabāhu I (really from about the end of the sixth at least to the end of the twelfth century A.D.), the name Kaliṅga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who styled themselves as *Kaliṅg-ādhipati*. Siṁhapura (mod. Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the Kaliṅg-ādhipatis in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was no longer the capital of Kaliṅga, but may have been the residence of some scions of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍhā and

Kaliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any known period of Indian history. Siṁhapura in Rāḍhā (probably modern Singur in the Hooghly District) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of the same name, identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. The representation of Siṁhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the *Mahāvaṁsa* tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century, while the *Chūlavaṁsa* appears merely to have continued the same tradition, although the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅganagara.

3. H. C. P. Bell, *Report on the Kegalla District*, A.S.C., 1892, pp. 73 ff.
4. Sewell, *HISI*, p. 116; *JRAS*, 1939, p. 519.
5. *El*, XXI. 184.
6. *Ibid.*, XXII. 86.
7. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
8. P. 246. Cf. *SII*, III. 206 ff., 217-18; *ARSIE*, 1908, para. 64; *EI*, XXII. 88.
9. *EZ*, II. 179 ff.
10. Cf. *EZ*, II. 98 ff.
11. See Geiger, *Chūlavaṁsa, trans.*, Part II, p. 128, n. 6.
12. *EZ*, I. No. 9; II, No. 17; H. W. Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 63; G. C. Mendis, *The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 65.
13. *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 327, 331.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

I. POLITICAL THEORY

During the period under review political speculation was continued in the Smṛiti commentaries as well as in independent works on Nītiśāstra. Examples of the former are the justly famous commentaries of Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka on Yājñavalkya and of Kullūka on Manu, while those of the latter are the *Laghv-Arhannīti-śāstra* of Hemachandra and the well-known *Śukranītisāra* attributed to Śukrāchārya, the preceptor of the demons. A link between the two is presented by the *Rājadharma* sections of voluminous Smṛiti Digests like the Rājadharmakāṇḍa of Lakshmīdhara's *Kṛitya-kalpataru.*[1]

Beginning with the Smṛiti commentaries, we have to observe that Vijñāneśvara agrees with the liberal view of Medhātithi on the vexed question of connotation of the term 'king'. He writes[2]:— "Though this aggregate of kingly duties has been laid down with reference to the king, this duty should be understood to apply to one of another caste also who is engaged in the task of protecting the province, the district, and so forth". Justifying this view by a textual argument the author first quotes the separate use of the generic term *nṛipa* (king) in *Manu-smṛiti.*[3] The second and the more important argument is based upon the old Smṛiti conception of the relation of protection to taxation. Levying taxes, we are told, has protection for its object, and protection in its turn depends upon the infliction of punishment *(daṇḍa).* In other words the wide connotation of the term 'king' so as to make it applicable irrespectively of caste or status is justified by the fact that taxation imposes upon the ruler the obligation of protection. Aparārka in his commentary on the same verse of Yājñavalkya justifies a similar interpretation of the term *rājan* (king) by a general as well as a particular argument. All these duties *(dharma),* he says, have been prescribed for a Kshatriya ruler of the kingdom. When, however, a non-Kshatriya does this work, he should perform the whole set of these duties. This view is supported in general terms by the maxim *(nyāya)* that from the performance of a particular occupation follows the acquisition of its corresponding obligation

(dharma). More particularly we are told that the protection of subjects is involved in the acceptance of taxes. Everyone who contributes wealth, it is explained, expects a benefit accruing to himself, while paying taxes has no other object than self-preservation and therefore one who takes the taxes is bound to protect the people. In other words taxation and protection are the two sides of a bargain between the ruler and his subjects. Thence follows the corollary that kingship is independent of Kshatriya-birth.[4]

Of the other Smṛiti writers belonging to this period reference may be made to Gopāla who wrote a Digest called the *Kāmadhenu.* According to Gopāla the king is one who has been consecrated, since the protection of subjects depends upon performance of the king's consecration, and knowledge of kingly duties cannot be acquired without it. In another passage, however, Gopāla declares that the coronation rites mentioned in the works on *rājanīti* are merely illustrative, and that the king may be proclaimed simply by being seated on the throne according to the particular usages of countries and families. We may mention, finally, that Gopāla repeats Śrīkara's view about the claim of the indigent and other classes to the king's wealth and about the evil of rule of the 'Many'.[5]

Lakshmīdhara's ideas of the origin and nature of kingship as well as of the mutual relations between the ruler and his subjects are based on the old Smṛiti texts of Manu and Nārada. He believes in the dogma of the king's divine origin as well as the principle of the people's absolute obligation of honouring him and obeying his command. He also holds with Manu that the penal authority of the king (or the State) is the grand security of the social and the political order. The author also quotes[6] a number of Smṛiti passages inculcating, often by means of moral and spiritual sanctions, the king's obligation of protecting his subjects. On the other hand it is significant that he is completely silent about the texts justifying the subjects in resisting their evil ruler. In Hemachandra's *Laghv-Arhannīti* we have an interesting theory of the origin of *rājanīti,*[7] which ascribes its creation to the mythical prophet-king Ṛishabha. This is evidently due to the Jain author's attempt to mark the science as of Jain origin.[8]

The *Śukranītisāra,*[9] which announces itself as a summary of the archetypal *nītiśāstra* work of the god Brahmā from the pen of the sage Bhārgava (Śukrāchārya), is distinguished from early mediaeval compilations of a similar nature by the freshness and originality of its outlook upon some important political ideas. As regards the scope of the science, Śukra[10] introduces his work with the statement that it has been prepared for the benefit of kings and others. In accordance with this wider conception of the science, we find that

Śukra devotes a separate chapter[11] of his work to the subject of general *(sādhāraṇa) nītiśāstra* applicable to all and sundry. Thus Politics (or more properly the art of government) in Śukra's system is not (as in Kāmandaka) an independent branch of knowledge for instruction of kings in statecraft, but is merged in a science of general morals. As the interests of the rulers form the core of this science, *nītiśāstra* is primarily the science (or art) of good administration. But since it fulfils a more general purpose than the interest of the king, its use must extend over a wider field. This is explained by the author[12] by means of an estimate of the relative values of *nītiśāstra* and the parallel sciences. Other sciences, we read, enlighten the people on only one aspect of their activities, but *nītiśāstra* is the source of subsistence of all classes and it maintains the established usages of men.

The ideas of kingship in the *Śukranītisāra* are largely based upon the thought of the older writers, but they present some points of remarkable, if not original, interest. Śukra is a great believer in the doctrine of *karma,* for he says[13] that *karma* alone is the cause of good and evil conditions on this earth. Elsewhere[14] we are told that men are directed towards virtue and vice by means of desires assuming such forms as would help the fulfilment of deeds done in a previous birth, and that most certainly everything happens in accordance with such deeds. This doctrine is applied by Śukra to explain the basis of the king's authority over his subjects. The king, we are told,[15] acquires his prowess and becomes a protector and director and the source of delight through his austerities, and he sustains the earth by his deeds done in a previous birth as well as his austerities. This repeats an idea of Nārada, namely, that the king's authority is derived from his own *karma.* The same doctrine is repeated in other passages. In I.71-72 the author, while boldly altering (as it appears) a well-known text of Manu, observes that the king becomes a lord of the movable and immovable beings through his own austerities *(tapas),* taking (for that purpose) the eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of the lord of Wealth (Kubera). Lordship, we are told in another place,[16] is the reward of austerities, while servitude is the penalty for sin. Elsewhere[17] we read that lordship which is superior in every way to the mastery of riches is the fruit of no little austerities. With the above idea of the basis of the king's authority in his own *karma,* Śukra combines the old conception of Manu and Bhīshma in the *Mahābhārata* about parallelism of the king's functions with those of the Regents of the Quarters. In I.73-76 he shows how the various administrative functions of the king correspond to the respective attributes of the gods Indra, Wind, the

Sun, Yama, Fire, Varuṇa, the Moon and Kubera. In another verse[18] he declares the king's attributes to comprise those of the father, the mother, the preceptor, the brother and the friend as well as the gods Kubera and Yama, in other words the best human and divine attributes. Śukra likewise supports by some fresh arguments[19] the notion of *Manu-smṛiti* and the *Mahābhārata* about the influence of the king upon the time-spirit ("Zeit-geist"). According to him, the king stamps himself upon his Age through his enforcement of the customs and duties of the people by the arm of his political authority. With this conception may be compared the *Mahābhārata* idea[20] that the king is a maker of the Age-cycle through the degree of his performance as well as non-performance of *daṇḍanīti.*

As regards the idea of mutual relations of the ruler and his subjects, Śukra in the first place repeats Kāmandaka's verses relating to the fundamental importance of kingship under proper conditions for the fulfilment of the people's needs. In his view the security and prosperity of the people and in short their complete life depend upon the intellectual and moral quality of their ruler. This leads the author to discuss the question of mutual dependence of the ruler and his people. The people, he says,[21] do not observe their duties without protection by the king, but the king does not flourish without the people. Elsewhere the author employs a bold mythological simile to the effect that the people like the Queen of Indra must never be without a lord.[22] It is in the light of this conception that we have to understand the author's references to the obligations of subjects towards their ruler. Describing the behaviour of the people visiting the king the author says[23] that they should salute the king as if he were an incarnation of Vishṇu. More specifically he observes[24] that they should not divulge the king's secrets, nor even think of injuring or slaying him. In another place[25] in the course of his description of the people's obligations, he enjoins them to honour the king along with the gods, the ascetics, the preceptor, the fire and learned men.

Śukra asserts with equal emphasis the king's obligations which include protection of the people and chastisement of the wicked. The author supports the king's obligation with the usual moral and spiritual sanctions. Thus he includes[26] in a category of three persons whom the gods kill and cast down, the king who fails in his duty of protection. In an earlier passage[27] the author enjoins the king by the promise of rewards and the threat of penalties to enforce the observance of their specified duties by the subjects.

The climax of this principle of the king's obligation is reached in a striking passage[28] applying the dogma of the king's divine

creation to the old Smṛiti conception of the co-ordination between taxation and protection. The king, we read, having the aspect of a master was ordained by Brahmā for the service *(dāsyatva)* of the people with his own share of the produce as his fee *(bhṛiti)* for the purpose of their consistent protection.

Besides insisting with the older thinkers upon the king's obligation of protection, Śukra follows them in making righteousness the rule of the king's conduct. It is in this connection that Śukra draws, practically for the first time among our ancient thinkers, a sharp contrast between two contrary types of rulers, namely, the divine and the demoniac. The king who is righteous, we read,[29] is a portion of the gods, while his reverse, who destroys righteousness and oppresses the people, is a portion of the demons. With this may be compared another passage[30] where a king endowed with various good qualities is declared to be a portion of the gods, while his opposite is held to be a portion of the demons and destined for residence in hell. In another passage[31] Śukra applies the philosophical doctrine of the three qualities of substances to kings. There are, he says, three types of austerities, namely, those marked by Goodness *(sāttvika)*, Darkness *(tāmasa)* and Passion *(rājasa)*, and the king assumes his distinctive character according as he practises very much one or other of them. In the following lines Śukra, after defining the three types of rulers, declares that the *sāttvika* king assimilates the particles of the gods, the *tāmasa* type those of the demons and the *rājasa* type those of men.

We may conclude this brief survey of Śukra's political thought with some reference to his attitude towards the old Smṛiti idea of the rights of the subjects with reference to their rulers. Brāhmaṇas, he says in one place,[32] incur no sin by destroying very wicked Kshatriyas even by fighting them with weapons: even so when Kshatriyas are oppressed by lowly folk, Brāhmaṇas should quickly destroy them in battle. This passage repeats an important principle inculcated by Bhīshma in the *Mahābhārata*,[33] namely that of the Brāhmaṇa's right of armed resistance against very oppressive Kshatriyas and against lowly oppressors of Kshatriyas. As regards the rights of the people in general with respect to their ruler, Śukra in one place,[34] it is true, counsels resignation to the will of a bad king as to the unnatural acts of parents and the inscrutable ways of Providence. A bolder line is taken up in other passages. The people are asked to leave the land ruled by an unrighteous king and constantly to frighten him by going over to his virtuous and very powerful enemy.[35] In another passage[36] the author concedes to the people's representatives the right of deposing the bad ruler. "If

the king, although high born", we read, "becomes averse to good qualities, policy and strength, and is unrighteous, he should be repudiated as the destroyer of the kingdom. In his place the *Purohita* should install a virtuous prince of his family for protection of the subjects after obtaining the approval of the latter."

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION NORTH INDIA

The decline and fall of the Imperial Pratīhāras of Kanauj paved the way for the rise of new powers in different parts of North India. Such were the Kalachuris of Chedi, the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti, the Paramāras of Mālwā, and the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt. The administrative organisation of these and other contemporary dynasties was, as might be expected, of the same general type, but there were some important differences.

1. *The Kalachuris*

The Kalachuris of Chedi assumed the usual imperial titles. The most famous kings of this dynasty, namely, Karṇa, Yaśaḥkarṇa, and Jayasiṁha of the Tripurī line added to these titles the epithets of *aśvapati, gajapati, narapati,* and *rājatrayādhipati* (king of horses, king of elephants, king of men, lord of the three grades of kings).[37] Next in importance to the king was the Crown Prince (*mahārāja-putra)* who is often mentioned in the legal formula of the Kalachuri land-grants. The Kalachuri records, both of the Tripurī and the Ratanpur lines, speak of officers bearing the titles of *mantripradhāna* (or *pradhānāmātya* or *amātyamukhya*) (chief minister) and also of a *dharmakarmādhikārī* (minister in charge of religious endowments).[38] We can judge the high status of the *amātyamukhyas* from the fact that Kokalla II is said to have been raised to the throne by them.[39] The list of dignitaries occurring in the formula of land-grants of these kings included the *mahāmātya,* the *dharmapradhāna,* the *daśamūlika,* the *sāndhivigrahika,* the *pratīhāra,* the *dushṭasādhya,* the *akshapaṭalika,* the *pramattavāra,* the *aśvasādhanika,* and the *bhāṇḍāgārika.*[40] In the above, *mahāmātya* and *dharmapradhāna* correspond respectively to *pradhānāmātya* and *dharmakarmādhikārī* mentioned above, while *sāndhivigrahika, akshapaṭalika* and *bhāṇḍāgārika* are old familiar offices. The *dushṭasādhya* may perhaps be equated with the *dauḥsādhasādhanika* of the Pāla records. The other titles are new and difficult to explain. The later records of the Kalachuris[41] substitute (or add) high imperial titles of the type known to the Gupta period. Such are *mahāsāndhivigrahika, mahāpratīhāra, mahākshapaṭalika, mahāśvasādhanika,*

mahābhāṇḍāgārika, mahāpramātā, and *mahādhyaksha.* As regards the branch of local administration we find that the donated village is located in one record[42] in a group of 12. This reminds us of the system of chiefs' estates in the Rājput clan-monarchies, for 12 is an exact fraction of the standard size (84) of such estates. The reference to *paṭṭakila* (identified with the modern *Patel*) in another record[43] points to the continuation of the traditional type of village administration under a headman.

2. *The Chandellas*

The Chandellas of Jejākabhukti used the conventional imperial titles. A record of the beginning of the thirteenth century[44] mentions among their officers of State a *mantrī* (minister) bearing the titles of *mahāmahattaka* and *māṇḍalika,* a *sāndhivigrahika* (minister of foreign affairs), a *koṭṭapāla* (city prefect) and a *śreshṭhī* (banker) who was also the writer of deeds. The last three formed a Board of *pañchakula* as well as the *dharmādhikaraṇa* (court of justice) for adjudicating upon the disputes of merchants. The care of the administration for the families of deceased soldiers is illustrated by an unusually interesting inscription of A.D. 1205,[45] which records the grant of two villages by way of maintenance for death on the battlefield. In the branch of local government, we find villages being grouped into *vishayas* or *pathakas* (districts), but we have no reference to the titles of officers placed in charge of them. Some light is thrown upon village administration by the fact that the *adhikṛitamahattamas* are sometimes[46] mentioned in the list of persons to whom the king's grant of land is announced. These officers apparently correspond to the *mahattarādhikārins* (the executive Board of the assembly of *mahattaras*) who are met with elsewhere.

3. *The Paramāras*

The Paramāras adopted the usual imperial titles. Among their high officers of State are mentioned the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister of foreign affairs), the *daṇḍādhīśa* (commander-in-chief) and the like.[47] In Merutuṅga's account of king Muñja *(Prabandha-chintāmaṇi)* reference is made to a faithful *mahāmātya* of the king, who committed suicide in sheer despair when he found his master embarking on an expedition against his advice.[48] The villages in the Paramāra kingdom were grouped into larger units called in the ascending order, *pratijāgaraṇaka, pathaka* (or *bhoga* or *vishaya*) and *maṇḍala.* They were also gathered into units bearing the name of the chief village with various numeral endings (12, 16, 17,

36, 37, 48, and 84). The villages were in charge of the usual *paṭṭakila* (headman).

4. *The Gāhaḍavālas*

The heirs of the Imperial Pratīhāras in the sovereignty of the Middle Gaṅgā valley were the kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty who ruled for more than a century (c. A.D. 1090-1193). The Gāhaḍavāla kings adopted the usual imperial titles, to which king Govindachandra added the epithets of *aśvapati, gajapati, narapati,* and *rājatrayādhipati* mentioned above.[49] The Queens assumed the corresponding dignified titles of *paṭṭamahādevī* and *mahārājñī,* and they claimed to be invested with all royal prerogatives.[50] The Crown Prince (*mahārājaputra*), who was similarly invested with all royal rights, is sometimes[51] further said to be consecrated to *yauvarājya.* The *Mahārājaputra Yuvarāja* Govindachandra made the largest number of his land-grants in his father's life-time without even the formality of the king's permission. Among the officials mentioned in the formula of the grants are included the *mantrī,* the *senāpati,* the *pratīhāra,* the *bhāṇḍārika,* the *akshapaṭalika,* and the *dūta.*[52] All these offices are known from earlier times. The same formula mentions *adhikāripurushas* in charge of districts (*vishayas*) and towns (*pattanas*). This suggests the usual type of local government with State officers placed in charge of districts and towns. The donated villages as a rule are located in *pattalās* which may refer to fiscal rather than administrative divisions.

5. *The Senas*

The Senas of Bengal, on the whole, continued the administrative organisation of their Pāla predecessors, but there were some new developments. From the time of Vijayasena the kings assumed the usual imperial titles. The later kings used the additional titles of *aśvapati, gajapati* and *narapati* known to us from the records of the Kalachuri and Gāhaḍavāla kings. The list of persons mentioned in the formula of the Sena land-grants comprised a number of High Imperial Officers of the types known to the Gupta Empire. Such were the *mahādharmādhyaksha* (chief justice), *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister of foreign affairs), *mahāsenāpati* (commander-in-chief), *mahāmudrādhikṛita* (keeper of the Great Seal), *mahākshapaṭalika* (chief accounts officer), *mahāpratīhāra* (chief of palace guards), *mahāvyūhapati* (or *mahābhogapati*) (probably a military title), *mahāpīlupati* (chief trainer of elephants), and *mahāgaṇastha* (apparently a military title). Other officials mentioned in the same formula are the *rājāmātya* (senior order of

amātyas), the *antaraṅga*, the *bṛihaduparika*, the *dauḥsādhanika*, the *chauroddharaṇika* (police officer), the *gaulmika* (probably a military officer), the *daṇḍapāśika* (police officer), the *daṇḍanāyaka* (general) and the *vishayapati* (district officer). Among these, the offices of *mahāsāndhivigrahika*, the *mahākshapaṭalika*, the *mahāsenāpati* and the *mahāpratīhāra* as well as those of the *rājāmātya*, the *dauḥsādhanika*, the *chauroddharaṇika*, the *gaulmika*, the *daṇḍapāśika*, and the *vishayapati* were known to the Pāla administration. The other names are mostly new and of uncertain meaning. A striking feature of the Sena administration was the political influence of the Queen and the *purohita* who are now mentioned for the first time in the formula of the Bengal land-grants. The Senas continued some of the Pāla administrative divisions (*bhukti*) with their nomenclature.[53] A uniform standard measurement for the cultivated lands was still wanting, for the size of the donated lands is given in the different records according to the different local or royal standards.[54] The Senas, however, carried out a bold measure of land-revenue reform in the shape of cash assessment of the land at standard rates.[55]

6. *The Chāhamānas*

The administrative organisation of the Chāhamānas, both of the main line of Śākambharī and Ajmer and of the branch lines of Mārwār,[56] has some striking features. One of the oldest records of the main line[57] bearing the date 1030 V.S. (A.D. 973) mentions various estates as being held by the king and junior princes of the clan. This description fits in with the type of Rājput clan-monarchies to which reference has been made above. In the same record the gift-villages are located in one case in a group of 12 comprised within a *vishaya*. This illustrates the super-imposition of the new system of clan-chief's estates upon the older division into *vishayas*. We have a unique document dated 1198 V.S. (A.D. 1141) illustrating the municipal administration in vogue under the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol. In this record[58] the whole people of a town headed by sixteen Brāhmaṇas (two being selected from each ward) tender a document signed with their own hands. By it they solemnly promise to find out in accordance with the custom of the country whatever is lost by (or snatched away from) the *bhāṭas*, the *bhaṭṭaputras*, *dauvārikas*, and others on their way. A large number of witnesses (including the whole class of bankers) bears witness to this document.

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION SOUTH INDIA

1. *The Chālukyas*

The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who succeeded the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the sovereignty of the Deccan, adopted the usual imperial titles. To this they added such characteristic epithets as *samastabhuvanāśraya* (refuge of the whole world), *śrīpṛithivīvallabha* (favourite of fortune and the earth), *Satyāśrayakulatilaka* (forehead-ornament of the family of Satyāśraya) and *Chālukyābharaṇa* (ornament of the Chālukyas). Among their high officers of State are mentioned the *daṇḍanāyaka* (general), the *mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka* (great august general), the *dharmādhikārin* (superintendent of religious affairs, according to Barnett, or better perhaps, chief justice), the *mahāpradhāna* (high minister) and the *sāndhivigrahika* (minister of foreign affairs). A new tendency towards specialisation of officers is illustrated by such titles as *tāḍeyadaṇḍanāyaka* (general in charge of reserves), *Lāḷa-sāndhivigrahika* (minister of peace and war for the Lāḷa country), *Heri-sāndhivigrahika* and *Kannaḍa-sāndhivigrahika* (minister of peace and war for the Kannaḍa country).[59] A record[60] commemorates a Brāhmaṇa family, whose ancestor was the king's chief preceptor, and which furnished three generations of *daṇḍanāyakas* to the State service. Another Brāhmaṇa, whose father held the post of treasurer, was successively appointed *sāndhivigrahika* of two different varieties and was invested with all the insignia of royalty by the kings.[61] Like other imperial dynasties the Chālukyas allowed the combination of different offices in the same hands. We have the example of a *dharmādhikārin* who was also a *mahāpradhāna* and a *daṇḍanāyaka*.[62] Another *daṇḍanāyaka* held the offices of *mahāpradhāna, Kannaḍa-sāndhivigrahika* and *māneverggaḍe* (master of the household) together with the title of *mahāsāmantādhipati* (great lord of feudatories).[63]

When we turn to the branch of local administration, we find that the towns and villages belonging to the South Marāṭhā country were grouped into Districts containing small numeral endings (30 etc.), which again were united into Divisions with higher numeral endings (1000 etc.). Reference is also made to units of 70 and 300 villages which were comprised within the larger groups of 500 and 2000 respectively.[64] The districts were ruled by officers called *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and the like, whose office was sometimes shared by their wives.[65]

In the Kannaḍa tract under Chālukya rule, the local administration was somewhat more complex. We hear of administrative

divisions with numeral endings varying from 32,000, 12,000, etc. through 3,000, 2,000, 1,000, etc. to 500, 300, etc. Reference is also made to *kampanas* (counties) of 20 and 30 comprised in a group of 500.[66] In one instance[67] five towns are said to be included in a group of 140. Elsewhere,[68] in complete disregard of the system of numeral endings, we are introduced to a number of *nāḍus* included in two *deśas*. The larger administrative divisions were governed by Princes, high officials (like *daṇḍanāyakas*) and feudatories. Frequently the governors of the larger divisions also held charge of smaller divisions of 500, 300, etc. or of groups of towns, or even of special departments of taxation.[69] Sometimes they held additional appointments like *mahāpradhāna*, 'President of the Intendants', 'Steward of the Household,' 'Provincial Registrar,' and 'Minister of peace and war.' The smaller divisions were often governed[70] by officials such as *prabhus*, *nāl-gāvuṇḍas*, and *daṇḍanāyakas*, or else by feudatories. Sometimes[71] they held charge of two groups of 300 and 70, of two *deśas* and the like. In one remarkable instance[72] a *nāḍu* is found to be governed jointly by a *daṇḍanātha* and a *mahāpradhāna*. This would suggest a division of civil and military command in the district administration.

The administration of the provincial governors and district officers in the Kannaḍa area was modelled on that of the central government. The governors had under them officers called *mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka* (great august general), *sandhivigrahādhikāra* (minister of peace and war) and the like, who often had the additional offices of *mahāpradhāna* (chief minister), steward of the royal household and so forth.[73] A Chālukya Princess Akkādevī, while governing three groups of 60, 70, and 140, had under her a council of seven ministers comprising the *māne-perggaḍe* (steward of the household), the two *tantrapālas* (councillors), a *pradhāna* (minister), an *aḷiya* (meaning unknown), a steward of the betel-bag and a secretary to the council.[74] Under the same administration we find ministers of State *(pradhāna)* along with the *nāḍa-perggaḍe*, the secretary, and the chief justice *(dharmādhyaksha)* joining together in granting statutory constitution to a temple. The constitution was renewed four years later by the administrative officials *(karaṇas)*, headed by the steward *(perggaḍe)*.[75] There were, besides, separate officers charged with the administration of different branches of taxation. Not only the *nāl-gāvuṇḍas*, but also the taxation officers, had the right of assigning portions of the revenue for pious objects.[76] The officer in charge of groups of 500 and the like had the right of assigning towns for the same purpose.[77]

A remarkable feature of local administration of the Chālukyas is the frequent appointment of ladies to the governorships of provinces and minor administrative divisions. We have an instance[78] of a Chālukya Queen administering a group of 12,000. During the period from Śaka 937 to 976 the Princess Akkādevī governed a group of 70 to which were afterwards added groups of 60 and 140. What is more, she governed for some time a province of 12000 along with a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.*[79] Another Chālukya Princess governed in company with her husband a province of 12000 along with smaller tracts in A.D. 1125, while in the next year she herself governed a division of 900 along with other groups.[80] The high official status of the wives of governors also appears in some recorded examples. Thus we find a petition being addressed through a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and his wife to the Emperor for grant of an estate.[81] In another record the wife of a governor herself grants lands to a temple.[82]

In the Kannaḍa tract the towns and villages often enjoyed a corporate constitution. The Chālukya records repeatedly introduce us to assemblies of *mahājanas* consisting of 1000, 200, 104, and the like.[83] We have a peculiar instance[84] of a town having a larger assembly of 1000 *mahājanas* along with a smaller assembly of 100. Ordinarily the assemblies had at their head officers called *ur-oḍeya* (mayor), *gāvuṇḍa* (sheriff) or *perggaḍe* (steward). But there are instances of a single village having as many as three *gāvuṇḍas* at its head,[85] of towns being in charge of a committee of 30,[86] and of six *gāvuṇḍas* and eight *seṭṭhīs* controlling the affairs of a town for no less than 74 years (Śaka 932-1006).[87] An interesting record[88] shows how a town enjoyed a statutory constitution guaranteed by official charter. From this document we learn how 8 *seṭṭhīs* and 80 households, representing a town, obtained from the local council of ministers and administrators, headed by the county-sheriff, a renewal of their corporate regulations, in so far as they had broken down owing to the calamities of the Choḷa invasion. These regulations were concerned with taxes and penalties for various offences that were payable by the townsmen. A comparison with the similar charter of A.D. 725 granted by Prince Vikramāditya of the earlier Chālukya dynasty, to which reference has been made above, perhaps may be taken to prove the greater extent of administrative decentralisation under the later dynasty.

The Chālukya records also give us glimpses into the functions of these local bodies. The queens, the high officials and private individuals, when making permanent endowments in favour of temples, frequently appointed the *ur-oḍeyas* (or the *gāvuṇḍas),* the committee in charge of the towns, or the assembly of *mahājanas,* to be trustees

for their charities.[89] Again, the *ur-oḍeyas* (or the *gāvuṇḍas*) and the assemblies sometimes sold or donated lands (evidently owned by themselves) to private individuals.[90]

Like other imperial dynasties of ancient India, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa wisely allowed a number of feudatories to enjoy a limited autonomy under the suzerainty of the paramount power. The great feudatory families like the Kadambas of Hangal, the Sindas of Sindavāḍī and the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan bore the title of king or *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, or both. They had a staff of officials similar to that of the paramount power. Frequently they allowed the combination of different offices in the same hands. Thus a twelfth century record of a Sinda chief[91] refers to an officer bearing the titles of *sarvādhikārī* (general officer, or perhaps chief minister), *mantrichūḍāmaṇi* (crest-jewel of ministers), *mahāpradhāna* (high minister) and bearer of the betel-bag. Definite reference is made to a council of ministers in a record[92] of a feudatory Chālukya chief belonging to A.D. 1079. In this council were included, among others, an *amātyakeśarī* (chief minister), a *sāmanta*, a *parabala* (military commander), an *amātya* (minister) and the *amātyas* of two Queens.[93] In the record just mentioned the reference to the *amātyas* of queens suggests that the wives of feudatories held administrative posts under them. We have records of Kadamba chiefs who ruled jointly with their Queens.[94] The feudatories often had sub-feudatories holding seigniories *(manneyas)* under them, this last being sometimes in possession of the same family for several generations.[95] The feudatories and even the holders of *manneyas* had sufficient freedom to freely assign lands on their own authority.[96]

2. *The Choḷas*

The administration of the Imperial Choḷas from the time of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1014) onwards was a continuation of that of their predecessors with the added magnificence derived from their political greatness. It is a sign of their increased dignity that the Choḷas assumed such high-sounding titles as 'Chakravartigal' and 'Emperor of the three worlds.' We even find temples being raised over the mortal remains of kings and princes, and images of kings and queens being set up in temples for worship. Though the Choḷas do not seem to have possessed a regular council of ministers they had a body of executive officers (*udan-kuṭṭam*) in immediate attendance on their persons. These last may have served as liaison officers between the king and the bureaucracy. The Choḷa officials enjoyed distinctive titles which practically marked them off as a separate order of nobles. Even the higher and lower grades of the service were distinguished by similar titles. We have observed elsewhere

the composite administrative machinery and the complex official procedure involved in the royal grant of lands in the time of Rājarāja I. A record of Vīrarājendra,[97] ordering certain contributions paid by a village to be chargeable thenceforth on the public revenues, illustrates the same complex process. The king's oral order was first committed to writing by a Secretary and then signed by three Chief Secretaries. It was then ordered to be entered in the Accounts by three authorising officers and was endorsed by 38 officers belonging to the department of royal attendants *(udankuṭṭam)* and the department of officers issuing permits and arbitrations. This was followed by a meeting of thirty-two officers of the Accounts department, when four authorised the entry, one read the order, one made the entry, and one issued the revised account.

We have a record[98] of two great ministers of Rājādhirāja II. One of them first helped to secure the succession of the young king after the death of his predecessor. Then the minister distinguished himself in a campaign against the Sinhalese invaders allied with a claimant to the Pāṇḍya throne. Finally, applying himself to the task of administration he appointed persons (as we are told) capable of bearing the burden of government after his death. The other minister won a great victory over the Pāṇḍya king who had treacherously allied himself with the Sinhalese invaders against the Choḷa sovereign.

In the later Choḷa period the village assemblies continued to function on the whole as in the earlier period.[99] Two inscriptions of A.D. 1185 and 1190 supply us with instances of Choḷa kings laying down, on the initiative of the State officials, rules for the election of the executive by the village assemblies. But other records belonging to A.D. 1232 and 1233 prove that the village assemblies could frame rules as before, regarding the meetings and qualifications of their executive. We have an unusually interesting record of A.D. 1225 which mentions a series of decisions by the *mūlaparishat* of a temple on the question of election of the executive body of an assembly and its management of the village revenues. This seems to suggest that the village-*mahāsabhā,* failing to reach satisfactory decision on matters vitally affecting its activities, sought the assistance of another local authority.[100]

3. *The Yādavas*

The administration of the Yādavas of Devagiri was substantially a continuation of that of their Chālukya predecessors in the sovereignty of the Deccan. From the time of Bhillama (A.D. 1185-1193) the kings assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja,* sometimes with

the addition of the other titles.[101] Among their chief officers are mentioned the *mahāpradhāna,* the *senāpati,* the *daṇḍanāyaka* and so forth. The Yādavas seem to have introduced a new nomenclature *(deśas* sub-divided into *khampanakas)* for their administrative divisions in the Marāṭhā country. But the old numeral endings (12000, 140, etc.) were continued in the Kannaḍa area. Like their Chālukya predecessors, the Yādavas had feudatories and lords of *manneyas* (Seigniories) under them. We have an interesting record[102] illustrating the attempt of the paramount power to bring the holder of a *manneya* under control. It tells us how, while the *manneya* was being held by a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,* a special commission was appointed by the central government for its administration.

4. *The Hoysalas*

We now turn to the administration of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra who became the leading power in the Mysore region after the downfall of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Hoysalas at first were content with the feudatory title of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,* indicating submission to the Chālukya paramount power. But Vīra Ballāla II assumed the full imperial titles of his Chālukya predecessors, namely, *samastabhuvanāśraya* (refuge of the whole world), *śrīpṛithivīvallabha* (favourite of fortune and the earth), *mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara,* and so forth. Among the high officers of State under the Hoysalas are mentioned the *mahāpradhāna,* the *sarvādhikārī,* the *senāpati,* the *daṇḍanāyaka,* and the *mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka.* We have frequent instances of the combination of different offices under the same officer, *e.g.* of *mahāpradhāna* and *daṇḍanāyaka,* of *mahāpradhāna* and *sarvādhikārī* and so forth.[103] We hear of two groups of 70 being governed by a *mahāpradhāna senāpati daṇḍanāyaka* and of a district *(nāḍ)* being ruled by the *samastasenādhipati* of a *mahāpradhāna.*[104] The village assemblies under the Hoysalas retained their old functions. We have instances of a village *mahāsabhā* (assembly) receiving gifts of money for providing worship in a temple out of the resulting interest, and of village *mahājanas* receiving another village tax-free. The village assembly enjoyed its own revenues and owned its own lands. We hear of the *mahājanas* of a village granting certain customs duties for the benefit of a temple, and of these, along with certain *gāvuṇḍas* and *prabhus,* granting lands to a temple. We have an interesting reference to a judicial trial by a collective body of villages in a record which says that when a dispute arose about the boundary of a field, men of nine *nāḍus* assembled together and gave their decision after examination of the boundaries.[105]

5. *The Pāṇḍyas*

The administration of the later Pāṇḍyas, who became the leading power in Southern India in the thirteenth century A.D., followed the same general lines as that of their Choḷa predecessors. The greatest Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. A.D. 1251), assumed the titles of *mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara* and so forth. A peculiarity of the later Pāṇḍya administration was the institution of joint rulers (or "co-regents"), which is specially noted by the contemporary foreign observers.[106] Among the high officials of the Paṇḍya State is mentioned[107] the Prime Minister who received grants of land that were purely personal. We have good reason to believe that there existed under the later Pāṇḍyas an elaborate official procedure for the royal grant of revenue-free lands to Brāhmaṇas and temples. Justice in the Pāṇḍya kingdom was administered in the first instance by village assemblies and other local authorities. Only in case of their failure were the disputes carried to the king's officers, or, in the extreme cases, to the king himself. The village assemblies continued to function as in the earlier times. Mention is made of a committee of justice in one village and of an executive committee in another. We have also a record of a village assembly buying a plot of land and letting it out on permanent lease at a fixed rental. There is a remarkable instance of collective action on the part of the people of eighteen provinces *(vishayas)* who assembled together and made an agreement to collect funds for the building of a temple.[108]

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1. Kāṇḍa XI. For the Smṛiti works in the above list we have followed the chronology of Kane. Hemachandra was a contemporary of Kumārapāla of Gujarāt (above, pp. 76-8).
2. On *Yāj*, I. 368.
3. VII. 1.
4. The keen interest displayed by the Smṛiti commentators of this period on the subject of incidence of kingly duties is perhaps to be explained by the then current political situation. It seems probable that the upheaval of the Muslim invasions of Northern India gave the opportunity to provincial and district officers, not always of the Kshatriya caste, to assert their authority in various parts of the country. The question of status of such persons could not but be a matter of practical interest to the Hindu jurists of the time. (The view put forward in the present place is somewhat different from that presented for the first time in the author's work *A History of Hindu Political Theories*,[2] p. 195).
5. For the passages of Gopāla's *Kāmadhenu* mentioned above, see quotations in Chaṇḍeśvara's *Rājanītiratnākara*, 2 and 85.
6. *Kṛityakalpataru, Rājadharma Kāṇḍa*, pp. 83-86.
7. I. 8-17.
8. For full details, see Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political Theories*,[2] pp. 203-4.
9. The standard Edition of Gustav Oppert has been followed. [The *Śukranītisāra* was first edited by Gustav Oppert (Madras, 1882) and has been translated by B. K. Sarkar in S. B. H. series. Oppert regarded it as an early work, belonging to the period of the "Smṛiti and the early epic literature" (preface, p. viii).

Others have referred it to Gupta period (Dr. Syamlal Pandya—*Śukra ki Rājanīti* (in Hindi), Lucknow, 2009 V. S. Ch. IX). On the other hand, modern scholars generally regard it as of a late date (*KHDS*, I. 116). According to Keith, it "is a work of quite late date which mentions the use of gunpowder and is of no value whatever as evidence for early Indian usage or philosophy" (*HSL*. 464). Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, the author of this chapter, regards it as a work of the early medieval period and has discussed this question in his forthcoming work, *A History of Indian political ideas—The Ancient period and the period of transition to the Middle Ages* (Ch. XXVIII).

While it is obvious from the detailed reference to fire-arms that the *Śukranītisāra* did not assume its present shape till after the sixteenth century A.D. it is difficult to believe that the whole work was conceived at such a late date. It may be regarded as almost certain that some portions of it were much older though it is difficult to distinguish them. It appears to be somewhat incongruous to ignore it altogether in the discussion of political theories during the Hindu period. Reference has, therefore, been made in this chapter only to the political theories which reflect the general spirit of the writers on polity of the Hindu period.—Editor].

10. I. 2-3.
11. Chapter III.
12. I. 4-12.
13. I. 37.
14. I. 45-47.
15. L. 20.
16. I. 122.
17. IV. 3.3.
18. I. 78.
19. I. 21-22, 60.
20. XII. 76. 6-25.
21. I. 66.
22. I. 95.
23. II. 212.
24. II. 231.
25. III. 50.
26. I. 121.
27. I. 25-28.
28. I. 188.
29. I. 170.
30. I. 84-87.
31. I. 28-35.
32. IV. 7. 332-33.
33. XII. 79. 15-20.
34. III. 48-49.
35. III. 43-46; IV. 1.1.3.
36. II. 274-75.
37. *EI*, XI. 142; XII. 210; XXI. 95. For the significance of the above titles see E. J. Rapson's paper in *Woolner Commemoration Volume*. Less satisfactory is the explanation of R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, 338, namely, that they signify various classes of feudatories, or else stand for lordship over three branches of the army.
38. *EI*, II. 175; XXI. 163.
39. *EI*, XII. 207, 210.
40. *EI*, XXI. 95.
41. *EI*, XI. 142; XII. 20.
42. *EI*, II. 175.
43. *EI*, XXI. 95.
44. *EI*, XXV. 5.
45. *EI*, XVI. 271.
46. *EI*, XVI. 12, 274.
47. *IA*, VI. 191; *EI*, X. 76.
48. See above, Vol. IV, p. 97.
49. *EI*, X. 95; XIX. 293.
50. *EI*, V. 117.
51. *EI*, IV. 118.
52. *EI*, XI. 22; XIV. 193, 197.
53. *EI*, XIV. 159; XV. 282.

54. *EI*, XII. 6; XIV. 156, 161; XV. 282.
55. For the administrative system of the Senas, cf. B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (Part III), and *HBR*. 280-83 and 287-88. For land-revenue assessment, cf. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 265-6.
56. See above, pp. 81-89.
57. *IA*, XLIII. 60.
58. *EI*, XI. 39.
59. *EI*, XII. 274, 334.
60. *EI*, XV. 27.
61. *EI*, XII. 274.
62. *EI*, XV. 350.
63. *EI*, XIII. 41.
64. *EI*, XII. 154, 283, 313.
65. *EI*, XV. 27.
66. *EI*, XVI. 37, 70.
67. *EI*, XV. 335.
68. *EI*, XVI. 338.
69. *EI*, XV, 94, 331; XVI. 28, 32, 46.
70. *EI*, XVI. 74, 77.
71. *EI*, XV. 95; XVI. 37, 54, 77, 330.
72. *EI*, XVI. 37.
73. *EI*, XVI. 28, 32, 54, 59, 330.
74. *EI*, XV. 78.
75. *EI*, XV. 82.
76. *EI*, XVI. 32, 37, 77.
77. *EI*, XVI. 37.
78. *EI*, XVI. 338.
79. *EI*, XV. 76, 82; XVI. 77.
80. *EI*, XIII. 301, 320.
81. *EI*, XV. 27.
82. *EI*, XV. 331.
83. *EI*, XV. 336; XIX. 218f, 232.
84. *EI*, XVIII. 171.
85. *EI*, XV. 335.
86. *EI*, XVI. 3.
87. *EI*, XV. 76-100.
88. *EI*, XV. 78.
89. *EI*, XIII. 41; XV. 95, 101, 336; XVI. 3, 28, 67, 70; XVIII. 8; XIX. 218f, 232.
90. *EI*, XVI. 28; XVIII. 171.
91. *EI*, XIV. 270.
92. *EI*, XVIII. 188.
93. A. S. Altekar takes (*EI*, XVIII. 188f.) *pañchapradhāna* in the above to mean 'a body of five ministers.' But see the remarks of the Editor, *EI*, *loc. cit.*
94. *EI*, XIII. 170; XVII. 18.
95. *EI*, XVI. 37; XIX. 180.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *EI*, XXI. 230.
98. *EI*, XXI. 189.
99. For a detailed account, cf. above, Ch. X, Section II.
100. For the full account see K. A. N. Sastri, *The Coḷas*,[2] Chs. XVI, XVII.
101. *EI*, XXV. 211.
102. *EI*, XIX. 194.
103. *MAR*, 1932, No. 46; 1940, No. 9, 29, 33.
104. *MAR*, 1929, No. 62, 1937, No. 52.
105. *MAR*, 1930, No. 49; 1942, No. 26; 1938, No. 73; 1937, No. 18; 1932, No. 12.
106. Cf. the observations of Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier, *Travels of Marco Polo*, 370-371), Wassaf (*HIED*, III. 32.) and the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṁsa* (XC). See also Ch. XI.
107. *EI*, XII. 45.
108. The above is based upon the account in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, 215f.

CHAPTER XIV

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

I. NORTH INDIA

The period under review was marked by a vigorous development of the juristic activity that had characterised the preceding epoch. Among the legal authorities to whom this development is traceable two stand out conspicuously from the rest. These are Jīmūtavāhana, the famous author of the *Dāyabhāga* Digest, and Vijñāneśvara, the eminent commentator on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti,* who became the foremost representatives of the two great schools of Hindu law still extant. With Jīmūtavāhana we may join together Kullūka and Govindarāja, well-known commentators on *Manu-smṛiti,* as well as the two authors of Digests, namely Dhāreśvara and Lakshmīdhara, as they all belonged to Northern India. We may similarly associate with Vijñāneśvara, as natives of South India, Aparārka, the commentator on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti,* and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, the author of a well-known Digest.[1]

Before considering the works of Jīmūtavāhana we may pause to cast a glance at the views of his immediate predecessors. One of these, Jitendriya, declares that whatever is acquired by a person without the means or materials jointly owned by the members of his family is his exclusive property. On the law of inheritance he says that the widow shall succeed to the property of her deceased husband, whether he was separated or was a member of the joint family at the time of his death. He also lays down that the daughter's son shall succeed immediately after the daughter. We may next quote the views of two somewhat obscure authors, namely, Bālaka and Yogloka, on a vexed question of the law of prescription. They held, along with Śrīkara, that adverse possession of immovables for twenty years and movables for ten years with the owner being present but taking no steps to assert his right, entailed loss of title.[2]

The *Vyavahāramātṛikā* of Jīmūtavāhana covers within its purview a wide range of topics bearing on legal procedure and positive law. Such are the constitution of the court of justice, the grades of courts, the four stages of judicial proceedings, arrest before trial, the *role* of agents (or representatives), sureties for satisfaction of judgment, the order of hearing of suitors, the amendment of the

plaint, its defects, and the time allowed for filing the same, the four kinds of reply and the defects thereof, and above all, and in a special measure, the kinds of proof (namely, witnesses, documents and possession). Of the eighteen titles of law, says the author, fourteen are concerned with 'wealth,' and the remaining four have their roots in *hiṁsā* (injury). This evidently corresponds to the division between civil and criminal law. Judicial proceeding, according to the author, shall be conducted without violation of *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra;* where these are at variance, the former is to be preferred to the latter: where the *dharmaśāstras* themselves are at variance, popular usage (which is identified with reason) is to be observed. The *sabhyas* who are guilty of giving unjust decision, of taking bribes and so forth, are to be banished. Similarly a judge or a *sabhya* speaking secretly to a plaintiff or a defendant on a case under trial is to be punished. While disputes of son with father, of pupil with preceptor, of slave with master and the like, are not to be entertained, serious offences must be taken cognisance of by the king: such are the cases of the preceptor inflicting improper punishment upon the pupil, of a father intending to waste his property on women and the like, or to sell or give away his only son, of a husband intending to sell his virtuous wife, or a master desiring to sell his obedient slave. Among the kinds of proof, namely, possession, documents, witnesses, and inference from examination of the parties, each preceding one is more important than the one immediately following: where even inference is wanting, recourse should be had to ordeal. Possession for three generations must not be disturbed, provided it was not simultaneous but successive.[3]

The *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana deals authoritatively with many points of the law of ownership, partition and inheritance, that had long continued to agitate the minds of the Smṛiti writers. Dealing with the concept of ownership, Jīmūtavāhana ranges himself on the side of the school that held *svatva* (ownership) to be exclusively indicated by the *Śāstras,* and not based upon popular recognition. This view represents the dogmatic standpoint that the *Śāstras* do not merely summarise modes of acquiring ownership known to popular usage, but that popular usage on the contrary follows *Śāstric* rules laying down conditions for the acquisition of ownership. In the second place, ownership, according to Jīmūtavāhana, implies absolute competence of the owner to dispose of his property at his will. Illustrating this point Jīmūtavāhana says that alienation of property by a father without the consent of his sons, though forbidden by some texts, is not invalid. For, as the author says, this alienation is operative by reason of ownership

which is inherent in the father to the exclusion of his sons, and "a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts."

Jīmūtavāhana's views on the law of transfer of ownership are equally important. *Svatva* (ownership), he says, is created by mere gift on the part of the donor and it need not depend upon acceptance by the donee. But property becomes capable of enjoyment when it is accepted by the donee and not before. According to this view, therefore, though property is transferred to the donee by the mere act of the donor, it is liable to be defeated by a refusal of the donee to accept the gift or else to be perfected by his acceptance thereof.[4]

The central theme of Jīmūtavāhana's work is concerned with his law of partition and inheritance. He defines *dāya* as wealth in which ownership dependent upon relationship to the last owner arises on cessation of his ownership thereof. In other words, ownership even in the case of sons arises only after death of the father or on his becoming *patita* or *saṁnyāsin*.[5] Connected with the above is Jīmūtavāhana's view of partition *(vibhāga)*. According to him it "consists in manifesting or particularising by the casting of lots or otherwise a property which has arisen in lands or chattels, but which extended only to a portion of them and which was previously unascertained, being unfit for exclusive appropriation, because no evidence of any ground of discrimination existed." In other words, before partition none of the parties can say that he is the owner of the whole, and there is nothing to show that a particular portion of a property is his. Partition makes this ownership definite by throwing an indicative sign on a certain portion of the property in question.[6]

A cardinal feature of the rule of succession in Jīmūtavāhana is the principle of spiritual benefit conferred by the heir, which is based principally upon a famous text of Manu.[7] This passage is thus translated by Bühler: "To three (ancestors) water must be offered, to three the funeral cake is given, the fourth (descendant is) the giver of these (oblations), the fifth has no connection (with them). Always to that (relative within three degrees) who is nearest to the (deceased) *sapiṇḍa* the estate shall belong; afterwards a *sakulya* shall be (the heir, then) the spiritual teacher of the pupil." Basing his order of succession on the high authority just quoted, Jīmūtavāhana says that a kinsman belonging to the family of the deceased but of different male descent, like his own daughter's son or his father's daughter's son, or belonging to a different family like his maternal uncle, is a *sapiṇḍa*, as they are allied together by presenting offerings to the three ancestors in

the paternal and the maternal line. In the result "the *bandhus* (daughter's son and other cognates) are sifted in and out among the agnates, heirs in the female line frequently taking before very near *sapiṇḍas* in the male line on the principle of superior religious efficacy".[8]

Unlike Vijñāneśvara Jīmūtavāhana defines *strīdhana* in a strictly technical sense to mean that which a woman is entitled to give, sell or enjoy independently of her husband. Differing likewise from Vijñāneśvara Jīmūtavāhana fixes his rule of succession to a woman's *strīdhana,* and declares that such property devolves equally upon the sons and the unmarried daughter.

We shall next consider the fragments of the Smṛiti work of Dhāreśvara which have been preserved in quotations by later writers. On the old question whether ownership was deducible from the *Śāstras* alone, or else was a matter of worldly recognition, Dhāreśvara decides in favour of the former alternative. Connected with the above is his view that the sons have no ownership in the father's property while the father is alive, and that this ownership is acquired by them for the first time after partition. Dealing with the law of partition, Dhāreśvara says in agreement with Vijñāneśvara that the father has no right to give unequal shares to his sons in ancestral property divided by him in his life-time. As regards the law of succession, Dhāreśvara gives only a grudging recognition to the rights of the widow. For he says that the widow is entitled to inherit her husband's property, provided he was separated at the time of his death and she herself is willing to raise up issue to him. Similarly he observes that the father's mother shall take the property in preference to the father, "because wealth taken up by the father may go even to sons dissimilar in class, but what is inherited by the paternal grandmother goes to such only as appertained to the same class." On both the points last quoted Vijñāneśvara expresses his dissent from Dhāreśvara. On the other hand Dhāreśvara's view allowing the daughter's son to succeed immediately after the daughter agrees completely with that of Vijñāneśvara.[9]

II. SOUTH INDIA

We may begin our survey of the great jurist Vijñāneśvara with an analysis of his views on the constitution of the court of justice. Referring to the members of the king's court Vijñāneśvara says [10] that the learned Brāhmaṇas play only a subordinate *role,* so that in the event of default in the investigation or of false decision, the guilt lies not with them but with the king. Amplify-

ing this point, he observes[11] that unlike *sabhyas* who are appointed by the king, the Brāhmaṇas are not so appointed, so that while the *sabhyas* incur blame if they fail to dissuade the king from acting unjustly, the Brāhmaṇas incur sin only if they speak a falsehood or do not speak at all. In the same context Vijñāneśvara quotes Kātyāyana's authority for the association of a few merchants with the court, adding that this is necessary for the satisfaction of the people. Again, while he desires the *sabhyas* to be selected only from the Brāhmaṇa caste, he is equally clear[12] that the *sabhyas*, by virtue of their Brāhmaṇa birth, are not exempted from the penalty of a double fine for a wilfully unjust decision. Lastly, while referring to the grades of courts, Vijñāneśvara[13] observes that each of them (*kula, śreṇī, pūga,* 'an authorised person', and the king) is entitled to hear appeals from the one immediately preceding, but not *vice versa.*

As regards the branch of judicial procedure Vijñāneśvara[14] says that the plaint shall be written twice, one at the time of the first complaint when the cause of action alone is written, and again, in the presence of the defendant, when the year, the month and other particulars are to be recorded. This specification of the year and the month, we are further told, is essential in trials concerning deposits and pledges, gifts, and sales, while that of the country, place, etc., would apply only to transactions concerning immovables. Revision and correction of the plaint, Vijñāneśvara adds, may be made only while the defendant's answer has not yet been filed, and not thereafter, for "otherwise there would be the risk of the proceeding never coming to an end." As regards subsequent changes in the plaint Vijñāneśvara[15] says that in suits relating to property or title the plaintiff becomes thereby liable to punishment but does not lose his suit, while in disputes arising out of acts of violence the plaintiff further loses his claim if he makes a false statement.

On the much discussed question of the origin of ownership Vijñāneśvara's views are eminently sane and reasonable. To begin with, he contradicts with a great wealth of argument the statement that ownership is deducible from the *Śāstras* alone (*śāstraika-samadhigamya*). His own conclusion is that it is understood from worldly transactions *(laukika).* This view brings Vijñāneśvara into line not only with the famous authors of Digests like Mitramiśra, but also with the renowned authorities on *Mīmāṁsā* like Prabhākara, Kumārila, and Pārthasārathi Miśra.[16] Connected with the above is Vijñāneśvara's view on the vexed question, whether ownership arises on partition, or partition takes place of that which already belonged to one's own self. In deciding in favour

of the latter alternative, Vijñāneśvara relies partly on the argument that the son's ownership by birth is well known to people.

On the subject of transfer of ownership Vijñāneśvara makes some striking comments. Gift, he says,[17] means transfer of ownership from one to another "if the other accepts it as his own and not otherwise." This view, differing completely from that of Jīmūtavāhana quoted above, evidently means that ownership is transferred to the donee only with acceptance. Now acceptance, according to Vijñāneśvara, is of three kinds, namely, mental, verbal and physical. In the case of movable property all the three kinds of acceptance may take place at the same time. But where immovable property is concerned, complete physical acceptance, involving enjoyment of its profits, cannot take place all at once. Hence, says Vijñāneśvara, acceptance of land, etc. shall be by possession for however short a time, otherwise a gift or a sale does not become complete. To put the above in technical language, "delivery of possession is not absolutely essential to constitute a valid gift, but a gift unaccompanied by possession is of a very risky kind, because in case of conflict between two apparent titles, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that which is accompanied by possession must prevail."[18]

The topic of possession as the basis of title forms in Vijñāneśvara the basis of some important remarks. Explaining Yājñavalkya[19] he observes:— "In case of possession within memory, it has evidentiary value only when it co-exists with the means of knowledge of title . . . In case of immemorial possession, however, long-continued possession is itself evidence of ownership, independently of the knowledge of title because in that case there is an absolute absence of the means by which want of knowledge of the origin or title is accounted for."[20] In other words, "under ordinary circumstances mere possession does not exclude an enquiry into the title, for possession may be with one person and title with another .... It is only when the origin of possession is lost in obscurity by reason of its having commenced beyond living human recollection that enquiry into the question of title is superseded, and possession standing alone is justified, for in such a case the presumption is that possession as a matter of fact followed the title."[21]

We may consider in this connection Vijñāneśvara's view on the effect of adverse possession upon the title. According to a famous text of Yājñavalkya,[22] he who sees his land enjoyed by another for twenty years or his money for ten years without asserting his right, loses them. Explaining this verse Vijñāneś-

vara says that omission to assert one's title does not lead to loss of ownership, "non-protest not being known either in popular usage or in the *Śāstra* as a cause of extinguishing ownership." Similarly, possession for twenty years does not confer title, "because possession is not the means of proof of ownership." Vijñāneśvara's own conclusion is that the loss referred to in the text means the loss of profit of the land as well as of the wealth, and not that of the *corpus* itself or of the right of a suit at law. It therefore follows that "the owner shall not be entitled after the prescribed period to recover the profits already appropriated by the person in possession, but the title to the property itself and the right to recover the same shall remain intact."[23]

Vijñāneśvara's view on the subject of partition and inheritance entitles him to be regarded as the principal representative of his school on the subject. Introducing Yājñavalkya,[24] he defines *dāya* as wealth which becomes the property of another solely by reason of his relationship to the owner. Comparison with the parallel definition of Jīmūtavāhana indicates the fundamental difference between the two masters. According to Jīmūtavāhana, ownership to a person's property by virtue of relationship to him arises only when his own ownership comes to an end. On the other hand Vijñāneśvara thinks that certain relations acquire ownership at the moment of their birth and in fact become, along with the previous owners, co-owners in the same property. As regards the extent of the son's right in the father's property Vijñāneśvara[25] explains that this right extends over the whole of the father's property whether ancestral or self-acquired, but the son cannot prevent alienation by the father except in the case of ancestral property. With this may be connected Vijñāneśvara's view given in another context,[26] that unequal distribution of property by the father among his sons is allowable only for self-acquired, but not for ancestral property. Introducing a text of Yājñavalkya quoted above,[27] Vijñāneśvara defines partition as the "adjustment of diverse rights regarding property held collectively by assigning severally (to individuals) particular portions of the aggregate." Comparison with the corresponding definition of Jīmūtavāhana given above reveals an essential difference in the conception of co-ownership between the two schools. This difference is usually indicated by saying that "a *Dāyabhāga* co-parcener holds the property in quasi-severalty as if he were a tenant-in-common, whereas a *Mitākharā* co-parcener holds the entire property and every part of it as if he were a joint tenant."

By contrast with Jīmūtavāhana, Vijñāneśvara[28] bases his rule of succession mainly, though not exclusively, upon the prin-

ciple of propinquity. In the result all agnates (relations through males) are allowed by him to succeed in preference to all cognates (relations through females), the only exception being the daughter's son who comes just after the daughter and before the parents. As between the claims of the daughters, Vijñāneśvara shows his good sense by preferring the unmarried to the married, and the unprovided to the endowed daughter. The striking originality of Vijñāneśvara's thought is illustrated by his giving the sonless widow the right to succeed to the whole estate of her husband who had died separate, on the sole condition of her chastity. It is also shown by his allowing (as Vishṇu alone among the *Smṛitikāras* does) the daughter's son to succeed immediately after the daughter, and before the mother and the father. In the same spirit Vijñāneśvara allows the mother to succeed before the father, "for the father is a common parent to the other sons, but the mother is not so, and since her propinquity is the greatest, it is just that she should take the estate in the first instance."

As regards *strīdhana* Vijñāneśvara[29] takes it in its etymological non-technical sense to include property acquired by a woman "by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding." Equally distinctive is Vijñāneśvara's rule of succession to the *strīdhana*. In respect of two kinds of *strīdhana* called *anvādheya* and *prītidatta* (what was obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband or of her parents, and what was given to a woman through affection), daughters are allowed to succeed equally, and on their failure sons are given the succession in the same manner. As regards other kinds of *strīdhana* such as what was given to a woman before the nuptial fire (*adhyagni*), the heirs are given in the following order:—unmarried daughter, unendowed married daughter, endowed married daughter. In case of the bridal price (*śulka*) the heirs are the uterine brethren alone. The *strīdhana* of a childless woman, married according to the four approved forms, goes to her husband, and that of one married after the four unapproved forms goes to her parents.

Aparārka's views on various points of law cannot compare in depth or originality with those of Vijñāneśvara, and it will be enough to illustrate them by a few examples. Aparārka takes *Yājñavalkya*, II, 24, to mean that adverse possession of immovables for twenty years and movables for ten years, with the owner being present but taking no steps to assert his right, definitely extinguishes his title. As regards the law of succession Aparārka prefers the brother to the grandson and the great-grandson on the ground of superior spiritual benefit conferred by the former upon the deceased — a principle which brings him into line with Jīmū-

tavāhana. As between the claims of the parents, Aparārka interprets the vague text of Yājñavalkya[30] to mean that the father succeeds before the mother—a view just the reverse of Vijñāneśvara's opinion quoted above.

We shall conclude this chapter with a few references to Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, whose Digest called the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* takes almost equal, but not the same, rank with Vijñāneśvara's commentary as the leading authority on Hindu Law in South India. Like Vijñāneśvara the author of the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* assails with numerous arguments the view that ownership is deducible from the *Śāstras* alone, and he concludes that it is based upon worldly transactions. The same agreement is found in the view of our author that sons acquire by very birth ownership in ancestral property. On the other hand, the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* expresses its dissent from Vijñāneśvara's view that unequal distribution of property by the father among his sons should not be resorted to as being repugnant to the people. The order of succession in the *Smṛiti-chandrikā*, again, is somewhat different from that of Vijñāneśvara. It prefers, as between the claims of the daughters, one having sons to one who is sonless, for the former unlike the latter is capable of conferring spiritual benefit upon the deceased. Again, instead of allowing with Vijñāneśvara the mother to succeed before the father, it declares that the father and the mother shall succeed together.[31]

1. The works of Smṛiti authors of this period with their place of origin and approximate dates according to Kane (*KHDS.*, I. 296; IV. x-xi) are given below:—

Name of author.	*Name of work.*	*Place of origin.*	*Date.*
Jīmūtavāhana	1. *Vyavahāramātṛikā* 2. *Dāyabhāga*	Bengal	Between A.D. 1100 and 1150
Kullūka	*Manvarthamuktāvalī*	Bengal	Between A.D. 1150 and 1300
Govindarāja	*Manuṭīkā*	North India	Between A.D. 1080 and 1110
Dhāreśvara (Bhoja I, king of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā)	Unknown	Mālwā	Between A.D. 1000 and 1050 Cf. also Ch. II.
Lakshmīdhara	*Kṛityakalpataru, XII (Rājanītikāṇḍa)*	Middle Gaṅgā Valley	Between A.D. 1100 and 1130
Vijñāneśvara	*Mitāksharā*	Mahārāshṭra	Between A.D. 1080 and 1100
Aparārka	*Yājñavalkyadharma-śāstranibandha*	Konkan	Between A.D. 1110 and 1130
Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa	*Smṛiti-chandrikā*		Between A.D. 1200 and 1225
Gopāla	*Kāmadhenu*		Between A.D. 1000 and 1100

For different views, particularly about the date of *Mitāksharā*, cf. Ch. XV, 4 (II) [Ed.].

2. For the above passages in Jitendriya, Bālaka and Yogloka, see quotations in *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana and *Vyavahāratattva* of Raghunandana.
3. For references, see the *Vyavahāramātrikā* of Jīmūtavāhana edited by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, *MASB*, III, No. 5, 277, 283, 285, 314, 341.
4. Cf. Priyanath Sen, *General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence*, 67.
5. It is nevertheless remarkable that Jīmūtavāhana does not allow the father, when dividing his property with his sons, to make unequal distribution of the ancestral immovable property, corrody and slaves.
6. The above is based upon the discussion in Kane, *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, *Notes*, 134.
7. IX. 186-7.
8. Mayne, *Hindu Law* (10th Edition), p. 702.
9. For the above passages see quotations in *Vīramitrodaya*, 528-536, *Vyavahāramayūkha* and *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya II. 135-136 (J. R. Gharpure's Tr.).
10. On *Yāj*, II. 1.
11. On *Yāj*, II. 2.
12. On *Yāj*, II. 3-4.
13. On *Yāj*, II. 30.
14. On *Yāj*, II. 6.
15. On *Yāj*, II. 9.
16. Cf. Priyanath Sen, *op. cit.*, 46.
17. On *Yāj*, II. 27.
18. Priyanath Sen, *op. cit.*, 70-71.
19. II. 27.
20. In the present and following passages the translations from Vijñāneśvara are taken from the work *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti with the commentaries of Mitāksharā, Vīramitrodaya* and *Dīpakalikā, Vyavahārādhyāya*, translated by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1937-38.
21. Priyanath Sen, *op. cit.*, 118-119.
22. II. 24.
23. Priyanath Sen, *op. cit.*, 104-105.
24. II. 114.
25. On *Yāj*, II. 121.
26. On *Yāj*, II. 114.
27. II. 114.
28. On *Yāj*, II. 135-136.
29. On *Yāj*, II. 143.
30. II. 135-136.
31. For the above references, see *Smṛiti-chandrikā*, Mysore ed., III, Part II, 601-603f, 621, 686 688.

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. SANSKRIT

1. INTRODUCTION

The close of the last period, as we have already seen,[1] witnessed the decline of Sanskrit literature in poetry, drama, and other branches. The literature lost touch with the common man, began to cater for the Paṇḍit and the court, and gradually tended to become a copy-book pattern according to rules of poetics, dramaturgy, etc. There was an ever-widening breach between the languages of the drama and those in every-day life. The highly cultivated poetry meant for the cultured audience, indicating the general prevalence of scholastic learning, showed a wide gulf between literature and the common man. All these characteristics equally marked the period under review.

The break-up of the empires during the previous period saw the rise of small principalities whose rulers encouraged Sanskrit learning. But although the output was thus maintained, the literary productions are all stereotyped and laboured; they lack vigour, inspiration, and originality. They are merely mechanical reproductions of earlier models, without their vitality and living touch. It is an age of scholastic elaboration and systematic analysis, of technical skill and learning, of commentaries and sub-commentaries, and of manuals and sub-manuals. Practically all branches of literature are well represented during this period and their volume is also immense. But there is no life in the whole range of literature. It is imitative, insipid, artificial and laboured, not spontaneous and natural. The creative age was over by the tenth century, and the process of decadence had already set in. No genius or inspired poet or dramatist arose during the period, and there was no originality either in conception or execution.

Muslim incursions can hardly be regarded as responsible for the decadence in Sanskrit literature. For the decadence, as we have seen in the previous volume, had already set in, and the literature may well be said to have come to its natural end. Foreign rule and its attendant disturbances during this period are not known to have actively discouraged literary production, nor affected the 'atmosphere' surrounding the literary craftsmen. In fact, in the

next period we find a number of Muslim rulers patronising Sanskrit learning. Special interest attaches to the *Sandeśa-rāsaka,* a Sandeśa-kāvya in Apabhraṁśa, composed in the twelfth century by a Muhammadan, Abdala Rahamāna (Abdul Rahman).

The tightening up of the Smṛiti rules and the insular tendency it created contributed not a little to stifle the free spirit. All this resulted in the growth of stereotyped literature. With the loss of contact with the outside world our literature became stagnant and lost freshness of outlook. The general surrounding was uncongenial to the rise of a genius or development of an imaginative spirit, and all writers of the period were mere intellectuals concerned with multiplying according to pattern.

Before making a survey of the different branches of literature, it would be interesting to note some prominent characteristics of this period. In the first place, the large number of royal authors and patrons of learning is striking. Bhoja, Yaśaḥpāla, Someśvara, Kulaśekhara, Aparārka, Ravivarman, Prahlādanadeva, Vigraharāja (Vīsaladeva), and Ballālasena figure among the crowned men-of-letters who composed poetry, drama, poetics, Dharmaśāstra, etc. Another important feature is the growing number of polymaths, such as Kshemendra, Bhoja, Hemachandra, and Rāmachandra. There were also encyclopaedic works like *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa, Mānasollāsa, Kṛityakalpataru, Chaturvargachintāmaṇi,* etc. The contribution of Jain monks, especially to the Kāvya literature, is considerable. The regional survey indicates that from Kāshmir and Gujarāt comes the bulk of literary contribution, with Bengal and the South coming next.

2. BELLES-LETTRES

I. *Kāvya*

In common with the other branches of literature, poetry of this period shows lack of originality and independence. It is artificial, unimaginative, and stereotyped, but lofty, cultivated and exclusive. It was apparently composed for an urban and sophisticated audience, and was out of touch with common life and common realities. Tendency to uniformity also rendered poetry of this period a monotonous reading.

(A) Mahākāvya

The only outstanding work of this period is the *Naishadhacharita* of Śrīharsha, son of Śrīhīra and Māmalladevī, who probably flourished under Jayachandra and Vijayachandra of Kanauj in the latter half of the twelfth century. The poem, as it exists today,

comprises twenty-two cantos, though tradition makes it run into sixty or even a hundred and twenty cantos, and describes the life of Nala up to his marriage with Damayantī.[2] Indian tradition has recognised the merit of this work by raising it to the status of a Mahākāvya and by placing Śrīharsha by the side of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha. An anecdote is, however, current which is a merciless criticism of this poem. According to it Mammaṭa, the celebrated rhetorician, found *Naishadha-charita* full of poetic blemishes of all kinds. The poet no doubt shows undue fondness for *double entendre* and other sound plays, and for this there runs the proverbial expression *'Naishadhaṁ vidvadaushadham;'* but these defects should not overshadow the merits of the poem. It is a repository of traditional learning, and a storehouse of literary dexterity. The work "unquestionably has a definite interest in the history of Sanskrit literature, for it exhibits the application to the charming episode of the *Mahābhārata,* familiar to all students, of the full resources of a master of diction and metre, possessed of a high degree of skill in the difficult art of playing on words, and capable of both delicate observation of nature, and of effective expression of the impressions thence derived."[3] Twenty different metres are employed, and it is the last masterpiece exhibiting the industry and ingenuity that a Mahākavi is capable of. Śrīharsha is also credited with the authorship of some other works, among which ranks the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhādya,* a philosophical treatise in support of the standpoint of Śaṅkara.

Kshemendra, the eleventh century polymath and court-poet of king Ananta of Kāshmir, gives us the epitomes of the two great epics in his *Bhārata-mañjarī* and *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī;* his *Padya-Kādambarī* is the metrical rendering of Bāṇa's masterpiece; the *Daśāvatāra-charita,* which is not strictly a Mahākāvya nor a religious poem, describes the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. The life of Buddha is told in the ninth canto, in which the Buddha and Kṛishṇa legends have been intermingled. Kshemendra, surnamed Vyāsadāsa, was the son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu, and his literary activity extended also to the period of Kalaśa, son and successor of Ananta.[4]

Maṅkha or Maṅkhaka, son of Viśvāvarta, was another Kāshmirian poet of the twelfth century. His brothers, Śṛiṅgāra, Bhaṅga, and Alaṁkāra were, like himself, scholars and employed as state officials. His *Śrīkaṇṭha-charita* narrates, in twenty-five cantos, the destruction of Tripura by Śiva in the usual epic style. The last canto, however, is of some historical and literary interest. It gives us a glimpse of the way in which compositions of learned scholars found

publicity in those days. The *Haracharitachintāmaṇi* of Jayadratha,[5] belonging to the same century, is not really a Mahākāvya but a Māhātmya. It is important only in so far as it embodies some old and new Śaiva practices and legends, some of which are directly connected with places of pilgrimage in Kāshmir. In the same century again Kavirāja wrote his *Pārijātaharaṇa* describing the removal by Kṛishṇa of the heavenly tree from Indra's garden. *Surathotsava* of Someśvara, son of Kumāra and Lakshmī and court-poet of Vīradhavala and Vīsaladeva, describes in fifteen cantos the mythical story of Suratha, comprising his penance in the Himālayas and slaying the demons. Because of its allusion to Vastupāla and the account of the poet and his patrons at the end, the *Surathotsava* has been regarded as a political allegory, but Dr. De demurs to this view.[6] Lolimbarāja, who probably flourished in the eleventh century, but whom Prof. Gode places in the sixteenth century, against the views of Drs. Keith, Krishnamachariar, De and others,[7] relates the early exploits of Kṛishṇa up to his slaying Kaṁsa in the *Harivilāsa,* in five cantos.

Although *Ślesha* (paronomasia) was a favourite figure of speech with Sanskrit poets, regular practice of Ślesha-kāvya does not seem to have been cultivated before the eleventh century. The device of the *Ślesha,* by which an entire Kāvya is made to have a twofold or even threefold significance applicable to totally different themes, is possible only in Sanskrit on account of its special characteristics. Its pliability and adaptability, flexible and complex grammatical forms, multiple meanings of the same words with delicate subtleties, peculiar modes of compounding different words, and the various ways in which compound words or sentences can be split up, render Sanskrit an ideal language for the practice of Ślesha-kāvya.

With the exception of a single canto in the *Kīchaka-vadha* which is in *Ślesha,* the first sustained instance of a Ślesha-kāvya is the *Rāma-charita* of Sandhyākaranandin, which will be dealt with under the 'Historical Kāvya.' It describes both the story of Rāma and the life of king Rāmapāla of Bengal. Dhanañjaya and Kavirāja, who come next, have each written a *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* in which the stories of the two epics are simultaneously narrated. Dhanañjaya, known as Dhanañjaya Śrutakīrti, was the son of Vāsudeva and Śrīdevī. His *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* or *Dvisandhāna,* when read from left to right (in the usual way) describes the story of Rāma; but while read from right to left it gives the story of the Pāṇḍavas. The *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja, whose personal name was probably Mādhavabhaṭṭa, and who flourished under

Kadamba Kāmadeva, is better known. It delineates in thirteen cantos the double story of Rāghava and the Pāṇḍavas. Vidyāmādhava, the court-poet of the Chālukya king Somadeva, evidently Someśvara III (A.D. 1126-1138), similarly describes in his *Pārvatī-Rukmiṇīya*, in nine cantos, the marriages of Śiva and Pārvatī and of Kṛishṇa and Rukminī.

This device of handling different tales in the same poem has been very fruitful in later imitations, which develop it further to *treble entendre*, relating three stories at a time. Hemachandra is reputed to have composed a poem *Saptasandhāna* (having seven applications) which is not extant. The highest degree of alternative interpretations is found in the *Śatārtha-kāvya* of Somaprabhāchārya, written about A.D. 1177, in which a single verse is interpreted in a hundred ways![8]

Some Jain writers have adopted the form and spirit of the Mahākāvya for presenting the Jain legends in a poetic garb, as also for historical or biographical accounts. Among the Jain epics may be mentioned the *Yaśodhara-charita* of Kanakasena Vādirāja (tenth century) and of Māṇikya Sūri (eleventh century), the former being the Digambara and the latter the Śvetāmbara version of the same narrative. Superior in merit and extent is the *Trishashṭi-śalākāpurusha-charita* of Hemachandra (twelfth century) describing in ten cantos the lives of the sixty-three best men according to the Jain belief. To Vāgbhaṭa of the same period is assigned the *Neminirvāṇa* dealing with the life of Nemīnātha.[9]

The Jains have made a considerable contribution to the Sanskrit Kāvya during this period, and reference can be made here only to some of the important works.[10] The *Kshatrachūḍāmaṇi* of Oḍeyadeva Vādībhasiṁha, pupil of Pushpasena, treats of the *Uttarapurāṇa* legend of Jīvandhara in eleven chapters, mostly in Śloka metre, and is said to be, in most places, a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*.[11] Abhayadeva, who received the title of Vādisiṁha from the king of Kāśī, relates the birth and life of Jayanta in his *Jayantavijaya* (composed in V.S. 1278, *i.e.* A.D. 1221) in nineteen cantos. The *Pāṇḍava-charita* by Maladhārin Devaprabhasūri, pupil of Munichandra and tutor of Devānanda, describes in eighteen cantos the story of the *Mahābhārata* mainly with the object of glorifying virtue. It remodels many details, but hardly rises above the Puranic style. Another epitome of the *Mahābhārata* is the *Bālabhārata* in nineteen cantos by Amarachandra, a pupil of Jinadatta, who flourished under Vīsaladeva of Gujarāt. Abhayachandra appears to have composed several works

on poetics, metrics, and technical sciences. At the request of minister Padma, he wrote the *Padmānanda Mahākāvya* which, though intended to give the lives of all the twenty-three Jinas, describes in nineteen cantos only the life of Ṛishabha, the first Jina, in an ornate style. Vastupāla's *Naranārāyaṇānanda,* which is full of imagery, describes the friendship of Kṛishṇa and Arjuna in eighteen cantos, the abduction and marriage of Subhadrā coming at the end. Vastupāla was a patron of learning, who patronised Someśvara, Arisiṁha, Harihara and Nanaka. Vastupāla's religious teacher Udayaprabha Sūri wrote, in collaboration with Narendraprabha, a Mahākāvya entitled *Dharmābhyudaya* or *Saṅghādhipati-charitra* which was composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's pilgrimage to the Jain shrines in Western India. Dharmakumāra's *Śālibhadra-charita* tells in seven cantos the legend of Śālibhadra which was already dealt with briefly by Hemachandra. *Amāma-charita* by Muniratna, a pupil of Samudragupta, describes in melodious verses the life of Amāmasvāmi in thirty cantos. *Munisuvrata-charita* is another poem by Muniratna giving the lives of some Sūris of his clan.

These Jain productions possess practically all the regular features of the Kāvyas. They deal with the usual Kāvya topics and contain elaborate descriptions of nature, seasons, battles, and erotic sports, the last topic, curiously enough, being treated with equal zeal by the Jain monks, including even the pious Hemachandra.

(B) Shorter Poems

(a) *Lyrics*

In the direct line of Bhartṛihari and Amaru come during this period Bilhaṇa and Jayadeva. The former has written the *Chaurapañchāśikā,* a small but elegant poem of fifty stanzas describing in a simple style a variety of love scenes. The title of the poem has given rise to various interpretations, some of which involve the author himself in a love intrigue with a princess. The poem itself narrates how a robber, when making love to a princess, was discovered and condemned to death, and as he was being taken to the execution ground, gave expression in these stanzas to the love enjoyed by him with his beloved.

To Bengal goes the credit for having produced in Jayadeva a master of Sanskrit diction who in his *Gīta-govinda* has attained to very great heights of Sanskrit lyric poetry. He lived in the court of king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal (twelfth century) and was a devout worshipper of Kṛishṇa. The poem describes in a very

attractive style the love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. The hero and the heroine are in separation and both long to meet each other; when Kṛishṇa presents himself, Rādhā feigns anger and pretends reluctance to meet him; but in the end these minor difficulties are smoothed and reconciliation brought about by Rādhā's friend. The form of the poem is extremely original and so it has been variously styled as a pastoral (Jones), a lyric drama (Lassen), a melodrama (Pischel), an opera (Lévi), and a refined Yātrā (von Schroeder).[12] It soon became so popular that it inspired many other works of similar nature. The various stanzas are accompanied by indications as regards the *tāla* and *rāga*. Still the work is a blending of the stanzas that are to be recited and those to be sung. Jayadeva's style, despite the occasional use of long compounds, is very simple. His poetry is the best specimen in the whole of Sanskrit literature of complete harmony in sound and sense. "It has all the perfection of the miniature word-pictures which are so common in Sanskrit poetry, with the beauty which arises, as Aristotle asserts, from magnitude and arrangement. All the sides of love, save that of utter despair and final separation, are brilliantly described; all the emotions of longing, of awakened hope, of disappointment, of hot anger against the unfaithful one, of reconciliation, are portrayed by the actors themselves or Rādhā's friend in songs which are perfect in material form and display at its highest point the sheer beauty of words of which Sanskrit is pre-eminently capable."[13]

A contemporary of Jayadeva was Govardhana whose *Āryāsaptaśatī* is a collection of seven hundred erotic stanzas in the Āryā metre. Govardhana seems to have used Hāla's *Sattasaī*, a Prakrit poem, for his model. The stanzas are arranged in an alphabetical order and the scenes depicted lack the variety of Hāla's poem. *Bhikshāṭana* by Utprekshāvallabha (before fourteenth century) is more an erotic than a religious poem, while his *Sundarīśataka* in Āryā metre, composed at the request of king Madanadeva, eulogises the beauty of the female form in a highly artistic style.

The *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa was responsible for the production of numerous Dūta-Kāvyas in this epoch of imitations and counterfeits. These show innumerable variations in the form and motif which have been utilized in different ways and for different purposes. Notable among them is the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, in which princess Kuvalayavatī, a Gandharva maiden of the Malaya hills, sends the wind as a messenger to king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal.

(b) *Devotional Poems*

Erotic poetry is closely associated with the devotional and didactic poetry of this period, as *Śṛiṅgāra* (Love), *Nīti* (Wisdom), and *Vairāgya* (Renunciation), though differentiated in commonsense and poetics, are often found to intermingle. The trio goes hand in hand,—the lover, the moralist, and the devotee each adding a zest and piquancy to the other. The devotional poetry of the period is found in two different strands, which occasionally blend, but do not stand in any constant relation. In contrast to the Stotra literature of a descriptive or philosophical character, there are highly impassioned devotional poems which pass through the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression.

The majority of the Vedantic stotras, Kāshmirian Śaivite poems, South-Indian Vaishṇava and Śaiva panegyrics of deities, Bengal Tāntrik and Vaishṇava glorifications, as well as the Jain and Buddhist Mahāyāna hymns owe their inspiration to the various religious tendencies of the period. The literary stotra-kāvyas either give a highly sensuous account of the amorous adventures of the deities, or describe elaborately their physical charms. The erotic element has been carried to an excess by Lakshmaṇa Āchārya who describes the breasts of Chaṇḍī in fifty verses in his *Chaṇḍī-kucha-pañchāśikā*. The *Bhaktiśataka* of Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī of Bengal, who went to Ceylon about A.D. 1245 during the reign of king Parākramabāhu II and became a Buddhist, is interesting as an example of the application of Hindu ideas of *Bhakti* (devotion) to an extravagant eulogy of Buddha in the regular kāvya style and diction. The Jain poets, besides eulogising individual saints or Jains, extol all the twenty-four Jinas, in stotras known as *Chaturviṁśati Jinastuti* or *Chaturviṁśikā*.

(c) *Didactic and Satiric Poems*

The traditional form of Śataka is generally used in the didactic poetry like the erotic and devotional. Śambhu wrote in the eleventh century his *Anyoktimuktālatāśataka*, a collection of 108 stanzas. The *Dṛishṭāntaśataka* of Kusumadeva is more simple. It derives its title from the fact that every stanza illustrates a particular maxim. Kāshmirian Śilhaṇa, perhaps to be identified with the famous Bilhaṇa, wrote his *Śāntiśataka* in the twelfth century. Still later is the *Bhāvaśataka* of king Nāgarāja of the Ṭāka family, or of his protégé Bhāva. The *Upadeśaśataka* of Gumāni moralises on some myths and legends from the epics and Purāṇas.

The Kāshmirian polymath Kshemendra has written on several subjects, and is a versatile, accomplished and methodical writer. In his *Samayamātṛikā,* which deals with the snares and trickeries of harlots, he gives clever instructions to novices in the profession. Inspired by Dāmodaragupta, the author gives the story of a young courtesan Kalāvatī in eight chapters composed mostly in Śloka. His *Kalāvilāsa* in Āryā metre speaks of numerous occupations and the tricks and follies of wandering singers, doctors, goldsmiths, and astrologers. The *Darpadalana,* in seven sections, seeks to establish the vainness of pride felt by a man endowed with wealth, knowledge, beauty, etc., which springs from seven sources. *Sevyasevakopadeśa* in sixty-one stanzas displays shrewd observations on the relation of master and servant. *Chārucharyā* is a century of Ślokas on virtuous conduct. *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* give pen pictures of the oppression, hypocrisy, and corruption prevalent in contemporary Kāshmir.

The *Mugdhopadeśa* by Jalhaṇa contains reflections on the lures and tricks of the traditional, rather than real, courtesan in sixty-six stanzas in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre. The style is erotically didactic rather than satiric. Amitagati's *Subhāshitaratnasandoha* deals with Jain ethics, while the *Dharmaparīkshā* constitutes an attack on Brahmanism. Somaprabha's *Śṛiṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī,* in forty-six stanzas, utilises the device of Ślesha for two simultaneous themes.

(d) *Anthologies and Women Poets*

Of anthologies, a literary form which originated shortly before A.D. 1000, there are several valuable specimens during the period under review. The importance of anthologies for a historian of literature cannot be over-emphasised. They rescue from oblivion many an unknown author, bring forth unknown "beauties" of well-known authors not found in their extant works, and often form important landmarks for fixing dates. The earliest anthology during this period, the *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, is definitely prior to A.D. 1160 as it is quoted by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda.[14] In its present form, however, the text is not earlier than the fifteenth century. The *Subhāshitāvalī* is an extensive anthology, incorporating 3527 stanzas in 101 *Paddhatis* or sections. The number of poets cited, according to Peterson, is about 360. The author, a Kāshmirian, has mostly drawn on works from the North. Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vaṭudāsa, compiled his *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* in A.D. 1206 during the reign of Lakshmaṇasena. The book is divided into five *Pravāhas* (streams) or parts, which have various *Vīchis* (waves) *i.e.* sections, each containing five stanzas. The total

number of stanzas is 2370, that of the poets and works cited being 485. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* was compiled on the model of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvalī* by Jalhaṇa in A.D. 1257. Jalhaṇa was the son of Lakshmīdhara, and the minister of the Yādava king Kṛishṇa. Though there appear to have been two recensions, short and long, the printed edition gives the eclectic text comprising 2790 stanzas divided in 133 sections, the number of poets and works referred to being over 240. At the outset there are traditional verses on Sanskrit poets and poetry, of great interest for literary history.

These anthologies bring to light several women authors of whom some have been dealt with in the previous volume. Their works, from which the stanzas were extracted, are unknown. It would certainly be unjust to judge these writers from the meagre specimens of stray stanzas; but if an opinion may be hazarded, the specimens show neither originality, nor imagination, nor variety. There is nothing specifically feminine about the stanzas, which could well have been written by men. The specimens do not illustrate the highly artistic or creative productions of women, if there were any.

(C) Historical Poems

"Real History finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works comprising it"—thus observes Whitney in his introduction to *A Sanskrit Grammar.*[15] The more recent pursuits of scholars in Sanskrit literature have not yet unearthed anything which would modify the learned savant's remark. Before Kalhaṇa there does not seem to have been any author who took to historical writing with a degree of seriousness. The Purāṇa works apart, even the *Harsha-charita* of Bāṇa smacks more of romance than of history.

It is indeed curious that despite her achievements in other branches as also her abundance of intellect, India failed to produce any historical works in the modern sense. The so-called historical Kāvyas are more poetical works than historical documents. Though dealing ostensibly with historical themes they are mainly concerned with the poetic, dramatic or romantic possibilities, and consequently are indifferent to chronology, mix divine and human action, believe in magic and miracle, and have deep faith in the incalculable human destiny. Different scholars seek to explain the absence of any clear, consistent, and adequate historiography as due to various causes. It is said, for instance, that the idea of composing realistic history aiming at objective accuracy is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Sanskrit literature and its

conception of art with its emphasis on imaginative and impersonalized creation. Thus it is that in historical Kāvyas authors cared more for poetic merit than for historical accuracy. It is also held that Indian mind was little interested in historical incident as such. Then, again, according to the Indian view, as presented in the *Mahābhārata* and other works, truth is not mere verbal accuracy or objective agreement of words with facts, but that which is beneficial for humanity. Truth is therefore valid so far only as it leads to human good. The poet, further, was to concentrate on the creation of ideals and aesthetic emotion which he achieved by descriptions, portraying of sentiments, exaggeration of facts through imagery, etc. It is also likely that it was the firm belief of Indians in the doctrine of *Karman* that prevented them from making any realistic and historical survey of the events in the past.

We may now refer to the few historical works whose existence is so far known to us. According to Kalhaṇa, Śaṅkuka wrote the *Bhuvanābhyudaya* describing the battle of Mamma and Utpala (c. A.D. 850), but unfortunately nothing is known of this work. Padmagupta or Parimala, son of Mṛigāṅkadatta, wrote early in the eleventh century his *Navasāhasāṅka-charita* describing in eighteen cantos the life of king Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka of Mālwā.[16] That the author does not aim at history is obvious from the fact that the work primarily deals with the mythical event of the winning of the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā by Sindhurāja.

Of a little more historical interest is the *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* of the Kāshmirian Bilhaṇa, son of Jyeshṭhakalaśa and Nāgadevī. It glorifies the life of the author's patron king Vikramāditya VI, the Chālukya king of Kalyāṇa.[17] The work begins with the origin of the Chālukya dynasty and goes on to describe, in the usual style of a Mahākāvya, the battles fought and the pleasures enjoyed by king Vikramāditya. The last canto, like the first *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Harsha-charita,* gives us an account of the author himself and his literary adventures, of his family, his country and its rulers. As a piece of history the work is full of blemishes. It seeks the intervention of Śiva to explain away certain unhappy incidents in the life of the king. Accurate chronology is also lost in the medley of vague expressions. As a piece of poetry, on the other hand, Bilhaṇa's work deserves much praise.

After Bilhaṇa comes the celebrated Kāshmirian Kalhaṇa who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. He gives us in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* the chronicles of the kings of Kāshmir right from the beginning to his own days. A Brāhmaṇa by birth and devoted to

Śiva, he was free from the narrow sectarian outlook. From his work it appears that he had carefully studied the epics, the works of classical authors and earlier historians, and many other sciences. As a basis for his excellent *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Kalhaṇa seems to have used the works of early chroniclers in the field, and also gathered first-hand information from inscriptions, copper-plates, various eulogies, and family records. Yet there is very little element of historicity in the first three chapters of the work which are devoted to earlier dynasties. With the dynasty of Kārkoṭa, however, we come across historical realities more and more. Even in this work, belief in the working of fate, magic and witchcraft is responsible for some blemishes. At the same time it must be noted that Kalhaṇa does not spare even his patron from honest criticism. "All that we have points, therefore, to a mind very busily in contact with reality, observing intently the process of current events in lieu of becoming a mere book-worm, and endeavouring to find satisfaction for a keen intellect in recording the events around him and those of earlier days in lieu of the participation in affairs traditional in his family and congenial to his tastes."[18]

Reference has already been made to the *Rāma-charita* of Sandhyākaranandin, who calls himself Kalikāla-Vālmīki. The work simultaneously tells in four cantos the story of Rāma and the history of Rāmapāla. It deals mainly with the successful revolution in North Bengal, the murder of Mahīpāla II, and the restoration of the paternal kingdom by Rāmapāla. The story is continued even after Rāmapāla's death, and ends with Madanapāla.[19] The work possesses great historical value as a contemporary record, but fails as a poetical composition. It was soon forgotten on account of its limited and local interest.

Among the few other minor historical works of this period none is comparable, even distantly, with the work of Kalhaṇa. Atula's *Mūshikavaṁśa* (eleventh century) narrates in fifteen cantos the line of kings which ruled over the Mūshika kingdom, *i.e.* south Travancore. Śambhu (eleventh century) wrote the *Rājendrakarṇapūra* in praise of his patron Harsha. Similarly Jalhaṇa wrote *Somapālavilāsa* in honour of the king of Rājapurī. Jain writers also proved their ability in this branch of Sanskrit literature, and among Jain writers of the period prominent place must be given to the polymath Hemachandra. He narrates the life of king Kumārapāla of Anahilwād (Aṇahillapāṭaka) in the *Kumārapāla-charita*. The poem is also entitled *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, either because it is written both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, or because the work, besides being a history, also serves the purpose of illustrating the rules of grammar. To the

end of the twelfth century belongs the unfinished *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* of unknown authorship (probably by Kāshmirian Jayānaka),[20] which describes the victories of the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja of Delhi over Sultān Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī. To the thirteenth century belong the two panegyrics, the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvaradatta, and the *Sukṛitasaṁkīrtana* of Arisiṁha, both in praise of Vastupāla, a minister of the Vāghela princes of Gujarāt. The former, which has some poetic value, deals with the history of the Vāghela dynasty of Gujarāt. The first two cantos of the latter give an account of the Chāpotkaṭa and Chaulukya rulers. There is also a short eulogistic poem on Vastupāla, called *Sukṛita-kīrtikallolinī,* by Udayaprabha Sūri. Another work on the rulers of Gujarāt, and dealing with the various episodes in Vastupāla's career, is the *Vasantavilāsa* of *Bālachandra* Sūri, pupil of Haribhadra Sūri. Jinaprabha, the prolific writer of numerous *stotras,* has also written a *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* (A.D. 1300) on the life of Śreṇika.

II. *Drama*

The dramatist was not a poet of the people but of the court, and drama, like poetry, was isolated from real life. There was a wide separation of the language of the drama from the language of the people. Instead of becoming pictures or mirrors of life, dramas became rigid exercises in literary skill and ingenuity, and strict adherence to dramaturgic injunctions became a general feature of these works.

(A) Legendary Plays

The legendary plays derive their plots from the epics and the Purāṇas. The Kāshmirian polymath Kshemendra speaks of a drama, *Chitrabhārata,* by himself, which has not survived.[21] The earliest extant drama during the present period is probably the *Prasanna-rāghava* of Jayadeva, who is to be distinguished from several namesakes by his statement that he was the son of Mahādeva, of Kauṇḍinya *gotra,* and Sumitrā.[22] The *Prasanna-rāghava* is a Nāṭaka in seven acts describing the life of Rāma from his wedding to his return from Laṅkā. The author does not strictly follow the story in the epic and takes some liberty with the original. Umāpatidhara, a contemporary of Jayadeva, author of *Gīta-govinda,* wrote *Pārijāta-haraṇa* dealing with the fight between Indra and Kṛishṇa for the celestial flower. Of the polymath Rāmachandra, pupil of Hemachandra, two dramas are available, *viz. Nalavilāsa,* dealing with the story of Nala, in seven acts, and *Nirbhayabhīma,* a one-act Vyāyoga

on the slaying of Baka. The Kerala king Kulaśekhara, whom Dr. De places between the first half of the tenth and the first half of the twelfth century, treats of the *Mahābhārata* stories in his two plays: *Tapatī-Saṁvaraṇa* treats of the legend of the Kuru king Saṁvaraṇa and Tapatī, the daughter of the sun god, in six acts; and *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya,* in five acts, deals with the well-known story of the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadrā. The marriage of Draupadī is dramatized in two acts by Vijayapāla, son of Siddhapāla, in his *Draupadīsvayaṁvara.* The *Pradyumnābhyudaya* of another Kerala prince Ravivarman (thirteenth century) is also based on the Kṛishṇa legend. The *Harakelināṭaka* of the Chāhamāna king Vīsaladeva Vigraharāja of Śākambharī (twelfth century) having the same theme as Bhāravi's poem, is only partially known from a few fragments inscribed on a stone which has been built up in a mosque at Ajmer.

(B) Court Comedies

There are a few Nāṭakas which deal generally with stories of court life based on legendary, semi-historical or fictitious themes. The *Karṇasundarī* of Bilhaṇa is a Nāṭikā in four acts celebrating the marriage of king Karṇadeva of Anahilwād under the guise of a romantic story. It is, however, a poor recast of the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā.* To the same dramatic category belongs the *Vijayaśrī* or *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana Bālasarasvatī (thirteenth century), preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman. It depicts the marriage of king Arjunadeva with the Chaulukya princess who is introduced into the play as a garland of Pārijāta flowers which, on dropping on the breast of the king, is miraculously transformed into a beautiful maiden. In honour of the Chāhamāna king Vīsaladeva was written the *Lalitavigraharājanāṭaka* by his protégé Somadeva describing the king's love for princess Desaladevī of Indrapura; the play is partly preserved in a stone inscription at Ajmer. In a similar vein Vidyānātha wrote his model play, the *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa,* which serves the double purpose of eulogising the king of Warangal and illustrating the author's views on dramaturgy.

The extreme reaction of the dramatic conventions on the mind of the aspiring dramatist is reflected in a series of six dramas, of which four are mythological and two erotic and comic, deliberately written to illustrate six out of ten types of Sanskrit drama. They are the work of Vatsarāja, minister of king Paramardideva of Kālañjara. There is a Vyāyoga named *Kirātārjunīya,* based on the well-known epic of Bhāravi, in which the Sūtradhāra recites the Nāndī verses twice; an Īhāmṛiga named *Rukmiṇīharaṇa;*[23] a

Ḍima called *Tripuradāha;*[24] and a Samavakāra called *Samudra-manthana.* These deal with mythological subjects. There is a Bhāṇa, *Karpūra-charita,* on the love of a gambler with a courtesan, and a Prahasana, *Hāsyachūḍāmaṇi,* in which a preceptor of the Bhāgavata school is ridiculed. Attention may be drawn in this connection to another Vyāyoga named *Pārthaparākrama* of Prahlādanadeva (twelfth century) describing how Arjuna won the cows of Virāṭa. Two points in particular deserve notice here—the author claims to excite in the audience a new sentiment, *dīptarasa,* and the final benediction is invoked not by the hero but by Vāsava.

(C) Erotic and Farcical Plays

Bhāṇa and Prahasana, types of one-act plays, are farcical in character, the former being predominantly erotic and having merely a prolonged monologue sustained by suppositious dialogues. Though dramaturgic treatises mention several Prahasanas, only a few have survived. After the *Chaturbhāṇī,* described in the last volume, the earliest instance is the *Karpūra-charita* of Vatsarāja, which has already been dealt with in the previous section along with his other works. The *Laṭakamelaka* of Śaṅkhadhara Kavirāja (twelfth century), written during the reign of Govindachandra of Kanauj, describes in two acts the conference of rogues at the house of a go-between Danturā, for winning the favour of her daughter Madanamañjarī.

(D) Prakaraṇas and Semi-historical Plays

Later writers of Prakaraṇas, which deal with middle-class life, follow the *Mālatīmādhava* rather than the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* as their general model. There is little of poetic realism but free use of fancy, sentiment, magic and marvel. Out of the four Prakaraṇas mentioned by Rāmachandra in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa,* only the *Kaumudī-Mitrānanda* by the same Rāmachandra is published. It describes the adventures of a merchant's son Mitrānanda and his wife Kaumudī. The story resembles those of the *Daśakumāra-charita.* The *Prabuddharauhiṇeya* of Rāmabhadra, pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri (thirteenth century), narrates in six acts the circumstances which led the robber Rauhiṇeya to change his profession. The *Mudritakumudachandra* of Yaśaśchandra, son of Padmachandra, records in five acts the controversy between two Jain teachers, Śvetāmbara Devasūri and Digambara Kumudachandra, in which the latter was completely sealed up *(mudrita).*

Of the type of *Mudrārākshasa,* having a historical interest, is the *Hammīramadamardana* by a temple priest Jayasiṁha Sūri

(thirteenth century) of Broach, written at the instance of Vastupāla's son Jayantasiṁha. The drama is full of intrigues and incidents and, though purported to commemorate the victory of king Vīradhavala over the Mlechchha ruler Hammīra, in reality eulogises the two ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, describing Vastupāla's skill in diplomacy and repulsion, by him, of the Muslim invasion of Gujarāt.

(E) Allegorical Dramas

Though one of Aśvaghosha's fragments contains personification of abstract virtues as *dramatis personae,* there is yet no evidence that allegorical drama played any important part in the evolution of the dramatic literature in Sanskrit. The *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra (eleventh century) is the earliest known drama of this type. It is an allegory glorifying the Advaita form of Vishṇuism. It derives its name from the prophecy that there will be the rise of Knowledge *(prabodha)* and Judgment *(vidyā)* from the union of Discrimination and Theology. The *Moharājaparājaya* of the Jain Yaśaḥpāla (thirteenth century) mixes allegory with reality as it introduces real human beings like king Kumārapāla and the Vidūshaka with different personifications of good and bad qualities. The play depicts the conversion of the king to Jainism and in consequence his promulgating the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* and prohibiting the practice of confiscating the property of those who died without heirs.

(F) Irregular Dramas

The question about the so-called shadow-plays, irregular types of dramas, has already been dealt with in connection with the *Mahānāṭaka.*[25] The *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa exhibits similar features. Outwardly dramatic in form, it is devoid of any dramatic action, being merely a collection of poetical stanzas. The work styles itself as a Chhāyā-nāṭaka, and has been taken as a typical instance of the shadow-play. In four scenes, it describes the embassy of Aṅgada in connection with the recovery of Sītā from Rāvaṇa. There are longer and shorter recensions of the work. Some other plays also call themselves Chhāyā-nāṭaka in their prologue or colophon; but they cannot be taken as instances of the shadow-play. Probably, these pieces were intended for popular entertainment, and it is not necessary to postulate the existence of the shadow-play to explain the peculiarities possessed by these plays.[26]

III. *Prose Romances and Champūs*

There is not much prose outside scholastic and exegetical writings, and the small amount of literary prose is not of much conse-

quence. The prose romances and Champūs being usually heavily constructed and dexterously stylistic, one has to turn to story literature for simple and direct prose style.

(A) Later Romances

None of the later authors has composed anything comparable to the earlier works of Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, and Subandhu. Soḍḍhala (eleventh century), who was patronised by Chitta, Nāgārjuna, and Mummuṇi Rāja of Koṅkaṇa, wrote the *Udayasundarīkathā* describing the marriage of a Nāga princess with the king of Pratishṭhāna. Oḍeyadeva or Vādībhasiṁha (twelfth century?), a Digambara Jain, closely imitates the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa in his *Gadyachintāmaṇi*. It describes the life of king Satyadhara and his son Jīvandhara. The *Gadyakarṇāmṛita* of Vidyāchakravartin describes the battle between the Hoysala Narasiṁha II and the combined forces of the Pāṇḍya, Magadha, and the Pallava kings.

(B) Champūs

A peculiar type of literary composition written in indifferent prose and verse, styled as Champū, became popular with authors from the tenth century onwards and was a special favourite of South India. A part of the *Rāmāyaṇachampū* leading the Rāma story up to the Kishkindhākāṇḍa is ascribed to Bhoja (eleventh century), and the remainder was finished later by one Lakshmaṇa Kavi who also wrote another work, the *Bhāratachampūtilaka*. Abhinavakālidāsa (eleventh century), which sounds more like a title than a personal name, wrote the *Bhāgavatachampū* and the *Abhinavabhāratachampū*.

IV. *Story Literature*

(A) The 'Bṛihatkathā' and its Later Versions

The *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, which is supposed to have been written in the Paiśāchī Prakrit, is unfortunately lost to us almost beyond any hope of recovery. Still we can form some idea of the original from the three versions—two Kāshmirian and one Nepalese—that are available to-day. From these versions it appears that the form of the original was metrical, but Daṇḍin probably hints that it was prose. The main theme of the narrative was no doubt the marriage of Naravāhanadatta with Madanamañchukā who, like Vasantasenā, was a courtesan. It is also possible that the original work contained many other stories of the love adventures of the hero. As regards the date of the original it is very difficult to dogma-

tise, though its influence over Bhāsa suggests first century A.D. as the probable period of its composition.

One of the three versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* is the *Bṛihatkathā-ślokasaṁgraha* of Budhasvāmin, the manuscripts of which are from Nepāl. It may be dated in the eighth century A.D. The work is available only in a fragment; still a comparison with the other versions shows that this one is more faithful to the original than the two Kāshmirian versions. The stories here are told with a sense of moderation and the language betrays a few Sanskritizations of Prakrit.

The *Bṛihatkathā-mañjarī* of Kshemendra (eleventh century) is one of the two Kāshmirian versions. Both Kshemendra and Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* have added much matter, to wit the *Pañchatantra* and the *Vetālapañchaviṁśatikā,* to the original narrative of Guṇāḍhya, and from this fact it seems permissible to surmise that the two Kāshmirian authors had before them not the original *Bṛihatkathā* but some later and enlarged version of it. When compared with Somadeva's work, Kshemendra's version looks like an abridged edition, so much so that his brevity has sometimes led to obscurity.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the other and the more important Kāshmirian version of the *Bṛihatkathā,* was undertaken by its author Somadeva (eleventh century) to divert the mind of Sūryamatī, the wife of king Ananta of Kāshmir. While writing, it was the avowed aim of the author to narrate the substance of the work before him and at the same time to endeavour to produce a unified effect and maintain the flow of the narrative. As already remarked, Somadeva, in the course of his narration, tells much more than what Kshemendra and Budhasvāmin do. Thus there are numerous stories of faithful and adulterous women, of fools and rogues, thieves and gamblers, false ascetics and forest tribes. Wonderful events and feats of adventure are found in abundance, and magic and witchcraft are a matter of everyday routine. In spite of the vast material contained in the book the author has certainly succeeded in narrating the stories in an easy, flowing style. From the point of view of sociology the work is a mine of information about ancient customs and manners.

(B) Romantic Tales

The *Vetālapañchaviṁśatikā* narrates how an ascetic tried to beguile king Trivikramasena, who was eventually saved by a vam-

pire whose riddles were correctly answered by the king. It has come down to us in more than one version—the Kāshmirian version, incorporated in the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva, the version of Śivadāsa in prose and verse, the one of Jambhaladatta, and still another of Vallabhadāsa. From these versions it is very difficult to decide whether the original work was in prose or poetry or even both. The date of the original is similarly uncertain, though the version of Śivadāsa may have belonged to the twelfth century A.D. As regards its language Hertel has tried to show that it was much influenced by old Gujarātī vocabulary and syntax.[27] Later versions substitute Vikramāditya's name for that of Trivikramasena.

The *Śukasaptati* has come down to us in two recensions of uncertain date—the *simplicior* and the *ornatior* of Schmidt. The former seems to have been written by a Śvetāmbara Jain and the latter by a Brāhmaṇa, Chintāmaṇi Bhaṭṭa. The framework of the book consists of the stories, mostly of faithless women and cunning hetaerae, narrated by a clever parrot to the wife of a merchant in order to guard her chastity while her husband had gone abroad.

The *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* is known by different names and is available today in at least three important versions. It is said that king Bhoja of Dhārā (eleventh century) discovered a throne that was once presented by Indra to Vikramāditya. When the king tried to ascend the throne, each of the thirty-two statuettes on it told him a story of king Vikramāditya and obtained release. The date of this work seems to have been somewhere between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries A.D.[28] Similar in substance, but of less importance, is the anonymous *Vikramodaya* narrating tales of king Vikramāditya in verse. The *Vīracharita* of Ananta, an epic in thirty-two cantos, describes the events of the life of king Śālivāhana. A similar work, though partly in prose, is the *Śālivāhanakathā* of Śivadāsa.

(C) Didactic Tales

The *Pariśishṭaparvan* of Hemachandra is an appendix to his *Trishashṭiśalākāpurusha-charita* and deals with the lives of the oldest of the Jain teachers. It also includes some strange legends about king Chandragupta Maurya and some other folk-tales. The *Prabhāvaka-charita* of Prabhāchandra and Pradyumna Sūri (thirteenth century) forms a continuation of Hemachandra's work.

(D) Fables

The earliest glimpses of a fable are found in the *Mahābhārata* where at one place a particular policy recommended for adoption is illustrated by means of a beast fable. But this does not mean that the fables were collected and written down in a book form from the epic period itself. There are numerous similarities in Greek and Sanskrit fables, but the problem of their mutual relationship is rather difficult of solution. The earliest work on fables in Sanskrit is the *Pañchatantra,* its purpose being to give instructions to some princes in morals and rules of worldly life. It is written in mixed prose and poetry, the former being employed for the narration of the story, and the latter for summing up its moral and also for incorporating certain verses of didactic import.

As with the *Bṛihatkathā,* the original work, usually entitled the *Pañchatantra,* on which are based numerous versions, is lost to us.[29] Its author is said to have been Brāhmaṇa Vishṇuśarman who perhaps lived in the Deccan some time between A.D. 200 and 400. Book I of the work deals with the topic of separation of friends, Book II with winning of friends, Book III with war and peace, Book IV with loss of one's earnings, and Book V with dangers of hasty action. Within the framework of the main narrative in each book are inserted numerous other fables illustrating general rules of life. The author employs a fairly simple style which in general is free from poetic elaborations.

Of all the derivative forms[30] of the original *Pañchatantra,* the *Tantrākhyāyika,* of unknown date, is comparatively more akin to the original than the others. The *textus simplicior* is a Jain version prepared *c.* A.D. 1100, and differs considerably from the original. To the year A.D. 1199 belongs another Jain version, the *Pañchākhyāyika,* prepared by monk Pūrṇabhadra. The *Bṛihatkathā-mañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* have each a version of the *Pañchatantra* representing the form which the original work assumed in the north-west of India. The southern *Pañchatantra* is available in five recensions and seems to be a shortened account of the original. The Bengal version is represented by the *Hitopadeśa* ascribed to Nārāyaṇa (eleventh or twelfth century). The work includes many new tales not found in other versions, and incorporates even large sections from the *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra.* Not satisfied with this the author also rehandles the arrangement of the books. The provenance of the work in Bengal is made probable by a story which describes a ritual in honour of Gaurī, showing the influence of Śāktism. The style of the author is as simple and attractive as that of Vishṇuśarman.

3. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

I. *Lexicography*

The earliest lexicographer in this period appears to be Yādavaprakāśa, the author of *Vaijayantī,* who has been identified with the preceptor of Rāmānuja.[31] Yādavaprakāśa was born near Kāñchīpuram. Originally a staunch follower of Śaṅkara, he was later converted to Vaishṇavism by his former pupil Rāmānuja. The *Vaijayantī* has two portions, synonymous and homonymous, which are fuller than the *Amarakośa.* The homonymous section arranges the words in the alphabetical order of their initial letters, and there are three Kāṇḍas containing homonyms of 2, 3, or more syllables. The *Nāmamālikā*[31a] of Bhoja is of the nature of a compilation (*Saṁgṛihīta).* Its author has been identified with king Bhoja of Dhārā who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. The work has been much influenced by the *Vaijayantī* of Yādavaprakāśa. Purushottamadeva, a Buddhist, wrote three lexical works, *Trikāṇḍaśesha, Hārāvalī,* and *Varṇadeśanā.* The first, as indicated by its title, is a supplement, in three parts containing 1050 verses, to the *Amarakośa.* It adopts the Paribhāshā (terminology) and division of the *Amarakośa,* and aims to give only the words left out by the *Amarakośa.* In the short extent of 278 verses, the *Hārāvalī* deals, in two parts, with the synonymous and homonymous words not in common use. The *Varṇadeśanā,* which is in prose, deals with orthographical variations giving a collection of differently spelt words, and mentions such cases of confusion as between *ksh* and *kh* which, according to the author, is due to the similarity of the characters employed, among others, by the Gauḍas. An *Ekākshara-kośa* and *Dvirūpakośa* are also attributed to him, of which the latter is a brief work of 75 stanzas, dealing with words spelt in two different ways. In view of the quotations by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda (A.D. 1159), Purushottamadeva cannot be placed later than the first half of the twelfth century; but he is not much earlier, as one of his works is stated to have been composed at the request of Lakshmaṇasena, apparently before he became king.

Viśvaprakāśa and *Anekārthakośa* are homonymous lexicons with words arranged in the alphabetical order of final consonants. *Viśvaprakāśa* by Maheśvara, as stated in the last verse, was composed in A.D. 1111. Maheśvara was the son of Śrībrahma and grandson of Kṛishṇa, and his work gained fame even during the century of its composition, as is seen from quotations by Sarvānanda and Hemachandra. Maṅkha, the author of the *Anekārthakośa,* is identified with his namesake, the author of the

Śrīkaṇṭha-charita, who lived in the reign of Jayasiṁha of Kāshmir (A.D. 1128-55). *Anekārthaśabdakośa* by Medinīkara, also known as Medinī, appears to be a mere remodelling of the *Viśvaprakāśa.* Medinī was the son of Prāṇakara. As he is quoted by Rāyamukuṭa (A.D. 1431), Medinī must be placed in or before the fourteenth century, but he is probably much earlier, because the authorities cited by him are earlier than A. D. 1159, being all referred to by Sarvānanda.[32] *Nānārthasaṁgraha* of Ajayapāla, available only in MSS., contains about 1730 words mostly found in the *Śāśvatakośa,* arranged after initial letters. Ajayapāla was a Buddhist, and is quoted in *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (A.D. 1140), by Sarvānanda, Keśavasvāmin and others. Keśavasvāmin's *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkshepa,* the biggest homonymous lexicon known so far, contains about 5800 stanzas, which are divided into six Kāṇḍas according to the number of syllables. In each Kāṇḍa, words are arranged after the initial letters. Keśava's patron was Rājarāja Choḷa, son of Kulottuṅga. Two or three such persons are known during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The printed text of Dhanañjaya's *Nāmamālā* (in Dvādaśakośasaṁgraha, Benares, 1865, 1873) has only a synonymous portion in 200 verses, which appears to be the original recension. There are, however, other recensions which contain, in addition, a homonymous section in 50 stanzas, while a Tanjore MS. has three chapters, *viz.* Śabdasaṁkīrṇarūpaṇa, Śabdasaṁkīrṇaprarūpaṇa, and Śabdavistīrṇarūpaṇa. Dhanañjaya was a Digambara Jain and native of Karnātak. He was also the author of *Dvisandhānakāvya,* quoted in *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (A.D. 1140).[33]

The Gujarāt polymath Hemachandra wrote four lexical works, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, Anekārthasaṁgraha, Nighaṇṭuśesha,* and *Deśīnāmamālā.* The first two deal respectively with synonyms and homonyms, the third is a botanical nighaṇṭu, and the last is a Prakrit lexicon. The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi,* containing nearly 1542 stanzas, is divided into six Kāṇḍas; Devādhideva, dealing with Jain gods and religious terms; Deva, on Hindu and Buddhist gods and terms; Martya, human beings in their various relations; Naraka, nether world; and Sāmānya, abstract notions, adjectives, and indeclinables. The author has written his own commentary. *Anekārthasaṁgraha,* also in six Kāṇḍas, contains nearly 1829 stanzas. The Kāṇḍas are arranged after the number of syllables, and in a twofold alphabetical order after the final and initial letters—and a supplementary Kāṇḍa is added on the Avyayas (indeclinables). Later than Hemachandra is Mahīpa who in his *Anekārthatilaka*[33a] gives a dictionary of homonyms.

This period also witnessed some important commentaries on the *Amarakośa.* The earliest extant commentary is the *Amarakośodghā-*

ṭana by Kshīrasvāmin, who may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century. The commentary is lucid and simple, and elucidates and criticises the text with the help of over a hundred authorities. Next in time and importance is the *Amarakośaṭīkāsarvasva* written in A.D. 1159 by Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya, son of Ārtihara, to whom frequent reference has been made in this chapter. This learned and valuable commentary, written with the help of ten previous commentaries, has been the basis of the works of all later Bengal commentators including Rāyamukuṭa. *Kāmadhenu* by the Buddhist Subhūti or Subhūtichandra, which is often quoted by Bengal commentators, is available in a Tibetan version. The author is mentioned in the *Durghaṭavṛitti* of Śaraṇadeva (A.D. 1173).

Kshīrasvāmin, Sarvānanda, and Medinī refer to and quote from several lexicographers about whom nothing further is known.

II. *Grammar*

The period after A.D. 1000 marks the stage of progressive deterioration in the study of grammar. There is in the first place the rise of a number of new and popular schools of grammar intended to simplify the science for the enlightenment of the laity. There are also numerous recasts of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. Among the works of the Pāṇinian school may be mentioned the *Dhātuvṛitti* of Kshīrasvāmin, the famous commentator of the *Amarakośa*. Kaiyaṭa, son of Jaiyyaṭa, probably a native of Kāshmir, wrote his *Pradīpa* on the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. The *Padamañjarī* by Haradatta is a valuable commentary on the *Kāśikā*. Haradatta was the son of Padmakumāra and a resident of the Telugu country. The only complete work on Pāṇinīya Gaṇapāṭha is Vardhamāna's *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, which is a metrical arrangement of the Gaṇas followed by a commentary by the author. *Durghaṭavṛitti*, written by a Buddhist writer, Śaraṇadeva, under the supervision of Sarvarakshita, deals with the difficult passages of Pāṇini's text.

Among non-Pāṇinian systems, the Chāndra school disappeared from India during the period under review. But it is still extensively studied in Tibet and Ceylon, thanks to the *Bālāvabodha*, a popular recast of the Chāndra grammar by Kāśyapa, a Ceylonese Buddhist monk. The Jainendra school is represented by a few works in this period. Only two commentaries have been preserved; one by Abhayanandī (c. A.D. 1250), and the other, *Śabdārṇavachandrikā* by Somadeva composed in A.D. 1205. Somadeva, resident of Ājurikā (Ājre, in the old Kolhāpur State), was the contemporary of Śilāhāra king Bhojadeva (Bhoja II). The *Pañchavastu* is a recast of the Jainendra grammar to facilitate its study by beginners.

Ārya Śrutakīrti is mentioned as the author in the introductory portion.[34] For the Śākaṭāyana school, there is the *Rūpasiddhi* of Dayāpāla, pupil of Matisāgara, and a fellow student of Vādirāja (or Jayasiṁha II, Chaulukya). It is an abridgment of Śākaṭāyana's grammar, somewhat similar in scope to the *Laghukaumudī*. Prabhāchandrāchārya's *Nyāsa* is another work of the school which is in the nature of a commentary on the *Amoghavṛitti*. From its non-mention by Bopadeva, the author of *Mugdhabodha*, the origin of the Sārasvata school cannot be placed much earlier than A.D. 1250. The school arose in response to a demand, probably from the Muslim rulers, who deemed it necessary to promote the study of Sanskrit. Brevity of treatment and simplicity are the principal features of the Sārasvata school. As against 4000 Sūtras of Pāṇini (3000 of Jainendra, over 1400 in *Kātantra*, and 1200 of Bopadeva), the Sārasvata treats the entire subject in only 700 Sūtras. Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya, the traditional founder, who wrote *Sārasvataprakriyā*, possibly had one or two predecessors. Vardhamāna, a protégé of Karṇadeva, probably a ruler in Gujarāt, wrote *Kātantravistara*, a commentary on Durgasiṁha's Vṛitti which belongs to the Kātantra school. Shortly after Vardhamāna, Trilochanadāsa, son of Megha and father of Gadādhara, of the Kāyastha class, composed *Kātantravṛittipañjikā*. Another work of the school is *Śabdasiddhi*, a commentary written by Mahādeva, of which a MS. is dated Saṁvat 1340. The Gujarāt polymath Hemachandra founded the Hemachandra school. His *Śabdānuśāsana* has, like the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, 8 Adhyāyas of 4 Pādas each, the total number of Sūtras being 4500. Nearly a fourth of these form the last Adhyāya dealing exclusively with the Prakrit languages. *Mugdhabodha* by Bopadeva is the chief text of the Bopadeva school. Bopadeva, the son of Keśava and a pupil of Dhaneśa, was a native of Berār. He was a voluminous writer, his other works being *Muktāphala*, *Harilīlāvivaraṇa*, *Śataślokī*, etc. His object in writing a new treatise on grammar was to combine simplicity with brevity. Religious element pervades this work, illustrative examples referring to Hari, Hara or Rāma. To Bopadeva belongs also the *Kavikalpadruma*[34a] which is a metrical Dhātupāṭha. It not only gives the roots and their meanings but also certain other information about the roots from the grammatical point of view and their usage. Kramadīśvara was the founder of a new system, which however came to be known as Jaumara school from the name of Jumaranandī, the most celebrated writer of the school. Kramadīśvara wrote *Saṁkshiptasāra*, which was revised by *Mahārājādhirāja* Jumaranandī. *Rasavatī* is the name of a Vṛitti by Jumaranandī, who also revised the Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha for this school.

III. *Poetics and Dramaturgy*

(1) Poetics

The interval between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa represents, according to Dr. De, the definitive period in the history of Sanskrit poetics, during which details of the new system were precisely set up.[35] The writers of this period concerned themselves with summarising the results of earlier speculations and presenting them in the form of concise text books. The complete scheme of poetics with the Dhvani theory at its centre, harmonising the divergent theories of earlier writers, finds its expression in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa in the middle of the twelfth century. Some reactionary theorists like Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kuntala flourished during this time. The period following Mammaṭa was, in tune with the general literary tendency, a scholarly one of critical elaboration, which unquestioningly accepted the Dhvani theory. Despite some writers who tried to expound the old surviving traditions like Bhoja or Vāgbhaṭa, no new theory was propounded, the creative days of the science being over long ago. Besides a number of commentaries there was also a large production of popular books for the general reader as also manuals and school books.

Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa, the son of Śrīdhairya and pupil of Mahākavi Śyāmala, severely criticises the Dhvani theory in his *Vyaktiviveka.* He accepts only two senses of Śabda, *viz.* the *vāchya* (the actually expressed) and the *anumeya* (inferable), and includes under the latter both *lakshya* and *vyaṅgya* whose independent existence he controverts. Despite his logical acumen, deep insight and great scholarship, the work failed to evoke interest mainly because he adds nothing to the larger problems of poetics. The avowed object of the book is polemical. It was forgotten in later times and the author is cited only for refutation, probably on account of his pitting himself against the most formidable theory of Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana which was destined to supersede his by attracting the best thinkers of later times. Later theorists never recognised the Anumāna theory. As his views are summarised in the *Alaṁkārasarvasva,* Mahimabhaṭṭa is earlier than A.D. 1100, and as he criticises *Vakroktijīvita* and *Lochana,* and quotes the *Bālarāmāyaṇa,* he is later than A.D. 1000. He therefore probably flourished between A.D. 1020 and 1060. The Alaṁkāra portion of the *Agni Purāṇa,* which belongs to this period, apparently follows a tradition different in many respects from the orthodox systems. Bhoja further develops the definition of poetry given in the *Agni Purāṇa* by expressly adding Rasa among its essential characteristics.

Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* is a voluminous work, divided into five Parichchhedas, but more or less a patient compilation. Apparently following *Agni Purāṇa,* Bhoja regards Upamā, Ākshepa, Samāsokti, and several others as figures both of Śabda and Artha. He enumerates six Rītis: Vaidarbhī, Pāñchālī, Gauḍīyā, Āvantikā, Lāṭīyā, and Māgadhī. He raises all six Pramāṇas of Jaimini to figures of speech, and looks upon even Guṇas and Rasas as Alaṁkāras. Though speaking of eight Rasas, his way of treatment shows that he looked upon Śṛiṅgāra as the only Rasa, which he has expressly stated in his *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa.* The *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* in 36 Prakāśas is the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics, and has been drawn on by Hemachandra and Śāradātanaya. In the first eight chapters, the author deals with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vṛitti; the next two deal with faults and merits of thought and expression; the eleventh with the Mahākāvya, and the twelfth with drama; and the last twenty-four are devoted to Rasas. Bhoja was a prolific author who wrote on a variety of subjects. He was the king of Dhārā and known as Bhojadeva.[36]

Another voluminous writer on a number of subjects, and about whom we have already said a great deal, is the Kāshmirian Kshemendra. His contribution to poetics was, however, meagre, and did not exert any appreciable influence on the Alaṁkāraśāstra. His *Auchityavichāracharchā* contains Kārikās with his own Vṛitti, and illustrations taken from various works. He states that Auchitya (appropriateness or propriety) is the essence of Rasa. Propriety is the life of all poetical compositions because Guṇa, Alaṁkāra, and Rasa, used improperly, not only do not beautify the poem, but lose their own beauty also.

The *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa occupies a unique position in the Alaṁkāra literature, analogous to the *Śāṅkarabhāshya* in Vedānta or the *Pātañjalabhāshya* in grammar. Summing up in itself all the activities that preceded it in the field of poetics, it becomes itself the fountain-head of fresh streams of doctrines. It combines fulness of treatment with conciseness, traversing the whole field in 142 Kārikās (or Sūtras). The work comprises the Kārikā, Vṛitti, and Udāharaṇas and is divided into ten Ullāsas, dealing with all topics of poetics except dramaturgy. A late tradition, mostly obtaining in Bengal, imputes the authorship of the Kārikās to Bharata and of the prose Vṛitti to Mammaṭa; but this is unauthentic and fanciful.[37] The earliest known commentator of the *Kāvyaprakāśa,* Māṇikyachandra (A.D. 1159-60), and an early MS. of the work, dated A.D. 1158, refer to the joint authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* by Mammaṭa and Alaka,[38] and later commentators follow them. It

appears, however, that the joint authorship related only to the seventh and tenth Ullāsas. According to Kāshmirian Paṇḍits Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of Śrīharsha, author of the *Naishadhīya.* As Mammaṭa quotes Abhinavagupta and refers to Bhoja, he cannot be earlier than A.D. 1050; and as the earliest commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is dated 1159-60, he is earlier than A.D. 1150. Thus A.D. 1100 appears to be the probable date of the *Kāvyaprakāśa,* and, as shown by Dr. Gode, the latter part of Mammaṭa's life synchronised with the early literary activities of Hemachandra, whose senior contemporary Mammaṭa was.[39] The value of Mammaṭa consists not in his originality but in the concise and orderly discussions of the main issues, the definitions, and the general treatment embracing the whole field covered by his predecessors.

Rājānaka Ruyyaka or Ruchaka,[40] son of Rājānaka Tilaka, came immediately after Mammaṭa, and his *Alaṁkārasarvasva* shows a remarkable degree of insight and independence of judgment. He is a staunch advocate of the Dhvani school, and briefly summarises the views of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, *Vakroktijīvita, Vyaktiviveka,* and Dhvanikāra on the essence of poetry. The work consists of the three usual parts, Sūtra, Vṛitti, and Udāharaṇa. The *Alaṁkārasarvasva* is important for its acute analysis of the scope and nature of the individual poetic figures. Ruyyaka quotes from *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita,* and criticises *Vyaktiviveka* and *Kāvyaprakāśa,* which show that he cannot be earlier than A.D. 1100; his lower limit is supplied by his pupil Maṅkhaka, who wrote *Śrīkaṇṭhacharita* between 1135 and 1145; thus *Alaṁkārasarvasva* was composed about A.D. 1125.

Hemachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana,* written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛitti, along with its commentary, called *Viveka,* composed by the author, indicates extensive learning, and constitutes a complete manual of poetics in eight chapters. The work, however, displays hardly any originality or independence of judgment. It is chiefly a compilation; the doctrines of Dhvani, Rasa, Guṇa, Dosha, and Alaṁkāra appear to have been closely, and somewhat uncritically, copied from Mammaṭa. The Sūtra, Vṛitti, and commentary are respectively called *Kāvyānuśāsana, Alaṁkārachūḍāmaṇi,* and *Viveka.*

The *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya is an extensive work dealing with Rasas, Bhāvas, and dramaturgy. The author is a staunch follower of the Rasa school, according to which Rasa is the soul of poetry, whereas the other principles, Guṇa, Rīti, Alaṁkāra, etc., are mere subsidiaries. It may be noted that according to the Dhvani school, Rasas hold the predominant position over Alaṁkāra, Guṇa and Rīti. Its followers advocate the method of Rasa-Dhvani,

according to which, the Alaṁkāras, Guṇas and Rītis should beautify the soul, Rasa, and these should be so chosen as to develop the Rasas. The book is divided into four sections and ten chapters. The first two divisions deal respectively with Bhāva and Rasa; the third describes the relation between the words and meanings, and in the fourth we find the different types of dramas. The last section of the work will be dealt with later when we come to dramaturgy. Śāradātanaya quotes extensively from the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* and the *Kāvyaprakāśa,* and Siṅgabhūpāla, Kumārasvāmin, and Kallinātha quote from him; Śāradātanaya, therefore, flourished between A.D. 1175 and 1250.

The *Chandrāloka* by Jayadeva or Pīyūshavarsha, son of Mahādeva and Sumitrā, is an elementary treatise on poetics in the Anushṭubh metre in a lucid and easy style. The language is flowing and sonorous, and the work is admirably suited for the beginners. The author, as already stated earlier, is identical with the author of the *Prasanna-rāghava,* and flourished before A.D. 1300. *Rasaratnapradīpikā* by Allarāja, son of Hammīra, the Chāhamāna king, is also a small treatise intended for beginners.

Śobhākara in his *Alaṁkāraratnākara,* which was considerably popular in Kāshmir, deals with the whole field of poetics in 112 Sūtras. He has elaborated them in his commentary and illustrated them by examples drawn from varied sources; in what are known as Parikaraślokas, he has summarised his views on particular topics. Yaśaskara, in his *Devīśataka,* wrote verses in praise of Devī in illustration of the figures of speech defined in the Sūtras of this work. Śobhākara criticises Ruyyaka's work, and Jayaratha, author of the *Vimarśinī* (first quarter of thirteenth century), defends Ruyyaka against our author's attacks. Śobhākara, therefore, must have written this work in the latter part of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century.

Older and younger Vāgbhaṭas make considerable use of Mammaṭa, but do not admit Dhvani and owe allegiance to the pre-Dhvani schools. Daṇḍin is of considerable authority with them, and the younger Vāgbhaṭa admits some of Rudraṭa's poetic figures. However, they cannot be directly affiliated to the older Alaṁkāra and Rīti schools on account of the influence of the new school on them. Both were Jains, and the *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra,* by the senior Vāgbhaṭa, is a small work of 260 Kārikās divided into five chapters. The object of both was to present a popular and easy epitome of the subject, without adhering to any particular school, but following the traditional notions in an eclectic spirit without critically systematising them with reference to a central theory.

The chief merit of the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara lies in its systematic compilation and arrangement. Consisting of Kārikā, Vṛitti, and examples, the *Ekāvalī* is divided into eight unmeshas, the first following the *Dhvanyāloka*. The work is modelled on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, while the treatment of poetic figures is mainly based on Ruyyaka. The examples are by the author and contain panegyrics of his patron, king Narasiṁha I of Orissa. As the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* of Siṅgabhūpāla (c. A.D. 1330) refers to the *Ekāvalī*, and as either the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I or Narasiṁha II was the patron of Vidyādhara, it appears that the work was composed at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(2) Dramaturgy

There are only two works dealing mainly with dramaturgy which appeared during this period. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* by Rāmachandra, a pupil of the Jain polymath Hemachandra, deals with the science of dramaturgy in four sections called Vivekas. The first, Nāṭakanirṇayaviveka, gives a complete description of the Nāṭaka; the next, Prakaraṇādyekādaśarūpanirṇayaviveka, deals with the remaining eleven forms of Sanskrit drama; Vṛitti (dramatic styles), Rasa (sentiment), Bhāva (emotion) and Abhinaya (gesture) are considered in the third Viveka; and the fourth deals with Lakshaṇas (particulars) common to all Rūpakas (dramatic compositions). Rāmachandra divides dramatic compositions into twelve kinds, the eleventh being Nāṭikā (which other writers on dramaturgy take as an upa-rūpaka, a sub-variety) and the twelfth, Prakaraṇī; but no illustration is given of the last type.

Śāradātanaya, in the last section of his *Bhāvaprakāśana*, describes ten types of drama and twenty types of Nṛitya. In regard to the nature and functions of a Nāṭaka, Śāradātanaya mainly follows Bharata and Dhanañjaya and mentions the views of Kohala and Mātṛigupta whenever these two differ.

IV. *Metrics*

Kshemendra of Kāshmir, who lived in the middle of the eleventh century, had also composed a work on Sanskrit metres, in addition to his works on various other subjects. This work of his is called *Suvṛittatilaka* and contains three chapters. The first defines about twenty-six Sama-Varṇa Vṛittas of four lines each, which are common, easy, agreeable, and suitable to all sorts of poetry. The second and the third chapters are, however, more important, since in them Kshemendra discusses and illustrates the defects and merits of some

metres as also their suitability for particular situations and events. Such a discussion is done by Kshemendra alone, and no other writer appears to have done this. In this connection, Kshemendra points out how some poets show a fondness for one particular metre even though they employ many different metres. This would indicate that he had tried to analyse the metrical practice of a few at least among the distinguished poets.

Vṛittaratnākara is a very important work on Sanskrit metres. An early manuscript of this work is dated Saṁvat 1190. It lies at Jaisalmer and forms part of the same palm-leaf manuscript which contains Jayakīrti's *Chhandonuśāsana* and Virahāṅka's *Vṛittajāti-samuchchaya*. The author, Kedāra, could not have been much older than Hemachandra, who did not evidently know him because he does not allude to him in his otherwise exhaustive work on metres. Nevertheless, it is an old work and has suffered from many variant readings introduced by different scribes and commentators. This would show that the work was very widely used and was highly popular in different parts of India.

Hemachandra, the famous Jain monk and versatile writer of Gujarāt, composed his *Chhandonuśāsana* about A.D. 1150. This is a very exhaustive work on Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa metres. It is really Hemachandra who gave a final sanction and sanctity to the Apabhraṁśa language and literature by his two works, *viz.* the *Chhandonuśāsana* and the *Śabdānuśāsana*. The one exalted the Apabhraṁśa poetry while the other rendered a similar service to the Apabhraṁśa language. Before his time both the Apabhraṁśa language and literature were neglected and even despised by Jain monks and other learned men of ancient India. Sanskrit was indeed the cultural language of the nation as a whole; but even the Prakrits had assumed a sanctity for the Jain monks, since their religious literature, particularly their Āgamas, were composed in the Prakrit language. No such position was possible for the poor Apabhraṁśa, which was for several centuries a language of the ordinary masses, used for men's daily transactions, but considered unfit for literary compositions, whether of a religious or of a philosophical nature. It was, however, the high poetical faculties of poets like Svayambhū and Pushpadanta, both of whom were Jain laymen, which compelled the attention and admiration of appreciative critics among the Jain monks and secured a place of honour for the Apabhraṁśa language and literature. Hemachandra's *Chhandonuśāsana* is clear, methodical, and exhaustive like all other scientific treatises composed by him. It consists of three parts, *viz.* the Sūtras, the Vṛitti, and the illustrations composed by Hemachandra himself. This last feature

of the text has somewhat diminished the value of the otherwise most valuable work for the study of the history of the Apabhraṁśa poetry. But we cannot blame Hemachandra, since he elected to compose his illustrations, rather than select them from the existing Apabhraṁśa poems, because he wanted to introduce the names of the metres in the illustrative stanzas themselves, as he had done in the case of the Sanskrit metres as well as the Prakrit ones.

Jayakīrti's *Chhandonuśāsana* was composed just about this time, though Jayakīrti and Hemachandra do not seem to have known each other. It is, however, more likely that Jayakīrti was an older contemporary of, but was not known to, Hemachandra, when the latter composed his *Chhandonuśāsana*. Jayakīrti was a Digambara Jain and probably hailed from the Kannaḍa districts in the South. In the seventh chapter of his work, Jayakīrti defines several old Kannaḍa metres, of course in Sanskrit. He does not give any illustrations, though he mentions a few Digambara poets by name. He defines only Sanskrit metres in the remaining chapters and does not show his knowledge of any Prakrit poetry or metres. As in the case of the other metricians of the Middle Ages, Jayakīrti's definitions serve as illustrations as well and contain the name of the defined metre. From the names of some of the Sanskrit metres used by Jayakīrti, it would appear that he belonged to a different tradition from that of Hemachandra. The only manuscript of Jayakīrti's *Chhandonuśāsana* is lying at Jaisalmer and is dated Saṁvat 1190.[40a]

Kavidarpaṇa by an unknown author is the last important work of this period. This work closely follows Hemachandra and at times quotes him. It is composed in the Prakrit language, except the fourth chapter which deals with the classical Sanskrit metres and is written in Sanskrit. The mode of treatment in this work, however, materially differs from that of Hemachandra. It sometimes quotes from older poets. The only known manuscript of this work is accompanied by an exhaustive commentary, again of an unknown author who vastly quotes from Hemachandra. The *Kavidarpaṇa* is alluded to by Jinaprabha Sūri in Saṁvat 1365, in his commentary on Nandisena's *Ajitaśāntistava*.

V. *Politics and Practical Life*

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya does not seem to have inspired works of similar nature, so that the only work of some importance during this period is the *Laghv-Arhannīti* of Hemachandra which again is only an abridged form of his big work in Prakrit. Written in a metrical form it deals with such topics as war, punishments,

law, and penances. In his treatment of law he generally follows the *Manu-smṛiti.* Of still less importance are the *Yuktikalpataru* ascribed to Bhoja, the *Nītiratnākara* of Chaṇḍeśvara, and a few others. Reference has already been made above[40b] to *Śukranītisāra* which, in its present form, belongs to a later period. Some scholars, however, believe that the original text was composed in this age.

VI. *Medicine*

Chakrapāṇidatta (eleventh century) from Bengal, son of Nārāyaṇa, and a Kulīna of the Lodhravali family, wrote commentaries called *Āyurvedadīpikā* and *Bhānumatī,* respectively on Charaka and Suśruta. His *Chikitsāsārasaṁgraha,* besides being an authoritative work on the subject, is important in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations which had been introduced since the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛinda. He also wrote *Śabdachandrikā,* a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances, and *Dravyaguṇasaṁgraha,* a work on dietetics. Sureśvara or Śūrapāla, court-physician to king Bhīmapāla, was another Bengali writer of this period. His father and grandfather were court-physicians to kings Rāmapāla and Govindachandra respectively. Sureśvara wrote *Śabdapradīpa* and *Vṛikshāyurveda* on medical botanical terms, and *Lohapaddhati* or *Lohasarvasva* on the medical use and preparation of iron. Vaṅgasena (middle of eleventh century), very probably an inhabitant of Bengal, relied on the works of Suśruta and Mādhava in the preparation of his *Chikitsāsārasṁgraha.* The *Śālihotra*[40c] of Bhoja (eleventh century?) is an interesting book giving information about the horses, their diseases and remedies. Milhaṇa wrote his *Chikitsāmṛita* in A.D. 1224. Śārṅgadhara's *Saṁhitā* mentions the use of opium and quicksilver, and stresses the importance of pulse in diagnosis. Among the works which deal with the metallic preparation calculated to give perpetual youth, invisibility, etc., are the *Rasārṇava* (*c.* A.D. 1200), and the *Rasaratnasamuchchaya,* ascribed in some texts to Vāgbhaṭa and in others to Aśvinīkumāra or Nityanātha, which has been assigned conjecturally to A.D. 1300.

VII. *Mathematics and Astronomy*

First in point of time comes the *Triśatī* of Śrīdhara (eleventh century), but the most important treatises on Mathematics are the two chapters entitled the Līlāvatī and the Bījagaṇita in the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* of Bhāskarāchārya (twelfth century). The form of the Līlāvatī is quite unique, since a beautiful maiden is addressed by the author. As regards contents, it is based on the earlier works of

Brahmagupta and Śrīdhara and deals with combinations. The Bījagaṇita forms the most complete and systematic work on Algebra.

On Astronomy we have the *Rājamṛigāṅka,* ascribed to Bhoja, and the *Bhāsvatī* of Śatānanda, both belonging to the eleventh century. Two chapters from the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, viz.* the Grahagaṇita and the Gola, are the most valuable writings on Astronomy. The *Karaṇakutūhala* was written by the same author a little later. As in Mathematics, so in Astronomy, no scholar contributed anything of importance after Bhāskarāchārya.

VIII. *Music*

The *Saṅgītamakaranda,* attributed to Nārada, perhaps belongs to the eleventh century. It deals with music and dance in two separate parts. To the twelfth century belongs Jagadekamalla Pratāpachakravartin, whose *Saṅgītachūḍāmaṇi* deals with music and dancing in five chapters. The encyclopaedic *Mānasollāsa* (which will be dealt with in the concluding section) of Someśvara devotes 2500 verses to music and musical instruments, and touches on new phases of music, specially *prabandhas.* The most comprehensive treatise on the subject is the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, son of Soḍḍhala and Auditor-General of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of Devagiri. The *Saṅgītaratnākara,* in seven chapters, not only embraces the views of all ancient writers, but also contributes original definition and discussion. It deals with musical notes, melodies, technical terms, measures of time, musical instruments, dancing, acting, etc. Pārśvadeva, son of Ādideva and Gaurī, a Jain writer of the same period, has also written a similar work, the *Saṅgītasamayasāra,* dealing with all aspects of music in nine adhikaraṇas.

IX. *Ancillary Sciences*

Most of the works dealing with the ancillary sciences are of a late date, and in spite of the fact that some of them do not strictly belong to this period they are all brought here together for the sake of convenience.

Śilpaśāstra or Architecture is the subject of various anonymous works like the *Mayamata,* the *Sanatkumāravāstuśāstra,* the *Mānasāra,* and the *Śilparatna* of Śrīkumāra (sixteenth century). The *Hastyāyurveda,* dealing with elephants, is in the form of a dialogue between king Romapāda and sage Pālakāpya. The *Mātaṅgalīlā* of Nārāyaṇa pertains to the same subject. On horses and their diseases we have many works like the *Aśvaśāstra* ascribed to Śālihotra, the

Āśvāyurveda of Gaṇa, the *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta and Dīpaṅkara, and the *Aśvachikitsā* of Nakula. On the subject of jewels may be mentioned the *Agastimata*, the *Ratnaparīkshā* of Buddha Bhaṭṭa, and the *Navaratnaparīkshā* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

On the science of love nothing has been written to dislodge the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana from the status that it enjoys today. The *Pañchasāyaka* of Jyotirīśvara and the *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka belong to the twelfth century. Of the later glosses on the *Kāmasūtra* may be mentioned the *Jayamaṅgalā* of Yaśodhara (thirteenth century) which explains some of the obscure words in the *Kāmasūtra*.

On the subject of omens we have the *Samudratilaka*, begun by Durlabharāja in A.D. 1160, and finished by his son Jagaddeva, who also wrote an independent work on dreams, the *Svapnachintāmaṇi*. Similarly the *Adbhutasāgara* was begun by Ballālasena of Bengal and completed by Lakshmaṇasena. The *Narapatijayacharyā Svarodaya* of Narahari (twelfth century) describes how the results of war and of other adventures can be prognosticated with the help of diagrams. A late work dealing with geomancy is the *Ramalarahasya* of Bhayabhañjanaśarman.

4. RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

I. *Purāṇas*

The corpus of the Purāṇas was complete in the Gupta Age, and additional matter was incorporated during the subsequent period.[41] There was not much activity in this direction in our period. Dr. Hazra's researches on the chronology of the Smṛiti chapters in the Purāṇas reveal that the bulk of most of the major Purāṇas, as we have them at present, was finalised by the end of the ninth century A.D. Only a few chapters dealing with topics such as holy places, varṇāśramadharma, yugadharma, strī-dharma, glorification of the Brāhmaṇas, worship of Śālagrāma, tulasī, planets, Devī, etc., merits of digging tanks, dedicating trees, gardens and reservoirs, etc., were interpolated during the period under review in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa* Purāṇas. The Smṛiti chapters of the *Skanda Purāṇa* are generally late, not earlier than the tenth century A.D.[42]

II. *Dharmaśāstra: Commentaries, Nibandhas, and Ritual Literature*

In the Dharmaśāstra literature the present period represents the phase of commentators and writers of Nibandhas (digests). As

compared to commentaries on particular Smṛitis, the digests contained a synthesis of all the dicta of the ancient Smṛitikāras on various topics of Dharma. The general tendency from the twelfth century onwards was to compose digests rather than commentaries. The reputation of the *Mitāksharā,* Vijñāneśvara's celebrated commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti,* has thrown into shade all the digests, anterior or contemporary, with the result that digests have not hitherto received sufficient attention. The Gaekwad's Oriental Series has recently made available some volumes of the encyclopaedic *Kṛityakalpataru* by Lakshmīdhara. In our survey of the Dharmaśāstra literature we shall describe in brief, in a chronological order as far as possible, important writers and their contributions.

Dhāreśvara, or Bhojadeva of Dhārā (A.D. 1000-1055), composed several works on different branches of learning, such as poetics, grammar, medicine, astrology, yoga, etc.[43] Views of Dhāreśvara or Bhojadeva have been cited in various works on Dharmaśāstra. It is not known whether his work (or works) on Dharmaśāstra was a commentary or an independent digest. Jitendriya and Bālaka are two writers from Bengal on Dharmaśāstra who are known only from frequent references in the works of Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana, and Śūlapāṇi. Jitendriya, who flourished about A.D. 1000-1050, wrote an extensive work on Dharmaśāstra which was completely eclipsed by the learned treatise of Jīmūtavāhana. Bālaka,[44] from East Bengal, also before A.D. 1100, wrote on several branches of Dharmaśāstra, such as Vyavahāra and Prāyaschitta. Halāyudha, the jurist, who is frequently quoted by Lakshmīdhara, Chaṇḍeśvara, Harinātha, Raghunandana, Mitramiśra, and others was another Bengali writer of the same period. His work on Dharma is now lost, and the author is to be distinguished from several namesakes.[45] Bhavadevabhaṭṭa of the Sāvarṇa *gotra* of the Kauthuma school of *Sāmaveda,* born in Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍhā (W. Bengal), was the son of Govardhana and Saṅgokā, and flourished about A.D. 1100. He was a versatile genius and composed several valuable works on Dharmaśāstra. *Vyavahāratilaka* is his work on judicial procedure, hitherto undiscovered; *Karmānushṭhānapaddhati* (or *Daśakarmapaddhati,* or *Daśakarmadīpikā)* deals with the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas; *Prāyaschittanirūpaṇa* describes various modes of expiations; and *Tautātitamatatilaka* is on the doctrines of Mīmāṁsā from the standpoint of Kumārila. Govindarāja was the son of Mādhavabhaṭṭa and lived on the banks of the Gaṅgā. He wrote a commentary on the *Manu-smṛiti,* and *Smṛitimañjarī* dealing with all principal topics of

Dharmaśāstra. The *Mitāksharā,* which mentions Medhātithi and Bhojarāja, is silent about Govindarāja, and the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha (*c.* 1160) quotes Govindarāja, so that the time of Govindarāja was between A.D. 1080 and 1140.[46]

The *Kṛityakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakshmīdhara occupies a unique position among digests, and has exercised great influence on early writers of Mithilā, Bengal, and Northern and Western India. Bhaṭṭa Lakshmīdhara, son of Bhaṭṭa Hṛidayadhara, was the minister for peace and war of king Govindachandra of Kanauj.[47] He was well read in Smṛitis, Purāṇas, Mīmāṁsā and all branches of Vedic learning, and was a critical and conscientious compiler who evaluated his sources and selected the correct text. The *Kṛityakalpataru* has been composed according to a well-conceived plan, and its different topics follow the sequence of the different stages and activities of life as laid down in the Śāstras. No other digest attempts such a logical and comprehensive presentation of the Smṛiti material. The book is divided into fourteen Kāṇḍas, and helps one to discharge the Ṛiṇatraya (three debts, *viz.* that to seers, manes, and gods). The first Kāṇḍa (Brahmachārikāṇḍa), which deals with the duties of a boy up to the end of his studentship, sets out the means for discharging the debt to seers (Ṛishiṛiṇa). The directions about discharging the debt to the ancestors (Pitṛiṛiṇa) are found in the next three Kāṇḍas. The second, Gṛihastha-kāṇḍa, treats of the duties of the householder, the third, Āhnika-kāṇḍa, deals with the daily ritual, and the fourth, Śrāddha-kāṇḍa, tells about the offerings to the manes. In the fifth, Dāna-kāṇḍa, we get an encyclopaedic treatment of gifts; consecration of images is dealt with in the next part, Pratishṭhā-kāṇḍa; worship forms the subject of the seventh, Pūjā-kāṇḍa; pilgrimage to holy places is treated in the Tīrtha-kāṇḍa, the eighth; and various vows in the Vrata-kāṇḍa. These show the means of discharging the Devaṛiṇa. Purificatory rites are described in the Śuddhi-kāṇḍa, the tenth, and all kinds of propitiatory rites in the Śānti-kāṇḍa, the thirteenth. These two Kāṇḍas show how to attain peace of mind (*śānti*) which is preliminary to final release (*moksha*). *Vīramitrodaya* is the only other book that deals with *moksha,* which forms the last part of the *Kṛityakalpataru.* Duties of kings are dealt with in the Rājadharma-kāṇḍa, the eleventh, and civil law and procedure in the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, the twelfth. These two are concerned with man's civil environment and its tuning to the progress towards ultimate beatitude.

In the Dharmaśāstra literature the position of Vijñāneśvara's *Mitāksharā* is analogous to that of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* in Grammar, or Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* in Poetics. It represents

the essence of Dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it, and became the fountain-head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis. In several matters of Hindu law *Mitāksharā* is of paramount importance in modern law-courts in the whole of India, except Bengal (where *Dāyabhāga* prevails) and Mahārāshṭra (where *Mayūkha* prevails). The *Mitāksharā* is not a mere commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti,* but is in the nature of a digest of Smṛiti materials. It brings together numerous Smṛiti passages, explains away contradictions among them on the basis of the Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation, brings about order by assigning proper scope to various dicta, and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected Smṛiti injunctions. Vijñāneśvara, of Bharadvāja *gotra,* was the son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭa, and pupil of Uttama. He wrote the *Mitāksharā* when king Vikramārka (Vikramāditya) was ruling in Kalyāṇa.[48]

Aparārka or Aparāditya, a Śilāhāra king (twelfth century A.D.), wrote a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* in the nature of a digest, far more voluminous and extensive than the *Mitāksharā.*

Bhaṭṭa Lakshmīdhara, Vijñāneśvara, and Aparārka were contemporaries. Contrary to the view of MM. Kane who stated that Vijñāneśvara is named in the *Kalpataru,* Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar shows that the references are spurious, and that the *Mitāksharā* was composed between A.D. 1118 and 27 (*c.* A.D. 1120), *i.e.* 20 years later than the latest date assigned to it by MM. Kane.[49] The known dates of Govindachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj, who was the patron of Lakshmīdhara, range between A.D. 1114 and 1154, and *Kṛityakalpataru* was probably composed in the early part of his patron's reign. Aparārka's commentary was composed after A.D. 1126. Both Lakshmīdhara and Vijñāneśvara were commissioned by their respective patrons, powerful rulers claiming Sāmrājya, to compose a work on Dharmaśāstra which would be a fitting memorial to their regime. The Śilāhāra king also was fired by the same idea. The production of these three cardinal works in the same generation is a mark of the powerful wave of Hindu feeling stimulated by the Muslim incursions and the rise of new states.

To the same period probably belongs Jīmūtavāhana, the first of the celebrated Bengali triumvirate. Only three of his works are known, *viz. Kālaviveka, Vyavahāramātṛikā,* and *Dāyabhāga. Kālaviveka* contains discussions as to appropriate times for the performance of religious rites and duties, etc. *Vyavahāramātṛikā* deals with the elements of judicial procedure and the eighteen titles of law, etc. *Dāyabhāga* is the principal authority in Bengal in modern law-courts in matters of inheritance, partition, strī-

dhana, re-union, etc. Some of its peculiar doctrines, which are sharply opposed to *Mitāksharā,* have been discussed above.[49a] Jīmūtavāhana has been variously placed, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, but he most probably flourished in the first half of the twelfth century.[50]

Śrīdhara's *Smṛityarthasāra* deals with the usual Dharmaśāstra topics. He was the son of Nāgabhartṛi Vishṇubhaṭṭa of Viśvāmitra *gotra.* As he quotes the *Mitāksharā, Kalpataru,* and Govindarāja, and as he is quoted by *Smṛiti-chandrikā* and Hemādri, his period is between A.D. 1150 and 1200. Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the Gaṅgā, and was a Dharmādhyaksha. He is one of the early and eminent Bengali writers on Dharmaśāstra. His *Hāralatā,* intended for the Sāmavedins, deals with the observance of impurity consequent on birth and death. In his *Pitṛidayita* (or *Karmopadeśinīpaddhati)* Aniruddha speaks of rites and observances connected with Śrāddha, and also includes a treatment of general duties. Aniruddha is probably identical with the guru of Ballālasena. Ballālasena composed at least five works of which two are known to exist. His *Dānasāgara* is an extensive digest in 70 sections on matters relating to gifts; *Adbhutasāgara* is a comprehensive work on omens and portents, their effects and means of averting them; *Āchārasāgara, Vratasāgara,* and *Pratishṭhāsāgara* are yet to be unearthed.[51] Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya of Vatsa *gotra,* was the Dharmādhyaksha of king Lakshmaṇasena. His *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* is a guide for the Kaṇva Śākhā Brāhmaṇas of the *Śukla Yajurveda* to the Vedic mantras employed in the daily rites and periodical ceremonies, and deals also with the various daily duties.

The *Smṛiti-chandrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa is a well-known and extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra, the printed text dealing with the Saṁskāra, Āhnika, Vyavahāra, Śrāddha, and Aśaucha Kāṇḍas. There was probably a Kāṇḍa on Prāyaśchitta also. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (or Devana, Devānanda, or Devagaṇa) was the son of Keśavabhaṭṭa and a Somayājī. He quotes most profusely from various Smṛitis, and thus affords valuable assistance for reconstructing and checking MSS. and text-editions. As Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa refers to Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, and *Smṛityarthasāra,* he is later than A.D. 1150, and Hemādri's quotations from *Smṛiti-chandrikā* fix A.D. 1225 as the lower limit for Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's date. Almost contemporaneous with Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, or slightly earlier (as he does not refer to Aparārka), was Varadarāja according to K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar; MM. Kane, however, places Varadarāja between A.D. 1200 and 1300.[52] Varadarāja's *Vyavahāranirṇaya* is the foremost digest, held in

high esteem in South India. It is a comprehensive work dealing with both procedure (Vyavahāra-māṭrikā) and substantive law (Vyavahāra). Complete and self-contained, the work shows originality in interpretation, independence, and mastery of Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya. No writer or work later than the *Mitāksharā* is quoted in the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* (or *Varadarājīya).* Another writer from the South, or at least very familiar with its usages, is Haradatta who has several commentaries to his credit, which may be regarded as models of ideal commentaries. He wrote *Anākulā* on the *Āpastamba Gṛihya-sūtra, Anāvilā* on the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra, Mitāksharā* on the *Gautama Dharma-sūtra* and *Ujjvalā* on the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra.* He also wrote *Padamañjarī,* a commentary on the *Kāśikā* of Vāmana and Jayāditya. He lived between A.D. 1150 and 1300, very probably nearer the earlier limit.

Hemādri, son of Kāmadeva and grandson of Vāsudeva, of Vatsa *gotra,* was a very voluminous writer. His *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi* is an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observations, quoting frequently from the Smṛitis and Purāṇas. Hemādri was a profound student of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā. He was in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (A.D. 1261-71). Hemādri is said to have written a commentary on Śaunaka's *Praṇavakalpa; Kaivalyadīpikā,* a commentary on the *Muktāphala* of Bopadeva, the famous author of *Mugdhabodha* grammar, who was a friend and protégé of Hemādri; *Śrāddhakalpa* (different from *Śrāddhakāṇḍa*) according to the rules of Kātyāyana; and *Āyurvedarasāyana,* a commentary on the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. Hemādri's name is associated with numerous temples built in a peculiar style of architecture (called Hemāḍapantī), and he is said to have invented the Moḍī script current in Mahārāshṭra.

Kullūkabhaṭṭa, author of *Manvarthamuktāvalī,* the most famous of the commentaries on the *Manu-smṛiti,* came of a Varendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal residing in Nandana, and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. He wrote the commentary in Kāśī. The commentary is concise, lucid, and to the point, never prolix. It is not an original work, but is based on the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja. Kullūkabhaṭṭa also composed a digest named *Smṛitisāgara.* As he mentions Bhoja, Govindarāja and Halāyudha, Kullūkabhaṭṭa's date falls after A.D. 1150, but it is before A.D. 1300 since Chaṇḍeśvara's *Rājanītiratnākara* quotes his explanations. So his period is between A.D. 1150 and 1300, probably A.D. 1250. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, one of the earliest of medieval Mithilā Nibandhakāras, is the author of several works. His *Āchārādarśa* is a manual

of religious duties of Śukla Yajurvedins, while the daily duties for Sāmavedins are treated in the *Chhandogāhnika*. In the *Samayapradīpa* he describes the proper time for various observances, while the *Pitṛibhakti* and *Śrāddhakalpa* are manuals on Śrāddha rites respectively for the Yajurvedins and Sāmavedins. As he names Harihara and Halāyudha, Śrīdatta flourished after A.D. 1200, but prior to A.D. 1325, as his *Samayapradīpa* is mentioned by Chaṇḍeśvara.

III. *Philosophy*

Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvachintāmaṇi* (last quarter of twelfth century) is a standard text of the modern Nyāya school. The tradition was continued by his son Vardhamāna, whose *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa* (A.D. 1225) is a commentary on Udayana's *Nyāyatātparyaparišuddhi*. Ruchidatta's *Makaranda* develops Vardhamāna's views. Among Jain logical works may be mentioned Devasūri's *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṁkāra* and Prabhākara's *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*. The Buddhist and Jain thinkers stressed the purely logical aspects of the Nyāya, rather than its metaphysical implications, and thus paved the way for modern Nyāya which is pure logic and dialectics. Later Nyāya works openly accepted the Vaiśeshika categories, and Varadarāja's *Tārkikarakshā* is an important treatise of the syncretic school which brings the twelve objects of the Nyāya as well as the six categories of the Vaiśeshika under Prameya. *Tarkasaṁgraha* by Ānandajñāna (or Ānandagiri) refutes the Vaiśeshika theory of atomic creation, while Keśavamiśra's *Tarkabhāshā* combines the Nyāya and the Vaiśeshika views.

Śrīvatsa's *Līlāvatī* (eleventh century) is a commentary on Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha*. Śivāditya's *Saptapadārthī* presents Nyāya and Vaiśeshika principles as parts of one whole. Bhoja's *Rājamārtaṇḍa* is a work of considerable value in the Yogaśāstra.

Śrīharsha's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* is the greatest work on Advaita dialectics. It points out the vanity of philosophy as the human mind is unable to compass those exalted objects which are suggested as worthy of pursuit by its speculative ingenuity. Amalānanda's *Kalpataru* is a commentary on the *Bhāmatī*, and Padmapāda's *Pañchapādikā* is commented by Prakāśātma in his *Pañchapādikāvivaraṇa*.

Yādavaprakāśa, for some time teacher of Rāmānuja, lived at Kāñchī in the eleventh century. In his independent commentary with Advaitic leaning, he holds that *Brahman* is changed into *chit* (spirit), *achit* (matter), and *Īśvara* (God), while according to Rāmā-

nuja, the distinction between *Brahman* and *Īśvara* is unauthorised. Born in Śrīperumbuḍūr about A.D. 1017, Rāmānuja learnt Vedānta from Yādavaprakāśa. Besides commenting on the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavadgītā,* he wrote the *Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasaṁgraha,* and *Vedāntadīpa.* He preached the doctrine of salvation through *bhakti,* which he made out to be the central teaching of the Upanishads, the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the *Brahmasūtra.* His commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* was accepted as *the* commentary by the Vaishṇavas. He restored many Vaishṇava temples, and converted many people to Vaishṇavism. His influence is seen throughout the later history of Hinduism,—Madhva, Vallabha, Chaitanya, Rāmānanda, Kabīr, Nānak, and others being largely indebted to his theistic idealism.

Nimbārka, a Telugu Brāhmaṇa of Vaishṇava faith, lived between the period of Rāmānuja and Madhva. His commentary on the *Brahmasūtra,* called *Pārijātasaurabha,* is an exposition of his theory of Dvaitādvaita, or dualistic non-dualism, in which *Jīva, Īśvara,* and *Jagat* are considered distinct.

Madhva (or Pūrṇaprajña, or Ānandatīrtha), the promulgator of the dualistic philosophy, was born about A.D. 1198[53] near Udipi. He holds Vishṇu to be the supreme godhead, and pleads for the prohibition of bloodshed in connection with sacrifice. He wrote commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra,* the *Bhagavadgītā,* and the Upanishads, as also an epitome of the *Mahābhārata,* and a gloss on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* These works, along with his *Anuvyākhyāna,* help to elucidate his philosophy.

5. GENERAL REVIEW

We may conclude this survey by noticing certain important contributions of this period to Sanskrit literature. In the domain of Kāvya, this period witnessed *Naishadhīya,* the last of the Mahākāvyas, and the growth of anthologies, which had made a beginning in the previous epoch. The historical Kāvyas reached the high watermark in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* a critical work of outstanding merit. In lyrics, special mention must be made of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda,* which occupies a distinctive place in the history of Sanskrit poetry. In its novelty and completeness of effect, the *Gīta-govinda* is unique and marks the beginning of a new literary genre.

Under technical and scientific literature, some valuable work is found in grammar, lexicography, poetics, and music. Three new grammatical systems were started during this period, and the tendency to write popular and scholastic texts is found in poetics

and grammar. Among various lexical works *Vaijayantī, Viśvaprakāśa,* the voluminous *Nānārthārṇavasaṁkshepa,* and the works of the polymath Hemachandra merit special reference. *Kāvyaprakāśa,* Mammaṭa's standard work on poetics, is a valuable legacy of this period, and Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* also is an important contribution. Śārṅgadeva composed the most comprehensive work on music, which received great impetus during this period.

The most valuable contribution, however, is to the Dharmaśāstra literature in the shape of both commentaries and digests (nibandhas) which reached a high watermark of perfection and comprehensiveness. Among commentators the period shows a galaxy of celebrities like Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Kullūka, and Govindarāja; the nibandhakāras include Lakshmīdhara, author of the voluminous *Kṛityakalpataru,* Ballālasena of *Āchārasāgara, Dānasāgara, Adbhutasāgara,* etc., Varadarāja of *Vyavahāranirṇaya,* Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa of *Smṛiti-chandrikā,* Hemādri of *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi,* and several others. Mention must also be made of Jīmūtavāhana, the promulgator of the Dāyabhāga law.

Another valuable contribution is the encyclopaedic works, which made their first appearance during this period. Reference has already been made to the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa, Kṛityakalpataru,* and *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi.* We may also refer here to the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* by king Someśvara.[54] This encyclopaedia, in five Prakaraṇas of twenty chapters each, deals with one hundred different topics connected with the royal household and royal court. The first Prakaraṇa explains general and religious ethics, social service, manufacture of idols, and diseases and their remedies. Polity, under seven heads, and private and inter-statal law are dealt with in the second Prakaraṇa, while the third concerns itself with architecture, picture-drawing, and painting in all details, iconography, and pleasures of domestic life. Various forms of amusements and recreations form the subject of the last two Prakaraṇas, which incidentally treat of arithmetic, preparation of calendars, astrology, augury, omens, palmistry, and training and medical treatment of horses and elephants. There are also particulars about such diverse topics as mining, alchemy, gems and precious stones, marriage and child-rearing, cookery, liquor, beverage, music (which has already been referred to ealier), conveyances, and scents. It is a veritable thesaurus.

Though the period is not rich in creative art and works of outstanding merit, the general output is prolific, and the performance is on the whole creditable, comparing favourably with the earlier

period, especially when the disturbed political conditions are taken into account.

B. SANSKRITIC

I. PĀLI

1. Language

Pāli, the language of the sacred canon of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, has a long history since the third century B.C. The language in its early stage shows a composite nature, and some well-marked stages in its evolution can be discerned in the earliest literature. This evolution, however, stopped after some time and the language became completely stereotyped since the period of Pāli commentaries (fifth century A.D.). It is in this stereotyped Pāli that most of the non-canonical works of the Buddhists are written, with this difference that as time went on the language came to be more and more approximated to Sanskrit under the influence of later classical Sanskrit literature. There are very few archaic forms used in later non-canonical literature.

The Pāli of non-canonical literature therefore shows in general the same linguistic features as are seen in the early prose of the canon. The consonant clusters of Sanskrit are generally simplified and there are noticed other changes also due to assimilation, etc. In Morphology the cumbrous Sanskrit grammar is much simplified, though some of the old forms are still preserved. In the process of simplification analogy plays a great role. The dual is completely lost both in declension and conjugation. Similarly the dative and ablative cases are lost except in masculine and neuter nouns in *-a*. In conjugation, the distinction between special and general tenses and moods is lost. Most of the roots of other classes are brought over to the first or the sixth class. Even the distinction between the two *Padas* and voices is obliterated in most cases.

This period of the Pāli non-canonical literature is marked by later chronicles, literary pieces, manuals, commentaries and some scientific works on grammar, poetics and metre, and law. Even then it lacks works of secular interest such as those on astrology and astronomy, mathematics and logic. Though there are some works on the life of the Buddha, there are few works of the type of Kāvya or dramas.

2. *Non-canonical Literature*

(a) Chronicles

Some of the works of the semi-historical nature which we may notice during this period are the renderings into Pāli of old Simhalese works.

1. The *Bodhivaṁsa* or the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* of Upatissa, which has been assigned by some to the first half of the eleventh century A.D., has already been referred to above.[54a]

2. The *Dāṭhāvaṁsa* or the *Dantadhātuvaṁsa* is an epic in five cantos by the monk Dhammakitti, narrating the history of the tooth-relic of the Buddha. Originally the work was written in the Simhalese in the first half of the fourth century A.D., but later on it was rendered into the Māgadhībhāsā by Dhammakitti at the request of Parakkamo, the commander-in-chief of Ceylon. This rendering took place in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The work is important for the knowledge of the history of the tooth-relic, which, according to this work, was brought to Ceylon by prince Dantakumāra of Ujjain from Dantapura, the capital of Kaliṅga. It also narrates the early life of the Buddha and his work in Ceylon, the distribution of Buddha's relics, and the various miracles worked by the tooth-relic. The work is a specimen of fine poetry written in different metres. Its language is artificial Pāli having long compounds.

3. The *Thūpavaṁsa* of Vāchissara also belongs to the thirteenth century. It gives in three chapters not only the account of the Topes erected over the relics of the Buddha, but also the previous births and the life of the Buddha, and the account of the missionary activities carried on in different countries by the Buddhist monks.

4. The *Chūlavaṁsa* is not an independent work but forms an appendix to the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Mahānāma (sixth century A.D.). It consists of various addenda written by different authors at different times. The first author to continue the chronicle of Mahānāma was monk Dhammakitti who lived in the thirteenth century A.D. Both the early chronicles, *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa,* end with the reign of king Mahāsena (fourth century A.D.). The *Chūlavaṁsa* begins with the reign of Mahāsena's son, Sirimeghavaṇṇa, and ends with king Sirivikkamarājasīha (A.D. 1798-1815), giving an account altogether of more than a hundred kings.

5. The *Attanagaluvihāravaṁsa* gives in prose and verse the history of the temple of Attanagalla, giving an account of the life of king Siri-Saṁghabodhi and his wife. The date of the work is the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.

(b) Literary Pieces

The tendency towards Sanskritisation of Pāli, noticed sometimes in the Pāli chronicles, is more markedly felt in the literary pieces.

1. The *Anāgatavaṁsa* of Kassapa,[54b] perhaps of the eleventh century A.D., is a continuation of the *Buddhavaṁsa,* inasmuch as it gives an account of the future Buddha. The manuscripts of this work do not agree with each other in form or content. One of the manuscripts is in prose and verse, and contains a dialogue between the Buddha and Sāriputta on the future decline of Buddhism. Another manuscript is in complete prose, and narrates the account of the ten future Buddhas including Maitreya. A third manuscript is in verse alone, giving an account of the future Buddha Maitreya and his contemporary Chakravartin Śaṅkha. According to this account this future Buddha would be born in a rich Brāhmaṇa family and would later on renounce the world. Having obtained the highest knowledge he would then set in motion the wheel of law. As this account of the future Buddha is not given in the extant *Buddhavaṁsa,* Dr. Law considers the present *Anāgatavaṁsa* a later elaboration of an earlier account which formed the closing section of the original *Buddhavaṁsa.*[54c]

2. The *Jinālaṁkāra* of Buddharakkhita, written in A.D. 1156, is a Kāvya of the type of ornate poetry. It describes the life of Buddha till he attained the highest knowledge.[54d]

3. The *Jinacharita* of Vanaratana Medhaṁkara is another poem of a similar nature, describing the life of the Buddha according to the narrative in the *Nidāna-kathā.* The author lived in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I (acc. c. A.D. 1273). The language of the work is simple and natural.

4. The *Pajjamadhu* of Buddhapriya is a Śataka type of poetry[54e] praising the Buddha in 104 stanzas. It describes the beauty and the wisdom of the Buddha in a language which is very Sanskritised. The date of the work is the thirteenth century A.D.

5. The *Saddhammopāyana* describes in 629 stanzas the various topics and the ethical doctrines of the Buddhist religion. Its date is probably the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. It resembles, in content, though not in form, the *Telakaṭāhagāthā.*[54f]

6. The *Rasavāhinī* is a collection of 103 narratives having their settings in India and Ceylon. The work was originally written in Simhalese, but later on translated into Pāli by a monk Raṭṭhapāla, and afterwards corrected by Vadehathera in the thirteenth century A.D. The work is written both in prose and verse giving edifying legends exhorting the people to follow the Dhamma.

(c) Manuals

The art of writing manuals in Pāli has its origin in early days but it was only in later centuries that they came to be written in large number, presenting their themes in concise forms. Three such works may be noted in this period.

Reference has already been made above to the *Khuddakasikkhā* of Dhammasiri and the *Mūlasikkhā* of Mahāsāmi which are two short summaries of the *Vinayapiṭaka.*[54g] The works are very popular in Burma. The same popularity is also shared by the Abhidhamma manual, the *Abhidhammattha-saṁgaha* of Anuruddha. It has given rise to a large number of commentaries. The Ceylonese tradition refers the work to the first century B.C., but the work was probably written in the twelfth century A.D.[54h] The work deals with psychology and ethics from the Buddhist point of view. *Paramatthavinichchhaya* and *Nāmarūpaparichchheda* are two other philosophical works attributed to Anuruddha.

(d) Commentaries

The activity for supplying commentaries to canonical works, though started very early, was given a great impetus by the Council which the Thera Mahākassapa is reported to have called during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (A.D. 1153-1186). The Ṭīkās prepared by this Council include such works as the *Sāratthadīpanī* (on *Samantapāsādikā), Paṭhamasāratthamañjusā* (on *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*) and many others, but of these only the *Sāratthadīpanī* by Sāriputta is preserved. Sāriputta is also credited with another commentary *Līnatthapakāsanā* on the *Papañchasūdanī* and an independent work *Vinayasaṁgaha.*

This exegetical activity was carried on further by Sāriputta's pupils, and one of them, Chhapada, a native of Burma, is known to have written a large number of commentaries. It has been already mentioned above that many exegetical works gathered round the *Abhidhammattha-saṁgaha* of Anuruddha in the twelfth century A.D., and one of these was written by Chhapada. The *Vaṁsatthapakāsinī,* a commentary of unknown authorship, on the *Mahāvaṁsa,* was also probably written in the twelfth century A.D.

(e) Scientific Literature

(i) Grammar

The grammatical works of Pāli have been put into three categories: (i) works of the school of Kachchāyana: (ii) those of the school of Moggalāna; and (iii) the Saddanīti.

To the school of Kachchāyana in this period belong the *Nyāsa* of Vimalabuddhi and the *Suttaniddesa* of Chhapada (twelfth century). The *Sambandhachintā* of Saṁgharakkhita, dealing with Pāli Syntax, also belongs to the twelfth century. To the following century belongs the *Rūpasiddhi* or *Padarūpasiddhi* of Buddhapriya (the author of the *Pajjamadhu*) which is only a reshuffling of Kachchāyana's work.

Thera Moggallāna founded a new grammatical school with his Vyākaraṇa called the *Saddalakkhaṇa* and a commentary on it, the *Moggallāyanapañchikā*. The author, who belongs to the twelfth century, has drawn upon old Pāli and also Sanskrit grammars. Piyadassin, one of the pupils of Moggallāna, prepared a summary of his teacher's work in his *Padasādhana*. Vanaratana Madhaṁkara (different from the author of the *Jinacharita*) wrote about A.D. 1300 the *Payogasiddhi* which is considered to be the best work in this school.

The *Saddanīti* of the Burmese scholar Aggavaṁsa (A.D. 1154) is based on the grammar of Kachchāyana and some other Sanskrit grammatical works. The first eighteen chapters of the work are called the *Mahāsaddanīti* and the remaining nine are called the *Chullasaddanīti*.

(ii) Lexicography

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* of Moggallāna (different from the grammarian) belongs to the end of the twelfth century. It is worked out on the model of *Amarakosha* and is divided into three parts dealing with synonyms, homonyms, and indeclinables.

(iii) Poetics and Metre

There are very few works in Pāli on these subjects. The *Subodhālaṁkāra* of Saṁgharakkhita, belonging to the thirteenth century, deals with Pāli poetics. The *Vuttodaya*, by the same author, and the *Kāmaṇḍakī* and the *Chhandovichiti* are Pāli works on metre.

(iv) Law

The oldest Burmese law-book is the *Dhammavilāsa-Dhammasattha* written by monk Sāriputta or Dhammavilāsa (thirteenth century). It is a very important work for it forms the basis of the later legal literature of Burma.

II. THE JAIN MĀHĀRĀSHṬRĪ AND OTHER PRAKRITS

1. *Narrative*

The Prakrit literature of this period is mostly of the narrative type. It deals with the life of the Jain teachers and heroes and incidentally narrates other stories. The principal language used for the purpose is the Jain Māhārāshṭrī, which is primarily the language of the non-canonical works of the Jains and gives us a number of important narrative works. Its use is attested since the second or third century A.D., and is continued up to the fourteenth century. Besides the lives of Jain teachers it also gives us some beautiful romances. There are also some stotras and works of scholastic interest composed in Prakrit. It may be added that most of the works detailed below are in verse.

The *Surasundarī-chariya* of Dhaneśvara was written in A.D. 1038 in the town of Chandrāvatī. It is a big romantic work containing 4000 *gāthās* which are divided into sixteen *parichchhedas*. The main story narrates in an easy style the love affair of a Vidyādhara chief, but many other stories are also included within this framework. To the second half of the eleventh century A.D. belongs the work of Chandraprabhamahattara which describes the life of Vijaya-Chandrakevalin. It contains 1063 *gāthās* and gives eight stories describing the eight different ways of worshipping the Jinas.

The *Mahāvīra-charita* of Guṇachandra,[55] who belonged to the Chandrakulīnagachchha, was composed in A.D. 1082. It describes the life of Mahāvīra on the basis of various legends up to his attaining the supreme knowledge. It also describes the former lives of Mahāvīra. The work is composed in prose and poetry, employing a variety of metres, and contains about 50 Apabhraṁśa verses. The language of the work is grammatically chaste. "This is mainly due to the influence of classical Sanskrit works, that always exercised their influence over Prakrit throughout its career and later became more and more dominant so as to render it servile and imitative. The style of Guṇachandra is obviously influenced by writers like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, from whose classics he derives many of his ideas and expressions. The result of his Sanskrit studies is the use of long and intricate compounds, figures of words only based upon paranomasia, and rare poetic words only to be met with in Sanskrit. It also led to the decrease of purely Deśī words which were substituted by *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words".[56]

The life of Ṛishabha is described by Vardhamāna in his *Ādinātha-charita* composed in A.D. 1103. It has 11000 *gāthās* and

contains many Apabhraṁśa verses. Another work by the same author is the *Manoramā-charita* in 15000 *gāthās* and written in A.D. 1083. Another work describing the life of a Jina and containing many Apabhraṁśa verses is the *Śāntinātha-charita* of Devachandra, the teacher of the famous Hemachandra. The author belonged to the Pūrṇatallagachchha and wrote his work in A.D. 1103. In A.D. 1104 Śānti Sūri wrote his *Pṛithvīchandra-charita* in 7500 verses and in A.D. 1108 Devabhadra wrote *Pārśvanātha-charita,* describing the life of the 23rd Tīrthakara, at Bhṛigukachchha. The *Sumatinātha-charita* by Somaprabha was composed in the second half of the twelfth century and describes the life of the 5th Tīrthakara.

The greatest Jain writer of the twelfth century was the famous Hemachandra who bore the title *Kalikāla-Sarvajña.* He was born at Dhandhūkā in A.D. 1088 and died in A.D. 1172. He was patronised by Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and was responsible for the conversion to Jainism of his successor, king Kumārapāla. He is the author of various works—scientific and literary. The *Kumārapāla-charita* was written by him mainly to illustrate the rules of Prakrit Grammar. The last two cantos of the work are written in various Prakrit dialects like Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī and Apabhraṁśa.

Of the other biographies of the twelfth century mention may be made of the *Neminātha-charita* in 5000 *gāthās* composed by another Hemachandra, an elder contemporary of the above and belonging to the Maladhārigachchha. His pupil Śrīchandra wrote a big epic, the *Munisuvratasvāmi-charita,* in A.D. 1135. His co-student, Lakshmaṇagaṇi, wrote *Supāsanāha-chariya* in some 8000 *gāthās* in A.D. 1142. Besides narrating the life of the 7th Tīrthakara, the author also gives various stories to illustrate the vows of Jainism. Another Śrīchandra of the Chandragachchha composed the *Sanatkumāra-charita* of 8127 verses in A.D. 1157. The story of Sanatkumāra, the Chakravartin, is full of all sorts of romantic and supernatural elements.

There are also some Prakrit works of the type of life stories. In the twelfth century Haribhadra wrote the *Mallinātha-charita* giving the life of the 19th Tīrthakara. Another work by the same author is the *Chandraprabha-charita* in 8000 verses. Somaprabha, a younger contemporary of the famous Hemachandra, is the author of the *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* written both in prose and verse. In five *prastāvas* it enumerates various kings of the Chaulukya dynasty and contains a dialogue between king Kumārapāla and his teacher Hemachandra on the precepts of Jainism. Some parts of the work are also written in Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa. Another

work by the same author, the *Sumatinātha-charita,* as stated earlier, describes the life of the 5th Tīrthakara and also narrates various stories illustrating the principles of Jainism. Towards the end of the thirteenth century comes the *Malayasundarī-kathā* of unknown authorship. It gives the love story of a prince Mahābala and princess Malayasundarī and also many other popular tales based on miracles and magic feats. The prince and the princess are often separated, but are reunited every time. In the end the prince becomes a monk and the princess a nun.

2. *Stotras and Didactic Works*

The Jains have composed numerous stotras, many of them being in Sanskrit. Of the Prakrit stotras of this period mention may be made of the *Ullāsikkama-thaya* of Jinavallabha and the *Ajiyasanti-thaya* of Vīragaṇin. The former is in glorification of Ajita, the second Tīrthakara, and the latter that of Śānti, the 16th Tīrthakara. The *Mahāvīra-stava* is written in an elaborate style in which the same words are used in different meanings. Some of the stotras are composed in more than one language. Thus the *Shaḍbhāshā-nirmita-Pārśvajinastavana* by Dharmavardhana, written about A.D. 1200, is in six languages, *viz.* Sanskrit, Māhārāshṭrī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Paiśāchī, and Apabhraṁśa.

The *Sīlovaesamālā* by Jayakīrti is a didactic poem in 116 Prakrit *gāthās.* Its date, however, is uncertain. The *Gāthākośa* by Munichandra (twelfth century A.D.) is a Prakrit anthology of moral sayings. Another work of a similar nature is the *Bhavavairāgya-śataka* describing the vanity of existence and such other things.

Of scholastic interest is the *Navapaya* in Prakrit, with a Sanskrit commentary, by Jinachandra Gaṇin, written about A.D. 1015. He has also written *Navatattva-Prakaraṇa,* a treatise on the nine fundamental truths of Jainism, *viz. jīva, ajīva, puṇya, pāpa, āsrava, saṁvara, bandha, nirjarā* and *moksha.* Another important work of the eleventh century is the *Jīvaviyāra* by Śānti Sūri in 51 Āryā verses. It discusses the nature of beings after dividing them into various classes. In A.D. 1113 Maladhāri Hemachandra Sūri wrote *Bhavabhāvanā* in 531 *gāthās.* Devendra Sūri wrote in the thirteenth century the first five *karmagranthas* which describe in great details the entire doctrine of *karman.*

3. *Grammars*

The most complete grammar of Prakrit languages was produced in this period by the famous Hemachandra. In the eighth chapter

of his *Siddhahemachandra* he deals with Māhārāshṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī, Chūlikāpaiśāchī and Apabhraṁśa. He has also supplied us with his own commentary which has come down in two recensions, long and short. Hemachandra has also composed a *Deśīnāmamālā* which is a lexicon of Prakrit words.

After Hemachandra comes Kramadīśvara who flourished in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. The eighth chapter of his *Saṁkshiptasāra* is devoted to the treatment of Prakrits. In his discussion he generally follows Vararuchi. But Trivikrama, who flourished in the thirteenth century, follows Hemachandra in his *Prākṛita-śabdānuśāsana*. He belonged to the Western school of grammarians which is based on the so-called *Vālmīkisūtras*. From his teaching arose the grammars of Hemachandra and others belonging to this school. The other representatives of the school are Lakshmīdhara, who composed *Shaḍbhāshāchandrikā*, and Siṁharāja, the author of the *Prākṛitarūpāvatāra*. The Eastern school of Prakrit grammarians which originated with Vararuchi and descended through Laṅkeśvara and Kramadīśvara is represented by Purushottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya. Purushottama's *Prākṛitānuśāsana* was written in A.D. 1265 and has come down to us only in a single manuscript in Newāri characters. The other two authors are rather late, Rāmaśarman's *Prākṛitakalpataru* being assigned to the sixteenth century and Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛitasarvasva* to the seventeenth century. They all divide Prakrits into four categories—Bhāshā, Vibhāshā, Apabhraṁśa and Paiśāchika—and discuss the principal Prakrits under Bhāshā.

4. *Language*

The various processes of phonetic changes that are observed in Pāli are carried still further in the Prakrits. Thus the change of $n > ṇ$ occurs more in Prakrits than in Pāli. The vowels *ī* and *ū* are softened to *ē* and *ō* and *y* to *i*. Surds are often changed to sonants and the mute element of aspirates is dropped. There is also a tendency to drop uninitial consonants. In morphology, analogy has played a great role in the simplification of the inflexional system. The dual and dative are wanting in declension and some more terminations are added. The distinction between the masculine and feminine declension is, however, preserved. In conjugation, the roots are generally brought over to the *a* type. Of the various tenses and moods those that mostly prevail are the present, the future, and the imperative. The past is generally expressed by participial constructions.

III. APABHRAṀŚA[57]

1. *Literature*

The important works in Apabhraṁśa during the period A.D. 1000-1300 noted below show that they have originated among the Jains. Most of them narrate the lives of Jain teachers or heroes or are collections of tales preaching the practices of Jain religion.

1. The *Pajjuṇṇa-kahā* (Skt. Pradyumna-kathā) of Siṁha narrates in fifteen cantos the life of Pradyumna Kumāra, son of Kṛishṇa and the 21st Kāmadeva out of the twenty-four recognised in Jain hierarchy of remarkable persons. Siddha, who died after writing the first eight cantos, belonged to Bambhaṇvāḍa[58] in the domain of Ballāla. If this Ballāla was the Mālava king said to have been killed by Yaśodhavala, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, Siddha may be placed in the early part of the tenth century. The work was completed by Siṁha who added the last seven cantos.

2. The *Kathākośa*[59] of Śrīchandra contains 53 tales intended for moral and religious instruction. It belongs to the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. The Sanskrit Praśasti tells us that the author was the pupil of Vīrachandra of the Kundakunda line of teachers.

3. The *Pārśvapurāṇa* of Padmakīrti describes in eighteen *sandhis* the life of the 23rd Tīrthakara. It also probably belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

4. Somaprabha in the twelfth century wrote a hymn in honour of Pārśva in an extremely artificial style.

5. The *Sukumāla-chariu* by Sirihara (Skt. Śrīdhara) describes the life of Sukumāra who later became a saint. Paumaeva (Skt. Padmadeva) referred to the story of Sukumāla Svāmi in his sermon in a Jain temple at Valaḍa[60] ruled over by king Govindachandra. The poem was composed by Śrīdhara at the instance of Kumāra, one of the listeners at the sermon who was directed to Śrīdhara by the saint, on his desire to know more about the story. The work records Monday, 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Agrahaṇa in 1208 (presumably V.S.=A.D. 1151) as the date of composition.

6. The *Sudarśana-charita* of Nayanandi narrates in twelve *sandhis* the life of a Jain hero. The author, who composed his work in A.D. 1043, was the pupil of Māṇikyanandi of the Kundakunda line of teachers.

7. The *Kālasvarūpakulakam* is a didactic poem in 32 rhymed verses. It was written by Jinadatta Sūri (A.D. 1075-1154), a contemporary of Hemachandra.

8. The *Nemināha-chariu*[60a] was written by Haribhadra, the pupil of Śrīchandra. He was a contemporary of Hemachandra, and completed his work in A.D. 1159 on the day of the conversion of king Kumārapāla. He was also the author of the Prakrit work *Mallinātha-charita*. The work is written in a poetic style describing many scenes from nature.

9. There is yet another *Nemināha-chariu* (Skt. Neminātha-charita) by Lakhamadeva (Skt. Lakshmaṇadeva) in four cantos. The poet was the son of Rayaṇa (Skt. Ratnadeva) and was born at Goṇanda in Mālava. The work does not mention the year of its composition though the days of commencement and completion are given. The MS. records that it was a gift made in V.S. 1510 (=A.D. 1453), so that it was composed earlier.

10. The *Yogasāra* or *Dohāsāra* of Yogichandra Muni belongs to the twelfth century. It contains 108 stanzas on spiritual didacticism. The *Vairāgyasāra* by Suprabhāchārya is a similar poem in 77 *dohā* verses teaching general moral principles of Jainism. The author was a Digambara Jain. His Apabhraṁśa belongs to the Eastern school represented by Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa.[61]

11. Amarakīrtigaṇi's *Chhakkammovaesa* (Skt. Shaṭkarmopadeśa) in fourteen cantos deals with the sixfold duties of householders (*viz.* worship of god, attendance on the teacher, study of sacred texts, self-restraint, austerity, and charity) with illustrative stories. Fifth in succession from Amiyagai (Skt. Amitagati), probably the famous author of the *Dharmaparīkshā, Subhāshitaratnasandoha,* etc. who flourished at the end of the tenth century, our poet belonged to the Māthurasaṅgha. The poem was composed on Thursday, the 14th day in the second fortnight of Bhādrapada, V.S. 1247 (=A.D. 1190), at Godahaya in Mahīyaḍadeśa of Gujjaravisaya, probably identical with Godhra in Mahikantha Agency in Gujarāt.[62] Amarakīrti records seven other works composed by him, *viz. Nemināha-chariu, Mahāvīra-chariu, Jasahara-chariu, Dhammachariya-ṭippaṇa, Suhāsiyarayaṇaṇihī, Dhammovaesachūḍāmaṇi,* and *Jhāṇapaīu.*

12. Another work dealing with the religious vows of Jain house-holders is the *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-paīu* (Skt. *Anuvrata-ratna-pradīpa*) by Lakkhana (Skt. Lakshmaṇa) in eight cantos. Lakshmaṇa was the son of Sāhula and Jaitā of the Jāyasa (Jayaswal) family. He dwelt at Rāyavaḍḍiya on the Yamunā, which was also the residence of his patron Kaṇha, the great minister of Āhavamalla of the Chauhān family. Chhandavāḍa on the Yamunā was the capital of Bharatapāla, Āhavamalla's fourth ancestor. Rāyavaḍḍiya and

Chhandavāḍa have been respectively identified with modern Raibhā and Chandwār near Firozābād in Agra District.[63]

Besides its language and subject matter the work is important for shedding light on a whole line of rulers of Chauhān family ruling near Agra in the thirteenth century. The work was completed on Thursday, the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika, V.S. 1313 (=A.D. 1256).

13. The *Sañjamamañjarī* is a work on ethics in 35 *dohā* verses with an exhaustive commentary. It was composed in the thirteenth century by Mahesara Sūri. It teaches the practice of self-control as the sure way to obtain release.

14. Peculiar interest attaches to the *Sandeśarāsaka*, probably the only non-religious Apabhraṁśa work of the Rāsa type, by Abdul Rahamān, son of Mīrasena, a weaver of the Muslim community, residing in the western part of India. The author was well versed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. The work consists of 223 stanzas divided into three sections called Prakramas. The first is introductory, while in the second section, we have an interesting account of the message sent by a love-lorn lady from Vijayanagara or Vikramapura (in old Jaisalmer State) to her husband who had gone to Khambhāitta (Skt. Stambhatīrtha) or Khambhāta (Cambay) to earn riches and had not cared to return for years. The messenger is a traveller going to Cambay from Mūlasthāna (Multān). The last section gives a description of the six seasons in the context of Virahiṇī (lady in separation). The portrayal of sentiments is vivid and natural, and common experience is found reflected in the picture of the various seasons. The work has been assigned to the twelfth century A.D.[64]

2. *Language*

The origin and nature of Apabhraṁśa have been discussed above.[64a] Vararuchi, the oldest Prakrit grammarian, does not mention Apabhraṁśa. Hemachandra is the first grammarian to treat this language with other Prakrits in his *Haimavyākaraṇa*, and later grammarians like Trivikrama, Lakshmīdhara and Siṁharāja have merely followed him.

Linguistically Apabhraṁśa occupies a position midway between the Prakrits of the dramas and the modern Indian languages. The tendencies of assimilation of consonant clusters, elision of intervocal consonants, and such others observed in the Prakrits are carried still further in the Apabhraṁśa. Some of the other distinguishing features are the weakening of the final vowels (e.g.

-ā > *-a*), *-s* and *-ss* > *-n-*, *-m-* > nasalised *-v-*, and nasalisation of vowels.

In declension as well as conjugation many of the suffixes disappear. Thus the distinction between the nom. and acc. sg. is completely lost. As in other Prakrits the general tendency in the Apabhraṁśa is to reduce the inflexional system to a particular norm. The most distinguishing features of the language are the nom. sg. ending in *-u*, nom. pl. *-a*, inst. *-eṁ* and *-hiṁ*, gen. sg. *-āha*, *assa* and the preponderence of *h* in terminations of nouns and verbs. There is also to be noticed the use of half words *-kara*, *-kaṇṇa*, etc. to emphasise case relations. In pronouns the large variety of Prakrit forms is much reduced. In conjugation the present and future are of course used; to denote past tense past participles are used; though the imperative is employed, optative becomes less frequent; the use of fortifying pleonastic affixes like *-illa*, *-alla*, *-ḍa* is also witnessed. To form absolutives we get a number of suffixes like *-i*, *-iu*, *-avi*, *-evi*, *-eviṇu*, *-eppiṇu*, etc. The vocabulary of the language is further enriched by the addition of many deśī words.

The Apabhraṁśa represents an important stage in the development of Indo-Aryan languages—a stage "in which the Prakrits die and out of which the *Bhāshās* or vernaculars are born." Already during the preceding period (A.D. 750-1000) Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa came into use as a pan-Indo-Aryan literary speech binding together the spoken provincial dialects. It continued right down to the end of the period under review and established itself as a literary language, nearest to the vernaculars, from Bengal to Western Punjāb and Sindh, and from Kāshmir and Nepāl to Mahārāshṭra. The birth of these vernaculars or the New Indo-Aryan speeches which gradually came to their own in their respective areas was the most important cultural event of this period (A.D. 1000-1300).

IV. MARĀṬHĪ

Marāṭhī is one of the most important modern Indian languages having a very vast literature extending over a period of 700 years,[65] and so far as the literature of the pre-British period is concerned, almost half of it still lies unpublished.[66] It contains a very valuable and unique record of the spiritual experiences of the mystic saints from almost every class of society in Mahārāshṭra. The classical Marāṭhī poetry bears witness to all the poetical excellences set forth by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. It is extremely rich in ballad-poetry and folk-songs of a superior type, and after the re-

naissance in the nineteenth century, it has produced masterpieces which are the pride of any land.

Marāṭhī, with its different dialects, reigns supreme in the region which extends from the river Tāpī, in the north, to the Tuṅgabhadrā in the south. Bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea, it includes four districts of the Madhya Pradesh, four districts of the Hyderābād State, the whole of Berār and ten districts of Mahārāshṭra proper, as well as the old Marāṭhā States on the border,—not to speak of the remnants of the Marāṭhā conquests in the north, in Central India, in the south, and the eastern parts of India. Marāṭhī is claimed as the mother-tongue by over 21,800,000 souls, and covers an area of about 149,120 square miles.[67]

The origin of the Marāṭhī language is shrouded in mystery. According to some, it goes back to the early Vedic settlements of Agastya in Janasthāna, when the first Vedic *Apabhraṁśa* must have been formed as the earliest nucleus, which grew in the course of centuries, owing to several kinds of culture-contacts and vicissitudes of fortune, and came to be recognized as Marāṭhī in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The earliest epigraphical record[68] is that of the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja, the Prime-Minister of Rāchamalla Gaṅga, dated A.D. 983, which contains a regular Marāṭhī sentence: "*Śrī Chāvuṇḍarājeṁ karaviyaleṁ.*" Similarly, the earliest reference to Marāṭhī literature is the quotation of a Marāṭhī song in the well-known work *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi* of the Chālukya king Someśvara III written about A.D. 1130, wherein it is also mentioned that Mahārāshṭra women were in the habit of singing *ovī*-songs while cleansing the rice of its husk.[69]

The first great author of note in Marāṭhī is Mukundarāja (latter half of the twelfth century), who wrote, among others, his well-known philosophical work *Vivekasindhu,* in A.D. 1190. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, a veritable sage, endowed with miraculous powers, a follower of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya in his Advaitism, and a spiritual preceptor of Jaitrapāla or Jayatpāla who probably was a petty chief in Berār. Other works ascribed to him are *Paramāmṛita, Pavanavijaya, Mūlastambha, Pañchīkaraṇa,* etc. They are all philosophical treatises.[70]

Three great religious sects dominated Mahārāshṭra at this time. The Nātha-*sampradāya,* which is said to have originated with Ādinātha Śaṅkara, was renovated by Matsyendranātha, at the beginning of the tenth century A.D.[71] Gorakh-nāth, his chief disciple, was a great propagator of this School, throughout the

length and breadth of India, preaching the doctrine of Yoga and salvation through meditation. There are a few Marāṭhī songs attributed to Gorakh-nāth, and the remnant of the *Goraksha-Amaranātha-Saṁvāda* preserves one of the oldest specimens of Marāṭhī prose.[72] His disciple Gahinīnātha was the chief exponent of Nāthism in Mahārāshṭra.[73] It was he who initiated Nivṛtti-nātha, the elder brother of Jñānadeva, the celebrated author of *Jñāneśvarī,* which is the crowning achievement of this sect in Marāṭhī. It is undoubtedly one of the great masterpieces of the world. Though a mere commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā,*[74] one finds in it philosophy and poetry of the highest kind flowing in complete unison, sending its readers into veritable raptures on account of its sweet melody, homely style, wealth of illustrations, depth of feeling, flights of fancy and the most lucid exposition of the philosophy of the *Bhagavadgītā.* Jñānadeva was a precocious saint and a very great genius. He wrote this immortal work at the early age of 19 only. *Amṛitānubhava* is another great work of his, dealing with the Upanishadic philosophy, and more than 25 smaller works have been ascribed to him, besides a collection of over a thousand poems in the Abhaṅga metre.[75] This *Gāthā* or collection of the Abhaṅga poems and *Jñāneśvarī* are among the chief works of the Vārakarī-*sampradāya* which believed in *Bhakti* or devotion as the means of salvation. After receiving his initiation from Nivṛttinātha, Jñānadeva initiated his younger brother Sopānadeva and his youngest sister Muktābāī, all of whom were great Vedāntins and known for their saintliness. All of them wrote in Marāṭhī, but only a few works of Nivṛttinātha, Sopānadeva and Muktābāī have come down to us. They voluntarily put an end to their own life as soon as they thought that the mission of their life was over, and when they were just in their twenties.[76]

The Mahānubhāva is a reformist sect of the Hindus with a philosophy[77] and a code of manners[78] of their own, and was founded by Chakradhara in A.D. 1263.[79] Chakradhara hailed from Gujarāt, but adopted Mahārāshṭra as his field of action and Marāṭhī as the language of his new faith which he preached in the latter part of his life. Like Gautama Buddha he did not leave behind him any particular book of his own which could be regarded as the Book of Faith. His teachings have been collected from the memoirs of his immediate disciples who were learned Pandits and who wrote their works in the first half of the fourteenth century. Nāgadevāchārya,[80] the chief disciple of Chakradhara, was the organising genius of the sect to which he gave a definitive form and a book of tenets. The self-exclusive rigour of the Varṇāśrama

dharma of the caste-Hindus was not observed by this sect which threw open the path of self-renunciation (*Sannyāsa*) to all. They did not believe in the image-worship, but at the same time regarded Śrīkṛishṇa of Dvārāvatī and Śrī-Dattātreya of Māhur (Hyderābād State) as the most perfect forms of the God-head which are believed in by the Hindus in general. A peculiar sanctity is attached to the spots and places visited by the Founder, which are enshrined and worshipped. After the death of Nāgadevāchārya the sect was split up into thirteen different branches (*āmnāyas*), and they are called after the names of the principal disciples of Nāgadevāchārya. They had originally thirteen code-scripts which were later on increased to about twenty-five. The Mahānubhāva sect can reasonably boast of having contributed richly to the formal side of Marāṭhī literature, and, after the manner of Sanskrit, the Mahānubhāva writers have introduced such types of literature as the sūtras, the commentaries, the expositions, the lexicons, works on rhetorics, prosody, and grammar, etc. Like the Buddhists and the Jains they had their legendary biographies and memoirs. They even prepared descriptive indices of the place-names and of the legends associated with the life of their Founder. Their monumental works were written within the first three centuries, but owing to the secretive character of the followers of this sect, most of this literature still remains in the dark.[81]

Of the published works, *Chakradhara-Siddhānta-Sūtre*[82] and *Dṛishṭānta-pāṭha*[83] of Kesobāsa (written about A.D. 1280) deal with the doctrine of the sect, *Līlācharitra* (A.D. 1288) of Mhāïmbhaṭa[84] is the legendary biography of the founder, *Vachchhaharaṇa* (about A.D. 1278) of Dāmodara,[85] *Rukmiṇīsvayaṁvara* (A.D. 1292) of Narendra[86] and *Śiśupālavadha* (A.D. 1200) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa[87] are some of the longer narrative poems of great poetical value. *Uddhavagītā*[88] (A.D. 1300) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa is a Marāṭhī commentary on the 11th Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Mahadāïsā was their earliest poetess[89] who composed nuptial songs, called *Ḍhavaḷe*, some time before A.D. 1287 so far as the first part is concerned; the second is said to have been written within the next 16 years.[90]

After Jñānadeva, the literary Mahārāshṭra was dominated by the poet-saints of the Bhāgavata School who worshipped the God Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharpur. Nāmadeva[91] was the greatest exponent and propagator of this School. They believed in the ultimate merging of the Individual Soul into the Supreme Soul, through the path of Devotion (*Bhakti*), which consisted of nine varieties, whose common features were the perpetual repetition of the

name *'Rāma-Kṛishṇa-Hari'*, or *'Viṭṭhala'*, periodic peregrinations to Paṇḍharpur and also to Āḷandī where Jñānadeva and his living burial, fasting on the 11th day of each fortnight of the Hindu calendar month and on Mondays, feeding the Brāhmaṇas and chance-guests (*atithis*), service to saintly persons, abstinence from meat and wine, listening to Harikīrtanas and reading of religious books. This sect, on account of its periodic peregrinations to Paṇḍharpur, was known as the Vārakarī-*sampradāya*, and it is alleged that it existed in Mahārāshṭra since the ninth century A.D., or even earlier.[92] This sect regarded all castes alike and did not observe any restrictions of untouchability, etc., in their religious association.

Nāmadeva is said to be a contemporary of Jñānadeva and is supposed to have been the youngest of the galaxy of poet-saints who belonged to different castes and whose lyrical outbursts are very popular throughout the length and breadth of Mahārāshṭra. Gorā, the potter, headed the list which comprised Senā, the barber, Sāṁvatā, the gardener, Chokhā, the pariah, Naraharī, the goldsmith, Jogā, the oilman, etc.[93] Their close association has contributed very largely to bridge the gulf between the higher and the lower castes in Mahārāshṭra, and by their poetry and saintliness they have popularised the teachings of the philosophy of Vedānta in all the strata of society.

Nāmadeva was a tailor by caste,[94] but was as great a saint as he was a gifted poet. He had a very large family consisting of more than a dozen members, including his personal attendant Janābāī, all of whom had turned poets and had, it is alleged, contributed their mite in fulfilling the vow of Nāmadeva to compose a hundred crore Abhaṅgas. A small remnant of a few thousand Abhaṅgas is all that we have got today, but they show genuine marks of rare beauty, possessing sweet melody, naïve simplicity, and a direct appeal which are generally the distinguishing characteristics of spontaneous lyrics. Nāmadeva's vigorous and extensive propagandistic tours in the cause of the Bhāgavata Dharma and enchanting *Kīrtanas* led to the creation of a definite school of poetry in Mahārāshṭra which held sway for more than four centuries, and of which the celebrated poet-saint Tukārāma was the direct product. Nāmadeva's fame had spread far and wide[95] in his own days and he had the privilege of being quoted in the *Granthasāheb* of Guru Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion.[96] He had a long life of 80 years and died at Paṇḍharpur in A.D. 1350.

Janābāī, the female attendant of Nāmadeva, was a poetess, whose devotional songs form a class by itself in the Abhaṅga

literature. They are known for their simplicity, depth of feeling, and all-absorbing devotion. Her life was a life of dedication and she had the same unbounded love for Nāmadeva as she had for Viṭṭhala. Though she claimed constant companionship of God, she was essentially a woman, and the charm of her poetry is heightened on account of this.

The spread of the Bhāgavata Dharma in Mahārāshṭra had resulted not only in the fusion of the warring sects of the Vaishṇavites and the Śaivites in this part of the country, but also affected the followers of other religions as well, especially the Muslims, who had come under the influence of Kabīr.[97] They also wrote devotional songs and spread the gospel of toleration in religious outlook, recognizing and respecting different manifestations of the Supreme Spirit. In literature this new cult laid great emphasis on singing the glories of the early youth of the Lord Kṛishṇa, on the teachings of the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in general and on the stories from the epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The celebrated commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* by Jñānadeva inspired generations of scholars to vie with him in writing commentaries on the Lord's Song, and we have more than a score of them, but none attains the great poetical and intellectual height set by the model. The Kīrtana-*sampradāya*, which is peculiarly Mahārāshṭrian, gave a great impetus to a colourful variety in poetry and music, and the special technique that was evolved was strictly adhered to throughout the centuries that followed. The first part consists of a spiritual sermon on a suitable text, and the second part contains an entertaining story illustrating the truth of the philosophical discussion or the moral teaching of the first part, interspersed with music composed by the Kīrtanakāra himself or called to memory from the compositions of other poets. It is thus an admixture of prose and poetry of a highly eloquent nature accompanied by excellent music. It was a very great and effective weapon in the hands of these religious preachers and almost the only recreation of an intellectual type for all the classes and the masses. The moral teachings and the philosophical truths were supplied by our Epics and the Purāṇas which have dominated the literature of Mahārāshṭra ever since. Many a poet, young or old, has chosen to sing of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and more especially of the life of Śrīkṛishṇa, in general, so that the major part of Marāṭhī poetry, from this period onwards, deals with topics concerning these only. There are more than twenty epitomes of the *Mahābhārata* and not less than a hundred and twenty versions, great or small, of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[98]—not to speak of the individual legends and episodes! These great monuments of Aryan

culture have an important part in the formation both of the national character and of the peculiar culture of Mahārāshṭra.

In addition to the utterances of the devotional prayers to Vishṇu or Viṭṭhala by the poet-saints of the Bhāgavata School and the Ākhyānas (legendary episodes) composed by them for the Kīrtanas, we also find the traces of the Avadhūta cult, of the Jaṅgamas and the Liṅgāyats, the Gāṇapatyas and a number of other religious sects in the poetical remains that belong to the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries of the Christian Era. In this classical period, poetry meant essentially a religious poetry.[99]

V. BENGALI

1. *Language*

The Aryan languages of Eastern India, *viz.* the three Bihāri speeches of Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi (the latter two are very close to each other, and some regard them as dialects of the same language), and Oriyā and Bengali-Assamese, all originated from the Māgadhī Prakrit, the evolution of which has been described above.[100]

The people of Eastern India, as in the Gangetic plains generally, represented a mixture of different races before the Aryan-speakers came—Mongoloids (speaking various dialects of the Sino-Tibetan languages like Boḍo and Kuki), Austrics, or Austro-Asiatics (speaking various Kol or Muṇḍā dialects, which latterly developed into Santali and its allied speeches, and also Mon-Khmer dialects, one of which is Khasi of Assam at the present day), and the speakers of the various Dravidian dialects as in Gangetic India and elsewhere. All these three language, culture or racial groups were welded together into one Aryan-speaking people after the advent of the Aryan language in Eastern India. This Aryan language had attained its easternmost frontier up to the southern bend of the Gaṅgā river in Eastern Bihār before the time of Buddha. At that time Bengal appears not to have received the Aryan speech. It would seem that from the Maurya period onwards there was a powerful movement of Aryan-speakers from Bihār passing on into North and West Bengal, and from thence spreading to Assam in the East and to Orissa in the South. These Aryan-speakers, themselves of mixed origin, as much as the people of Bengal, took with them the speech of Magadha; and it was known as Māgadhī-Prakrit and later as Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa[101] when the Aryan speech was established in Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Definite eastern or Magadhan characteristics appear to have developed in the entire Aryanised area of

Assam, Bengal and Bihār during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā formed a very closely connected group, and these languages showed the greatest amount of agreement among themselves. On the other hand, Maithili and Magahi, as representing a sort of Central Magadhan speech, and Bhojpuri, as representing Western Magadhan (as distinct from the Ardha-Māgadhī still further to the west), also similarly developed in the Central and Western Magadhan tract. By A.D. 1000, judging from the specimens of Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā that we have at about this date and a little later, these languages had become fully established, although the relationship between Bengali and Assamese was a little closer than between these two and Oriyā. Thus A.D. 1000 may roughly be taken as a convenient date for the development of the New Indo-Aryan stage in the history of the Aryan speech. About this time, the Bengali language was fully characterised, and Oriyā was also characterised with a few special peculiarities, while Assamese remained still much closer to Old Bengali.

2. *Literature*

The oldest specimens of Bengali are to be found in place-names and personal names in early inscriptions of Bengal, from the fifth century A.D. down to A.D. 1000 and later. This epigraphical material has been studied by S. K. Chatterji in his *Origin and Development of Bengali Language and Literature*. The place-names as well as the personal names are both indicative of the advance made in the language. Connected specimens of Bengali in literature are to be found in the fifty *Charyāpadas* which were discovered in Nepāl by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, and subsequently by one or two other scholars, many years ago. Sastri published these *Charyāpadas* in Old Bengali along with specimens of Apabhraṁśa (Śaurasenī or Western Apabhraṁśa) literature, similarly obtained from Nepāl, in a volume entitled *"Hājār Bachharer Purāṇa Bāṅgālā Bhāshāy Bauddha Gān O Dohā"* which was published in the Bengali year 1323 (A.D. 1916) by the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad of Calcutta. The forty-seven *Charyāpada* songs found in this work alone have a claim to be regarded as Old Bengali, and the other portions of the work are not in Old Bengali, but in a Western Apabhraṁśa. These forty-seven poems were really parts of a collection of fifty, but owing to some pages in the manuscript being missing, three poems have not been found; but subsequently their Tibetan translations have been discovered and this has enabled us to reconstruct them and complete the fifty. These poems relate to the esoteric ideas and practices of the Vajrayāna School of late Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India.

They are in Old Bengali, and it is easy to get their outward sense, but for the inner meaning a commentary is necessary. This commentary (by a later writer) has been furnished in the manuscript in the Sanskrit language, and it is very helpful in understanding the philosophical and other notions behind the poems. The poems were composed by a class of religious teachers known as the Siddhas. Traditionally they were eighty-four in number, and they were claimed by both the later Mahāyāna Buddhists of India and Tibet as well as by the followers of Śaiva Sect of Goraksha-nātha (Gorakh-nāth). Some twenty-four poets are represented in the *Charyāpadas*. They composed short lyrics of generally five couplets, in a metre which is commonly the *Pādākulaka* metre from which the modern Hindi *Chaupāī* on the one hand and the Bengali *Payār* on the other have both evolved. There are a few slightly longer poems with other metres. The style and the technique of these poems were continued in later early Bhojpuri, Bengali and Western Hindi poetry, and this school, which is represented in the *Charyāpada* songs, also had something to do with the mediaeval North Indian Sant poets and reformers. The *Charyāpada* poems have been claimed in their language as belonging to both Assamese and Oriyā, and even to Maithili. All these demonstrate how a thousand years ago from now these eastern speeches converged into a common basic type of speech—a kind of Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa with local variations.

The *Charyāpadas* have been edited and commented upon by various scholars after the first edition by MM. Haraprasad Sastri came out—S. K. Chatterji, Muhammad Shahidullah, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Manindra Basu, and Sukumar Sen. The *Charyāpadas* cannot be accorded a very high place from literary point of view, though occasionally they breathe a true poetic spirit and are marked by beauty of expression, fine conception and imagery, and a deep sensibility and emotion. Their main value and importance are linguistic and doctrinal.[102] They are however good lyrics written in a variety of metres. These lyrics were evidently meant to be sung, for the manuscript gives the names of the *rāgas* against each. But the main characteristic of these verses is their religious and emotional appeal which found a fuller development in later Bengali literature in the Sahajiyā songs, Vaishṇava *padas*, Śākta hymns, Bāul songs, etc. The Buddhist *Charyāpadas* may therefore be regarded as the prototypes or precursors of these later forms of literary development in Bengal.

It is not easy to determine the date of these *Charyāpadas*. The only positive clue is furnished by the names of the *Siddhas* who composed them. There are traditions about the succession of

gurus among these *Siddhas,* and on the basis of a Nepālese tradition about one such line of succession, Dr. M. Shahidullah referred these compositions to the seventh century A.D. But Dr. P. C. Bagchi has shown the unreliable character of the Nepālese tradition. The general view is that these *Charyāpadas* were composed between A.D. 950 and 1200, and most probably during the earlier part of this period. This is about the time when most of the New or Modern Indo-Aryan languages were taking shape.

Apart from the *Charyāpadas* and the names found in the inscriptions mentioned above, other specimens of Bengali literature prior to A.D. 1300 are to be found in a few verses in the *Prākṛita-paiṅgala* (*c.* A.D. 1400), which is a treatise on Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa versification with examples of all the various forms of verse-type described. Some verses in this work, which in all likelihood are modified from Old Bengali, have been discussed by S. K. Chatterji in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language and Literature.* Similarly in the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia, the *Mānasollāsa,* which was compiled in Western India about A.D. 1130, Chatterji has found a few Old Bengali verses and lines in the section relating to music and songs. Similarly Sukumar Sen, in the first volume of his big book on the history of Bengali Literature, notes a few lines in Old Bengali in some early texts in Sanskrit. The *Charyāpada* tradition was carried down to late mediaeval times in Bengal and, in spite of the Turkish conquest, there was no break in it, either in subject matter or in form. The poems in the *Prākṛita-paiṅgala* give us specimen of literature in the Brahmanical tradition, as the *Charyāpadas* give us the Buddhist Vajrayāna tradition. Right up to A.D. 1300 these are the only specimens we have of Bengali literature.[102a] But this is quite enough to give us some of the actual vernacular literary forms which were current in Bengal.

It has been also suggested, although the point has been disputed, that in the twenty-four songs of the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva, which give us a different type of prosody or verse-form from that of classical Sanskrit, we have the reflex in Sanskrit of the vernacular or Apabhraṁśa tradition in literature. Lassen suggested long ago that these twenty-four songs were originally not in Sanskrit but in Apabhraṁśa (or some speech like Old Bengali), and then they were rendered into Sanskrit and incorporated in the *Gīta-govinda.* Considering that Apabhraṁśa song and Old Bengali verses echoing these songs of the *Gīta-govinda* have been found in the *Prākṛita-paiṅgala* and other works, this would be quite a justifiable theory.

Poets in Bengal before A.D. 1300 used not only Bengali, but also Western Apabhraṁśa, in addition to Sanskrit, which was the

language of the educated classes. As in the Buddhist *Dohā-Koshas* by Saraha and Kaṇha which have been edited by MM. Haraprasad Sastri along with the *Charyāpadas,* and further commented upon and translated into French in comparison with the Old Tibetan translations by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, other verses in Apabhraṁśa composed by writers of Bengal have also been found. The Western Apabhraṁśa was like a kind of *Khaṛībolī Hindī* of a thousand years ago, and was current all over India, people in the various tracts using both this Apabhraṁśa and their local speeches.

The Old Bengali Literature, in the compositions of the Siddhas, has exerted some influence in North India also. Gorakh-nāth, the great Sant of Northern India and founder of the sect of the Kān-phaṭā Yogīs of the Punjāb and North India, is intimately connected with the legends of the Siddhas in Bengal. In certain works attributed to Gorakh-nāth and his disciples, like the *Gorakh-Bodh,* the manuscripts of which have been found in Bikaner and elsewhere, we have specimens of poems in a language which is undoubtedly Old Bengali but masquerading as a form of "Old Hindi". Any one knowing Old Bengali will find such verses plentifully in the works of early mediaeval times, ascribed to Gorakh-nāth, which have been published by late Prof. Barthwal, and the tradition has continued right down to our days. Wandering Saints (Sants and Sādhus), and latterly Fakirs and Darveshes, carried the same religious ideologies, and the Sant philosophy, from one part of the North Indian Plains to the other, whether from West to East or from East to West. Through them linguistic influences easily passed from one part to other parts of North India. Ancient Bengal in this way can be said to have influenced the rest of North India through her *Charyāpada* literature.

C. *DRAVIDIAN*

I. TAMIL

1. *Poetry*

By the end of the first millennium after the birth of Christ, Buddhist and Jain influence in the Tamil country was nearly eliminated and the Brahmanic religion, in its twin forms of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, was securely in the saddle. The *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāchakam* hymns and the Vaishṇava hymns in the *Nālāytra Prabandham* had now a wide currency, and the Nāyanārs and the Āḻvārs were deemed to be at least semi-divine, truly the apostles of God. Tamil ruling chiefs supported the Brahmanic reli-

gion with fervour—and occasionally even with fanaticism—and gave considerable encouragement to Tamil men of letters. Men's minds were slowly turned to the treasures of Sanskrit literature, and poets came forward to give Tamil versions or adaptations of standard Sanskrit works. Epics, Purāṇas, philosophical treatises, alaṁkāraśāstras, grammars, all appeared in Tamil, inspired to a greater or lesser extent by Sanskrit models. Already, in the Śaṅgam Age, Perundevanar had rendered the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil, but that work is now lost. The poets of the Brahmanic period turned their attention to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* or other Puranic stories and produced Tamil adaptations, some of which at least acquired the dignity and excellence of creative literature. During this period, three names stand prominent in poetry. Like the three "gems" of Kannaḍa poetry, the three Tamil "gems"—Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan and Pugalendi—were also contemporaries, and they too are usually named together. Making all allowance for the accretions that the traditional accounts of their history have gathered, it seems none the less clear that it was during the period between A.D. 1118 and 1178 that not only Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan and Pugalendi, but perhaps also Śekkiḷār, Avvai II and the commentator Adiyārkanallūr flourished and made it a great age in the history of Tamil literature.

(i) Kamban

Kamban is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in Tamil poetry. His father died when he was quite young, and hence he early came under the protection of a generous landlord by name Śadayappa. By and by, Kamban's unusual talents caught the attention of Kulottuṅga Choḷa, and the poet went to the king's court. Rivalry between Kamban and Oṭṭakkūttan, the court poet, seems to have given rise to many piquant, if not worse, situations. The king apparently decided to capitalize the rivalry, and set them both to write the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil verse. Oṭṭakkūttan fared rather badly in the contest, and in a fit of depression decided to destroy his poem. Kamban interrupted his great rival's act of vandalism in time to save the Uttara-Kāṇḍa, and, along with Kamban's own earlier Kāṇḍas, it now constitutes the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa,* popularly known as *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa.* Comparisons are invidious, and there are not wanting partisans who cry up Kamban at the expense of Vālmīki, a thing that Kamban himself might have deemed sacrilegious. Kamban's poem is a great Tamil classic; and even though it is an adaptation from the Sanskrit original it is none the less a masterpiece. Well versed in classical Tamil and Sanskrit literatures, Kamban cast his poem on a heroic mould and

gave it the flavour and finish of a typical literary epic. It has been remarked that while "Vālmīki is diffuse and simple, Kamban abridges and elaborates;" it is, perhaps, nearer the truth to say that Vālmīki's poem is akin to a vast elemental forest, while Kamban's is more akin to a limited but luxuriant garden. Here is a well-known verse from the Sundara-Kāṇḍa, where Sītā gives utterance to her joy after listening to Hanūmān:

> Be it the demon himself, or another god; or else
>
> The lord of the monkey host; be it cruelty
>
> Or pity; here he came, and named my lord,
>
> Revived my heart, and gave me life; peerless the service!

In recent years, *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa* has been widely popularized in Tamil Nād by two enthusiastic 'tasters' and critics, P. Sri and T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar. Although Kamban wrote other poems also, he is to the multitude only the semi-divine author of the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa;* and yet *Sadakopar-anthāthi* and *Erelupathu* deserve to be more widely read than they are at present.

(ii) Oṭṭakkūttan and Pugalendi

Oṭṭakkūttan often came into conflict with Pugalendi also. According to tradition, Pugalendi was the Pāṇḍyan king's court poet. When the Pāṇḍyan princess married the Choḷa king, Kulottuṅga, Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya sent Pugalendi as a part of his daughter's dowry to the Choḷa court. Innumerable incidents are narrated about the rivalry of the two court poets, and Oṭṭakkūttan is invariably the loser in every trial of wits! At this distance of time it is difficult to sift the truth from the fanciful fabrication of later partisans. Probably, all the three poets, Kamban, Oṭṭakkūttan and Pugalendi were contemporaries and had frequent opportunities of coming together. Kamban by his towering genius and Pugalendi by his audacious and nimble wit, seem to have as a rule got the better of the heavy and proud but meritorious Oṭṭakkūttan. On this basis tradition has reared many a fanciful structure and the stories are repeated in every life-history of these poets.

Pugalendi's most important work is *Nala Veṇbā,* a Tamil version of the story of Nala and Damayantī. Written in the flowing Veṇbā metre, the poem is one of the most melodious in Tamil poetry. Echoes from Sanskrit and the *Kural* and other ancient classics give a peculiar charm to the poem. But the central inspiration is Pugalendi's, and the metrical and verbal felicity is all his own; and truly the vivacity and exuberance of his poetic art are seen in every stanza of this poem. Pugalendi also compos-

ed a number of narrative poems in a flowing metre—somewhat in the ballad style—dealing with various *Mahābhārata* episodes and also popular stories of tradition and history. Some of these poems, *Alli Arasāni, Pavalakkodi,* etc., are on the lips of the common people to this day. The verses have a gay and easy swing, the language is simple and chaste, and poetry is here seen to come to the market-place without vulgarizing itself in the least. Another of Pugalendi's poems, *Kalambakam,* is a commemoration poem in honour of the king of Chenji.

Oṭṭakkūttan's Uttara-Kāṇḍa, though a little inferior to the rest of the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa,* is still a meritorious work. One verse may be rendered as follows:

The relations desire a bridegroom of noble birth;
The fathers would rather have
The undiminishing power of knowledge;
Wide-ranging riches and the strength they give
Are chiefly sought by the mothers;
But the beautiful girls themselves desire only these,
Youth and grace of form.

Oṭṭakkūttan seems to have specialized besides in war-chants called *paraṇīs* and *ulās,* describing respectively war campaigns and triumphant processions. Oṭṭakkūttan's *Takka-Yāgapparaṇi* and *Mūvar-Ula* are among the finest specimens in these two classes of poems. *Mūvar-Ula* is a group of *Ulās* dedicated to three Choḷa kings. All things considered, Oṭṭakkūttan seems to have been a great master of literature rather than a supreme creative writer; and no wonder posterity has come to think of him as a personality rather than as a poet.

(iii) Avvai

Various poetical works and innumerable impromptu verses are attributed to a woman poet by name "Avvai." She figures in the Śaṅgam Age as also in the Age of Kamban, and hence it is now presumed that there were two Avvais, gifted poets both of them. Avvai I, supposed to be a sister of the great Tiruvaḷḷuvar, wrote *Āttisoodi, Kondraivēndan, Mūthurai* and *Nalvali,* works which like *Hamlet* have gone into general currency in Tamil speech. The second Avvai composed *Nannūrkovai, Kalviolukkam, Anunthamilmālai,* and some other works. Several interesting stories are current regarding the way in which Avvai's mother-wit turned the tables against her contemporaries, notably Kulottuṅga Choḷa, Kam-

ban and Oṭṭakkūttan. Her repartees are classical in their aptness and memorability, her humanity is deep and abiding, her sense of humour is radiant and unfailing. The composite "Avvai" is certainly the most popular of Tamil poets, verily the beloved matriarch of Tamil poetry. One verse from the second Avvai is here rendered freely:

Rare, O rare is human birth;
Rare, among humans, to be born
With no impediment in eye, ear or leg;
Rare, with an unblemished body
To unite a mind accomplished and wise;
Rare, for wise and learned minds,
To engage in acts of piety and pity;
But these rarest of the rare
Merit Elysium indeed.

2. *Śaiva Siddhānta Literature*

This literature, which is very considerable in quantity and is of a very high quality as well, is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil. The latter is conveniently studied under two heads: pre-Meykaṇḍeyan and post-Meykaṇḍeyan. The principal figures in pre-Meykaṇḍeyan literature are Tirumūlar, the *Tevāram* and *Tiruvāchakam* hymnists, and the other contributors to the *Tirumurais* like Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi and Śekkiḻār. Nambi-Āṇḍār-Nambi, who belongs to the eleventh century, is sometimes referred to as the Tamil Vyāsa, because it is due to him that we have the extraordinary collection of Śaivite hymns, the eleven *Tirumurais*. The twelfth *Tirumurai*, the *Periapurāṇam*, was the work of Śekkiḻār who is usually assigned to the middle of the twelfth century. The *Periapurāṇam* is a work of hagiology—half history, half myth—containing the lives of the sixty-three canonized Śaiva saints, and the work is held in much reverence and is very popular to this day.

Although the Sanskrit works of Aghoraśiva, Sadyojyotis and Bhojarāja had already settled the general outlines of the Śaiva Siddhānta-śāstra, it became a real power and reached the masses only when teachers like Meykaṇḍa, Aruḷnandi and Umāpati used Tamil as the vehicle for the exposition of the śāstras. These Tamil Siddhānta-śāstras are fourteen in number, of which the three most famous are *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* by Meykaṇḍa Deva, *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar* by Aruḷnandi-śivāchārya and *Śivaprakāśam* by Umāpati-śivāchārya. Meykaṇḍa was, according

to tradition, Sadayappa's daughter's son. Since Sadayappa was Kamban's contemporary and patron, Meykaṇḍa must have flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. Although a Vellāla, Meykaṇḍa was acknowledged as a great teacher. One of his many disciples was Aruḷnandi, a Brāhmaṇa, whose voluminous *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar* is less a commentary on Meykaṇḍa's work and more an independent work, although generally inspired by *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham.* Umāpati was a disciple of Maṟai-jñāna-sambandhar, himself a disciple of Aruḷnandi. Again, Maṟai was a Vellāla while Umāpati was a Brāhmaṇa. Umāpati brings us to the close of the thirteenth century. Corresponding to the four great *bhaktas*—Appar, Sundarar, Māṇikkavāchakar and Sambandhar—the Tamil Śaivas have also these four *Santānāchāryas,*—Meykaṇḍa, Aruḷnandi, Maṟai-jñāna-sambandhar, and Umāpati.

Śaiva Siddhānta admits three entities, *viz.* the Lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*), and matter (*pāśa*). The terms, *pati, paśu* and *pāśa,* really mean, respectively, master of the herd, the herd, and the bond between the two or the entanglement. These are the three *Padārthas* or central categories of Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. Wedged between *pati* and *pāśam,* the soul now inclines this way, lured by His glory, anon staggers that way attracted by the earth-crust. Although by asserting the existence of three such eternal entities Śaiva Siddhānta turns its back on pure Advaita, the Siddhāntins none the less call their philosophy restricted Advaita since the relationship between *pati-paśu-pāśam* is of the nature of an inseparable union or is a unity in diversity. The Lord is the subject, and the soul and matter are objects; it is the Lord who gives illumination to the soul and support to matter, but is Himself uninfluenced by either.[102b]

Meykaṇḍa's *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham,* the corner-stone of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, is cast in the form of a commentary on twelve verses of the Rauravāgama. Aruḷnandi's *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar* is a more voluminous work, consisting of about 550 verses. The first part is devoted to a criticism of various schools of philosophy like the Buddhist, the Jain, the Lokāyata, the Prabhākara, the Pañcharātra, etc. Aruḷnandi attempts to show that these philosophies are inadequate to meet the clamorous needs of humanity. The second part of *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar* is an elaborate exposition of the main tenets of the Śaiva Siddhānta. *Śivaprakāśam* by Umāpati is based on the classical treatises of Meykaṇḍa and Aruḷnandi but is neither as cryptic as the former nor as elaborate as the latter, and is accordingly the best guide to the Śaiva Siddhānta. Umāpati wrote many other works as well, one of which—the controversial

Saṅkalpa Nirākaraṇam—being composed as late as A.D. 1313. Mr. Nallaswami Pillai has published English versions of *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* and *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar,* while Mr. H. R. Hoisington of the American Mission has published an English version of *Śiva-prakāśam.*

II. KANNAḌA

The leanness of Kannaḍa literature during the eleventh century offers a striking contrast to the splendid achievements of the tenth and the varied achievements of the twelfth century. However, there were two Brāhmaṇa authors during this century, Nāgavarmāchārya and Chandrarāja, who wrote respectively *Chandrachūḍāmaṇi-Śataka,* a poetic eulogy of *vairāgya,* and *Madana-Tilaka,* a sheer tour de force in technique. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a succession of eminent Jain writers, who nobly carried on the tradition of Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. But a new force was also discernible, and presently it made its mark in religion, social life, and literature. This was the rise of the Vīraśaiva or the Liṅgāyat movement, inspired and organized by the great Basava.

1. *Vīraśaiva Literature*

Scholars like Dr. S. C. Nandimath hold that Basava was not the actual founder of the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyat religion, but that he reorganised it and put it on firm foundations.[103] The Vīraśaivas look upon the Tamil Śaiva Samayāchāryas as their own spiritual guides. Besides, the Vīraśaivas trace their *gotra* from hoary semi-divine āchāryas, like Revaṇa, Maruḷa, Ekorāma, Paṇḍita and Viśveśvara. Originator or but reorganiser, Basava is certainly the dominating figure in the history of Vīraśaiva religion and literature.

Basava was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in a place called Ingaleshwar-Bāgevāḍi in the Bijāpur District about A.D. 1125. He refused to undergo the *upanayanam* ceremony and embraced the Vīraśaiva faith. He succeeded his uncle as Chief Minister to king Bijjala of Kalyāṇa. He set up the *Anubhava Maṇṭapa,* something analogous to an academy of religious experience, to serve as the focal point of the Vīraśaiva religion. Its president was the venerable Allama Prabhu, spiritually the most austere among the Vīraśaiva teachers. Chief among Basava's contemporaries were Channabasava, Siddharāma, Harihara, Rāghavāṅka, Padmarasa

and the woman mystic and poet, Mahādēvi Akka. Channabasava was the subtle metaphysician of the faith, while Mahādēvi Akka was its piercingly radiant melodist. Some of the Vīraśaiva writers wrote poetry of the traditional patterns, to which we shall refer presently. But the *vachana* was the unique mode in which Vīraśaiva writers and poets chose to express themselves. Thus arose a very considerable body of *"vachana śāstra,"* the work of as many as 213 distinct writers, consisting of "twice eighty crores" of *vachanas*. But only a fraction of this colossal output has survived. Even so, enough remains to give us an idea of the weight, the amplitude and the spiritual depth of this unique literature.

The *vachana śāstra* no doubt embodied a new philosophy of life and religion, not indeed with the rigour and detail of a system, but rather through suggestions, exhortations, lyrical heart-searchings, and ecstatic asseverations. The influence of Tamil devotional poetry like the *Tevāram* and *Tiruvāchakam* hymns is apparent in the *vachanas* sustained by *bhakti*. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the philosophy of Viśishṭādvaita, as taught by Rāmānujāchārya, gave a suggestive turn to the Vīraśaiva philosophy of the *shaṭsthala*. The *shaṭsthala* or the "'six stages" are steps that the individual soul treads on its spiritual journey before it reaches and becomes one with God. The eager aspiring soul progresses from a feeling of isolation and wretchedness, through the intermediate stages of increasing awareness of and proximity to God, to the ineffable reality of God-realization and *mukti*. On the way, the devotee exploits the *ashṭāvaraṇa*—the eight beneficial associates, *e.g.* the *guru*, the *rudrāksha*, the *vibhūti*, etc.—till at last he achieves *bayalu nirbayalu* or the peaceful void that defies and transcends mere understanding. In the social plane, Basava advocated the abolition of castes, extolled the dignity of labour, and gave women an equal status with men.

Basava's *vachanas* are about seven hundred in number. The term *"vachana"* means literally "sentence;" although a *"vachana,"* taken by itself, is a pointed or casual observation, the *vachana* sequences appear to have a certain continuity and underlying intensity of purpose. Basava and his contemporaries, eager to reach the masses, used the expressive conversational idiom of their time, shorn of all Sanskritic profundity and pedantry. Giving up the regularity of traditional verse patterns, they nevertheless gave music and memorability to the *vachanas* by having recourse to alliteration, balance and antithesis. Like the Japanese *haikku*, the *vachana* is a unique literary form: like the verses in Tiruvaḷḷu-

var's *Kuraḷ*, the best *vachanas*, too, have gone into general currency. A few *vachanas* are here given in a free English rendering:—

The fire enkindled in the hearth
may be extinguished with the earth;
Should the earth itself be ablaze,
what charm can quench its rage away?
Should the very embankment drain off
the water in its confines,
Should even the fence nibble away
the corn stalks within,
Should the mother's own milk envenom
her suckling child—
Should thus the Preserver himself
Destroyer turn,
Where lies the anchor of my hope,
O Lord, Kūḍala Saṅgama!

Your grace can stir dry roots
with the freshness of spring;
From your grace can the sterile cow derive
abundant milk;
Poison itself can your grace transform
into holy nectar.
Your grace is the source of all good,
O Lord, Kūḍala Saṅgama![104]

Kūḍala Saṅgama was Basava's tutelary deity, to whom he addressed all his *vachanas*. Mahādēvi Akka likewise addressed her *vachanas* to Mallikārjuna Deva. Here is a rendering of one of Mahādēvi's best-known *vachanas:*

Ye parrots singing
in mirthful ease;
And oh ye swans
frolicking near the lake;
And ye joyous cuckoos
piping full-throated;
And ye proud peacocks
strutting up and down in glee,
over hill and dale—
tell me, O tell me,
ye one and all,
did you ever chance to see,
my lover,
my own Chennamallikārjuna![105]

One other example may be given,—from Allama Prabhu or Prabhudēva. The Vīraśaiva teachers did not attach importance to fasting, dietary self-limitations, and other forms of penance. This is seen in the following *vachana* by Prabhudēva:

> "Those who take a vow of living on milk will be born as cats; those living on grams, will be reborn as horses; those living on flowers, will become bees; those living on water, will reappear as frogs. These shall never have knowledge of *shaṭsthala*. Guheśvara does not like those wanting in firm devotion."

Elsewhere Prabhudēva gives fervent expression to the idea of the omnipresence of God:

> "Dēva! You are in fields, in valleys, in caves and in mountains; wherever we cast our eyes, there You are. Impossible to conceive; impossible to see. Here, there, everywhere You are, Oh Guheśvara!"[106]

Among other Vīraśaiva writers may be named Harihara, who probably belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century, and was the author of *Girijā-Kalyāṇa* and *Śivaśaraṇa Ragalegalu*. The former is woven round the popular theme of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, while the latter is a series of biographies in verse, commemorating the lives of great Śaiva and Vīraśaiva devotees. Harihara's nephew, Rāghavāṅka, is another great figure in Kannaḍa poetry. His *Hariśchandra-Kāvya* has been described as "the most fascinating and artistic presentation of that theme in the whole field of Indian literature."[107] His other works include *Somanātha Charite* and *Harihara-mahatva*. It was Rāghavāṅka who first used and popularized the *shaṭpadī*—the six-lined stanza—as a vehicle of Kannaḍa verse.

We have space now barely to mention Kereya Padmarasa, known also as Tārkika Chakravarti and Sarana Kavi, whose principal work is *Dīkshā-bodhe* in *ragale* form; Someśvara or Palkurike Soma, whose works include *Basavannana Pañcha Gadya, Sadguru Ragale, Sīla Sampādane* and perhaps *Someśvara Śataka* as well; and Deva Kavi and Somarāja, both of whom wrote romances.

2. *Jain Writers*

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, alongside of the Vīraśaiva *vachanakāras*, many Jain writers also flourished, some of them being among the greatest in Kannaḍa literature. Nāgachandra or Pampa II ("Abhinava Pampa") wrote *Mallinātha Purāṇa*, the life-story of the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara,[107a] and a Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the title *Rāmachandra-charita-purāṇa*

(popularly known as the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*). Nāgachandra makes many departures from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, partly with a view to emphasizing the Jain atmosphere of the poem and partly with a view to minimizing the supernatural elements in the original Sanskrit version. The Jain foot-rule with which every episode and every character is sought to be measured is apt to be irritating to readers familiar with Vālmīki's great national epic. However, Nāgachandra's ethical tone is unassailable and its dignified style and *champū* form make it a popular literary treasure. Here is an extract from the work in Mr. Rice's effective English rendering:

"Then Aṅgada, heir to Kishkindha's wide soil,
Determines himself Rāvaṇ's penance to spoil.
He mounts on Kishkindha, his elephant proud;
And round him his ape-bannered followers crowd.
He rides through the suburbs of Laṅka's fair town,
Admiring its beauty, its groves of renown.
He enters the palace, goes alone to the fane;
With reverence he walks round Śāntīśvara's shrine,
And in lowliness worships the image divine.
When—sudden—he sees giant Rāvaṇa there,
Seated, still as some mountain, absorbed in his prayer!"[108]

Although there have been subsequent attempts to render the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Kannaḍa, Nāgachandra's version still retains its position of pre-eminence.

Prominent among other writers were Nemichandra, author of a romance called *Līlāvatī;* Janna, author of a Purāṇa on the life of the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara as also of the tragically rich poem *Yaśodhara-charitre;* Kanti, a woman poet, who was Nāgachandra's contemporary; Nayasena, author of the ethical work *Dharmāmṛita;* and Nāgavarma II and Keśirāja, authors respectively of the standard grammatical works *Karṇāṭaka Bhāshā Bhūshaṇa* and *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa.* Nāgavarma II wrote also a treatise on poetics entitled *Kāvyāvalokana,* which remains the standard work on the subject. "Nothing is more striking", says Mr. Lewis Rice, "than the wealth of quotation and illustration from previous authors which these grammatical writings contain, and this gives them a high scientific as well as historical value."[109]

Throughout this period, Jain writers engaged themselves in the devout task of composing Purāṇas on the lives of the various Tīrthaṅkaras. Three Purāṇas were thus composed on the life of

Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara; Guṇavarma II wrote the *Pushpadanta Purāṇa* on the life of the ninth Tīrthaṅkara; and Āchanna and Kamalabhava wrote on the twenty-fourth and sixteenth Tīrthaṅkaras respectively. Karṇapārya's *Neminātha Purāṇa* incidentally tells the *Mahābhārata* story.

Mallikārjuna, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century, is known to fame as an anthologist. His *Sūkti-Sudhārṇava* is the Kannaḍa equivalent of a Golden Treasury from the Best Kannaḍa Poets.

III. TELUGU

1. *The Origin*

Telugu, the third of the Dravidian languages to attain a separate individuality and forge its own unique history, is today spoken by a little under thirty millions, the great majority of whom are contained within "a semi-circle drawn with the line joining Rajahmundry and Madras as diameter." Adjoining areas like Hyderābād, Mysore, and Orissa account for a considerable number, while there are also Telugu-speaking people in small scattered groups all over Tamil Nād, just as there are the Podur Draviḍas, speaking Tamil, in the Telugu country.

While the Telugu country is called Āndhra Deśa, its language is referred to as Telugu. Much ink has spilt in the attempt to determine whether or not the Āndhras and the Telugu-speaking people are one and the same. Three hypotheses have been advanced, in this connection, on the origin of the Āndhras, and these have been summarized as follows by the late Dr. C. R. Reddy:

"(1) A North-Indian Aryan tribe with an Aryan language but which adopted non-Aryan culture and thus incurred the contempt of the Aryans; (2) A North-Indian non-Aryan tribe which adopted the culture and the language of the Aryans; and (3) A South-Indian tribe which assimilated Aryan culture and some elements of Prakrit, but retained both racially and linguistically its essential Dravidian character."[110]

The third of the above hypotheses seems to be closest to truth. Aryan and Dravidian have acted and reacted upon one another in the crucible of South India so long, and often with so much fury, that it is an idle enterprise today—and this is especially so in the Telugu country—to seek to dissociate one constituent from the other. On the other hand, it seems no less idle to deny the Dravidian ancestry—near or remote—of the people as well as of the spoken language of Āndhra Deśa.

Telugu, the language of the Āndhras, is construed in different ways. *Tene* in Telugu (like *Ten* in Tamil) means honey; hence Telugu is explained as the language that is as sweet as honey. Telugu is also derived from 'Triliṅga', the country which contains the three liṅgas, at Śrīśaila, Kāleśvara, and Drākshārāma respectively. The Telugu script is phonetic, after the manner of Sanskrit, and bears a close resemblance to the Kannaḍa script.

We referred in an earlier chapter[111] to the Agastya myth relating to the origin of Tamil. There is a similar myth relating to the origin of Telugu, with even less plausibility. Agnimitra of the Kṛita Yuga, having become blind, prayed to Sūrya, the Sun-God. The latter taught Agnimitra a new language that had efficacy enough to restore his eyesight. This new language, Āndhra Bhāshā, assumes a new manifestation in every Yuga and the language of the Kali Yuga is supposed to be the handiwork of Nandivardhana and his pupil, Devala Rāya.

2. *Deśi and Mārgi*

In their excellent handbook on Telugu Literature in the Heritage of India Series, Mr. P. Chenchiah and Raja Bhujanga Rao posit "the existence in Telugu literature of two streams; an earlier one called *Deśi,* and a later one called *Mārgi*".[112] *Deśi* literature was rural, popular and independent of Sanskrit. Here we feel the very heart-beats of the unsophisticated Telugu children of the soil. Folk-songs the world over have a certain unmistakable family resemblance, since all alike derive their inspiration from what is elemental and permanent in human nature. The worker over the plough is busy in the countryside, the housewife in her humble cottage cooks a modest meal or lulls her child to sleep, and the maid and her man talk in terms of love even as they reap and bind the corn. Ageless and changeless, these basic realities remain. In Hardy's words,

> Yet this will go onward the same
>
> Though Dynasties pass...
>
> War's annals will fade into night
>
> Ere their story die.

Likewise, the various strains of *Deśi* poetry in Telugu—the *Lāli Pātalu* (Songs of the Cradle), *Javalīlu* (Love songs), *Ūdupu Pātalu* (Harvest songs), etc.—are as life-giving and perennial as the air itself. This *Deśi* or indigenous Telugu literature had "affinity with the Dravidian rather than Aryan literature,"[113] since as a rule foreign influences do not easily reach the rural population, and this

was particularly so in those remote times when means of transport and agencies for the dissemination of culture were primitive or scanty.

The *Mārgi* literature was a deliberate concoction at first—a rich, exotic and stimulating beverage, meant for the sophisticated court and urban population. Nanniah's *Mahābhārata,* which was composed in the first quarter of the eleventh century, stands at the head of *Mārgi* literature. A classic like that could not have emerged out of a mere vacuum. The inscriptions of Yuddha-Malla and Mopur take *Mārgi* literature back by a century. And yet, however reason may demur, it does appear as though it was Nanniah who, working no doubt on a few indifferent models, organized and gave form and life to this heavily Sanskritized *Mārgi* literature. The religious revival was then in full swing. There was an extraordinary desire on the part of the sophisticated to be initiated into the mysteries of Sanskrit literature. The *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa was the 'open sesame' to the splendours, the mysteries, the ardours and the achievements of the Aryans; and its encyclopaedic range, its innumerable evocations of humanity in its diverse attitudes and altitudes, its heights of ethical striving, its tense dramatic situations, its vaulting poetry and sobering thought, all seized Nanniah's imagination and set it aflame. And at that moment formal Telugu literature was born.

3. *Telugu Mahābhāratam*

Although Nanniah began the great work of giving Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* a Telugu habitation and a name, he was able to complete only the first two *parvas* (cantos) and a part of the third, the *Araṇya Parva.* Various superstitions are current about the *Mahābhārata.* It is said, for instance, that the whole epic should not be read at one stretch, that the *Araṇya Parva* is something of a dynamite to be handled with care! Nanniah ignored this convention, and lo! he became mad and was thereby prevented from completing his translation of the third canto and of the epic as a whole. Thus for two centuries the Telugu *Mahābhāratam* remained where Nanniah had left it. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, however, there arose another poet, Tikkanna, who was quite the peer of Nanniah. Beginning with the fourth, the *Virāṭa Parva,* Tikkanna completed the translation of the fifteen cantos left untouched by Nanniah. It was Errapragada who, fifty years after Tikkanna, took up the unfinished *Araṇya Parva* and put the coping stone to the grand and glittering arch of the Telugu *Mahābhāratam.*

Nanniah, Tikkanna and Errapragada (Errana) are the Great Trio or the "Kavi Traya" of Telugu literature. Nanniah lived in

the reign of Rājarāja Narendra, the Chālukyan ruler of Veṅgī, and attempted his *Mahābhārata* translation on the king's suggestion. It is not unlikely that he received some help from his friend, Nārāyaṇa Bhat. Although other works are attributed to Nanniah, he is remembered and honoured as the first of the Great Three who reduced Vyāsa's epic into *drāksha pāka* in mellifluous and all but transparent Telugu. Although he uses more Sanskrit than Telugu words—in the proportion of two to one—his simplicity and ease are irresistible. Like Nanniah, Tikkanna also was a Brāhmaṇa, and in addition to his contribution to the Telugu *Mahābhāratam,* he wrote a poem covering Rāma's life after his triumphant return from Laṅkā. His style is described as that of an intellectual. Tikkanna was not unfamiliar with statecraft, and used this knowledge with advantage in his rendering of the *Udyoga Parva.* His style, although realistic, is often knotted with a pregnant obscurity and ruggedness. There are times, however, when his work is suffused with passion and emotion. The scene of the wooing of Draupadī by Kīchaka is rightly famous, and Dr. P. T. Raju translates a passage from this scene as follows:

"O delicate Maid! Why glance you not at me,
The lustrous beauty of your white eyes displaying?
Why does not your sweet smile double the beauty of your face?
Lotus-eyed one! Why speak you not Love's word,
The rays of your pearly teeth accompanying?
Lotus-faced Lady! Why do you not hint
Playfully the love of your heart?"
Thus speaking, the rogue, Kīchaka, makes eyes,
Approaches and longs to hear her sweet words.....[114]

Tikkanna's characters and situations are never wooden but are rather endowed with abounding vitality. Errana, too, like the others, was a Brāhmaṇa and besides finishing the *Araṇya Parva* composed two more works, *Harivaṁśa* and *Nṛisiṁha Purāṇa* or *Aḥobala Māhātmya.* His style is said to be "a happy blend of the styles of Nanniah and Tikkanna."[115] Popular appreciation has given these three poets titles like *Vāganuśāsana* or the lawgiver of the language, *Kavibrahma* or the poet-creator and *Prabandha-Parameśvara* or the supreme lord of the Prabandha. It may be noted here that all the three contributors to the Telugu *Mahābhāratam* wrote in the *champū* form, a singular but convincing mixture of prose and poetry. The Telugu version is not close to the original like a paraphrase, but is close in form, spirit, and the general arrangement of scenes and even sequence of ideas. There is less philosophy, more

luxurious description, less depth but more humanity. Just as there are partisans of Kamban who say that his Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* is superior to Vālmīki's, there are not wanting Telugu scholars who claim for the Telugu *Mahābhāratam* superiority over Vyāsa's original. Kamban, Nanniah, Tikkanna and Errana would themselves be shocked by such partisanship, and indeed such judgments defeat their purpose. Outstanding as all of them are, Nanniah is the first of the Telugu poets and Tikkanna the greatest,—holding positions analogous as it were to those held respectively by Chaucer and Shakespeare in English literature. And, in fact, Nanniah has been described as being more of a poet and Tikkanna as being more of a dramatist.[116]

4. *The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*

Apart from the great work of Nanniah, these two centuries saw little original literary activity in the Telugu country. At any rate, they are "terra incognita in Telugu literary history."[117] However, mention must be made of Pāvulūru Mallanna and Eluganti Peddanna, both of whom wrote Mathematical treatises in Telugu, based on or translated from Sanskrit originals. The twelfth century saw the rise of Vīraśaivism in the Kannaḍa country, and this faith, along with the earlier Vaishṇava movement initiated by Rāmānuja, exerted no little influence on Telugu life and letters. Praṭāparudra, the Kākatīya prince, and Somanātha were both Vīraśaiva writers, the latter of whom wrote *Basava Purāṇa* and *Anubhava Sāra* in Telugu. Another twelfth century poet was Nannechoda, whose chief work is *Kumārasambhavam.* This work was only recently discovered by Ramakrishna Kavi in the library of Rājā Sarbhojī at Tanjore.[118] At one time it was believed to be a pre-Nanniah work, but authoritative opinion now gives it a much later date, between Nanniah and Tikkanna. Although obviously inspired by Kālidāsa's poem, Nannechoda's *Kumārasambhavam* is by no means a mere copy or slavish imitation of the older and greater poet. The following translation of the passage describing the flight of the discomfited gods from Daksha's sacrifice may be quoted in illustration of Nannechoda's graphic art:

Brahmā ran to mount his swan and fell
In fear trembling . . .
Vishṇu escaped creeping . . .
To his white elephant Indra ran
And with his thousand eyes like a peacock appeared
By hunters chased to the White Mount escaping.

Yama like a coward fell across
His buffalo, while the Gaṇas hooted.
He forgot the saddle and the stirrup
In a hurry of fear.
Like a weaver Varuṇa fled . . .
To mount his man Kubera forgot;
He placed him on his own shoulders instead
And fled in consternation.[119]

5. *The Thirteenth Century*

During the thirteenth century two meritorious versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* appeared, and both have maintained their popularity till the present time. Of these, the version in couplets attributed to Raṅganātha is the earlier, and is said to be particularly popular in the Ceded Districts. Raṅganātha was apparently the court-poet of a chieftain by name Buddharāju, and perhaps his *guru* as well. Buddharāju's sons later added the *Uttara Kāṇḍa;* and from this fact it is sometimes argued that Buddharāju himself wrote the earlier Kāṇḍas and dedicated the work to Raṅganātha out of respect. The other version of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* although a composite work which claimed the labours of Hulakki Bhāskara, his son Mallikārjuna-bhaṭṭa, his friend and his friend's disciple, Ayyalārya and Rudra-deva respectively, is nevertheless known as *Bhāskara-Rāmāyaṇam.* This work is in *champū* form. Although widely read, the two versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* do not, either of them, reach up to the beauty or grandeur of the Telugu *Mahābhāratam.*

Of other thirteenth century writers we may make a passing reference to Atharvana, who wrote a grammatical treatise; Ketana, who rendered Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-charita* into Telugu; Beddanna, who wrote a book of political aphorisms; Marana, who wrote the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa;* and Manchanna who wrote the *Keyūrabāhu-charita.*

D. *NISHĀDA AND KIRĀTA*

The cultivated languages of India, Aryan and Dravidian, are alone capable of being historically treated in their origins and in their early literatures. But for the uncultivated speeches, Dravidian on the one hand and *Nishāda* or Austric (Kol or Muṇḍā, and Khasi) and *Kirāta* or Indo-Mongoloid (Sino-Tibetan—Tibeto-Burman and Thai) on the other, there is no history. We have no indication whatever about the lesser known and backward Dravidian tongues—

Tulu, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kolami, Gondi, Kuvi or Kandh, Oraon, Malto and Brahui. It is not unlikely that Kodagu, Toda and Kota formed one speech, which approached much more *Chen-tamizh* and *Pazhagannaḍa,* and Gondi, Kuvi, Oraon and Malto were equally a single speech or close dialects of one common North-East Dravidian speech. Tulu was nearer Kannaḍa than now, Kolami was merged in early Telugu, and Brahui was maintaining a separate and vigorous existence over a wider area in Baluchistān and Sindh. As there are no specimens of these dialects or speeches available for any period prior to the middle of the last century when European writers and missionaries took note of them, it is impossible to find out in what condition they were nearly a thousand years ago. Toponomy of the areas where they live and of the surrounding tracts might only furnish meagre but nevertheless some very precious material for their study.

The situation is analogous, though even worse, for the Nishāda and Kirāta speeches. As short and convenient native Indian terms, indicating the 'linguistico-ethnico-cultural' groups of the Indian Austro-Asiatics and the Indo-Mongoloids respectively in their separate *ensembles,* we shall be using these ancient Sanskrit words, which have on the whole quite a precise employ from very early times. The Nishāda speeches were probably in three groups; a Kherwari group including Santali, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, etc., the 'Kol' speeches of the present day; a Korku group, including Korku of the present day and possibly the lost Bhil speeches of Mālwā and Rājasthān; and the Gadaba-Savara group of Orissa. The difference between these groups was very slight a thousand or eight hundred years ago. The Nishāda people appear to have been spread over the whole of India from the Punjāb and Kāshmir in the North-West through the Gaṅgā valley right up to Assam and Burma, with ramifications in Central India, the Deccan and South India, and large masses of them, more or less mixed with the Dravidians who came later and settled among them also in North India (although South India we find to be the place where large masses of Dravidian speakers were established), became ultimately Aryanised in speech and were transformed into the present-day Hindu and other Indian people of North India. This was happening ever since the Aryans came into India and started expanding along the valley of the Gaṅgā. While the transformation was steadily going on, with substitution of the Nishāda (and in the sub-Himālayan slopes and in Eastern India of the Kirāta, who in those days were divisible into a smaller number of groups than at present when speech-differentiation has brought in a large number of dialects) speeches by dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan and then New Indo-Aryan, there was

no attempt to preserve specimens of these decaying or moribund non-Aryan speeches for which no one, not even its speakers, felt any sympathy or interest or curiosity. In this way pockets of non-Aryan speech in a more or less Aryanised North India were being liquidated, and those non-Aryan speeches, Nishāda and Kirāta, as such, were not preserved even as specimens, being the despised vulgar speeches of backward or aboriginal castes or tribes; and any oral or written literature which may have existed in them was not taken note of. But judging from what we see in later times, it is easy and perfectly allowable to assume that the Nishāda and Kirāta peoples, where they were not absorbed in an Aryan-speaking Hindu people, did possess a mass of oral literature, as an expression of their cultural and socio-religious life—their communal existence. Songs, religious and secular (the latter relating to love, hunt, war and other matters of fundamental importance to a primitive community), were doubtless there, but these have not survived when the language passed out of existence, though some of the *cachets,* the situations and figures, and perhaps, metres, may have survived in the folk literature in the Aryan vernaculars replacing the non-Aryan ones. And the more serious religious literature, including narration (in prose or verse, or in both) of legends relating to the creation and beginning of things, to the Gods and Goddesses and to Heroes and Heroines, possessing a "story stuff" which cannot be lost even in translation, would appear to have been adopted in the Aryan speeches and to have formed the basis of those popular legends and stories relating to divine or semi-divine beings and heroes which still live on in the mouths of the people as something essentially connected with their village cults—the legends of the *grāma-devatās* and of the persons who obtained their favour. These village cults have all been loosely linked up with Puranic Hinduism. In an earlier epoch, prior to A.D. 1000, pre-Aryan legends were rendered from current Prakrit versions into Sanskrit and found a place in one or the other of the numerous *Purāṇas, Upa-purāṇas, Sthala-purāṇas* and *Māhātmyas,* and *Tantras* or even in the *Mahābhārata,* and so were raised up to a level of pan-Indian acceptance. The old method of adapting popular legends into a common Indian heritage of the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* continued during the period under review, and even beyond that! Witness works like the *Yoginī-tantra* and the *Kālikā Purāṇa,* and the later *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* which all probably belong to this side of the tenth century. When these legends and tales could not be exalted to a place in the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* they were taken over in books in the New Indo-Aryan languages which started extending their literary career from this period—books of a supplementary Puranic character like the

Śūnya Purāṇa of Bengal—in which some legends and cults of pre-Aryan Bengal have found a place. A conscious and compact literary life of the Nishādas and Kirātas as they were becoming Aryanised cannot reasonably be expected, and there has been quite a large inroad of Aryan or Hindu stories and ideas into the original mythology and ideology of even those Nishāda and Kirāta tribes or groups which have not formally declared themselves to be Hindu or have not been affiliated to Hindudom formally or loosely. Such legends are now being collected by Christian Missionaries and others, and by scientific ethnologists and anthropologists, from the third quarter of the last century onwards. L. O. Skrefsrud and P. O. Bodding, J. Hoffmann and A. Nottrott, and Sarat Chandra Roy worked among the Kol tribes; Hutton and Mills, Playfair and Endle, Stack and Lyall, Gurdon and Shakespeare and Smith among the Assam tribes; and recently Verrier Elwin, Shamrao Hivale and W. W. Archer have been collecting the folk-tales and songs of the Nishāda and Kirāta peoples of the present day—folk-tales and songs which may go back (at least in the case of the tribal legends) to the period A.D. 1000-1300, and even earlier. The true implication of these legends and tales has been grasped by Verrier Elwin who, on the basis of these as culled from among the Gondi and other non-Aryan speaking as well as Aryan-speaking tribes and castes of the Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihār, is compiling what he has quite properly and felicitously called 'an *Aboriginal Purāṇa.*'

Thus in the non-cultivated pre-Aryan Nishāda speeches like 'Old Kol' (or Old Kherwari) in which were merged the Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and other speeches of the future, 'Old Bhil' which survives in Korku, and 'Old Savara' from which are descended Gadaba and Sora, there was in all probability an oral literature of legends and tales and songs and poems, the prototype of similar literature at the present day. Unfortunately none of these Nishāda languages were ever written down prior to the middle of the last century. So nothing more can be said about them.

With regard to the Kirāta speeches in India, the situation appears more promising. The earlier the age, the smaller is the number of dialects and languages in a speech family or in one of its branches. Eight hundred years from now, probably there was a single Naga speech and not the large number of distinct Naga speeches or dialects that we see now. So the Boḍo speeches of today, the various dialects known as Boḍo, Rabha, Mech, Koch, Garo, Kachari or Dimasa and Tipra or Mrung, were not yet developed—there was a single Boḍo speech, eight hundred years ago, and this will be quite reasonable to accept. And this single Boḍo, a sort of

Proto-Boḍo or Old Boḍo, and Old Naga as one and undivided speech, were closer to each other than now. The various Kuki or Chin dialects of which Meithei or Manipuri is the most advanced speech now, formed likewise a single speech, a sort of 'Old Khyan'. The position of the other members of the Kirāta family is not known—*e.g.* Mikir and the North Assam Speeches, as well as the various groups of the Nepāl and Sikkim dialects. The language the Ahoms brought was Shan, and Old Shan of those days was the same as Old Thai or Old Siamese. The Austric (Mon-Khmer) Khasi and Synteng were also one language which we may call 'Zainteng' or 'Old Jaintia'—an Austro-Asiatic speech spoken by a Kirāta people.

Of all these speeches, three only have written characters—the Newāri of Nepāl, Lepcha of Sikkim and Darjeeling, and Meithei or Manipuri of Manipur. The Newārs were the original people of Central and East Nepāl. In the centuries round about Christ and during the early Christian centuries, their tribal name *Nepāla,* whatever its origin, gave the name to the country. Later, probably after A.D. 1000, *Nepāla,* or *Nepāl* changed to *Newār,* and now it has been further altered in Newāri mouths to *Newāḥ.* The earlier kings of Nepāl were either pure Kirātas or mixed Hindu and Kirāta. Retaining their Kirāta (Tibeto-Burman) speech, they came in line with the people of Hindu civilization probably 2000 years ago, and gradually adopted the Indian script and borrowed words from the Aryan language (Sanskrit, the Prakrits and the *Bhāshās* or Modern Indo-Aryan speeches like Maithili, Bengali, Kosali, and Gorkhali). Sanskrit and other Aryan words now form near about half of its vocabulary, if not more, and all its culture-words came from Sanskrit. The Nepāli or Newāri scholars, prior to the establishment of Gorkha rule in A.D. 1767, not only preserved for posterity the Sanskrit literature of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but also increased its extent by composing original works and commentaries; and they also cultivated their own Kirāta language, Newāri, and the New Indo-Aryan speeches, *viz.* Bengali, Maithili and Eastern Hindi, and recently Gorkhali. We may be allowed to assume the existence of a Newāri literature during A.D. 1000-1300, considering the earlier cultural history of Nepāl and the later vigorous literary cultivation of Newāri in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. The oldest Newāri book that has come to us is a chronicle going back to the eighties of the fourteenth century. There is still a rich mass of unexplored Newāri literature in Nepāl and elsewhere, and it is quite conceivable that Newāri works going back to the period under review will be available. During the early centuries of Turki conquest, Nepāl was outside the pale of operations of the Turks, but early in the fourteenth century, we have repercussions of events in India affect-

ing Nepāl also, as Hari Singh, king of Mithilā, retired into Nepāl and carved out a kingdom there for himself when his own realm was conquered by the Turks (A.D. 1324).

The Turks came in touch with Assam early in the thirteenth century when Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn ibn Muhammad Bakhtyār Khaljī, the conqueror of West Bengal, made a most ill-conceived expedition into Assam, and met with disaster from the Boḍo people and their rulers. The Ahoms, a Shan people speaking a form of Siamese, were not yet in West Assam, having established themselves in East Assam in A.D. 1228. The Boḍo people, who formed by far the largest and most compact Kirāta element in North Bengal and Assam (Brahmaputra Valley), had already been largely Hinduised, but they were rapidly adopting the Aryan language in the form of Old Bengali and Old Assamese, and no record of their oral literature has been preserved; probably their language was never written down, so that it is not possible to say anything about the earlier literature in a Boḍo speech. In later times, Ahom, the language of the new conqueror of the Brahmaputra valley from the east, predominated over other Kirāta languages, and the Boḍo-speaking people and their rulers everywhere became supporters of the Aryan speech—the Koches, Ṭipras and Kacharis adopting Bengali, and the Rabhas, Meches and others adopting Assamese. The Tripura ruling house formally accepted Bengali as their cultural and court language from the fifteenth century.

The Ahom power was established in Assam in the thirteenth century. The Ahoms brought their own script (a form of the Indian alphabet as adopted by the Thai people from the Khmers of the South), and their priests had the living tradition of handing down the tribal or national chronicles, called in Ahom *Buranjis*. A number of these *Buranjis* in Ahom are extant; only one, a late one, has been edited and published with an English translation. The *Buranji* literature of Ahom may go back to the thirteenth century, but not a single one as old as that is preserved. The Ahoms gradually took up the Aryan Assamese and became completely Hinduised; and their language, preserved till recently only by the families of Old Ahom *deodhais* who ministered to the old tribal religion (more and more brought in line with official Brahmanism), is now obsolete. But the tradition of writing histories together with the word *Buranji* meaning "history, or history-book," was passed on to the Aryan Assamese language from the sixteenth century onwards. We have no record of any other kind of literature in Ahom.

The Meitheis, the ruling people of Manipur, claim to have been in possession of the country from the beginning, and the present ruling house traces its origin to Arjuna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata.* Definite dates are assigned to the rulers of this line from the second century A.D., and these become plausible only from the tenth century, previous to which kings are made to rule for long periods of 99 or 118 or more years which are not humanly possible. A fairly early affiliation of the Kuki people of Manipur and the Indo-Burman borderland, east of the Boḍos, to Gangetic Hindudom is quite likely, considering that Hindu (Brahmanical and Buddhist) religion and culture passed on through overland routes along the Paṭṭikera kingdom (Comilla and Sylhet Districts) through Manipur hills at least in the early centuries of the Christian era. Meithei legends, of proper Kirāta origin, were synthesised with Hindu *Purāṇa* and *Mahābhārata* legends to give what may be called a *Maṇipura Purāṇa,* such as we find in a floating oral form among Manipur people (who are now staunch Vaishṇavas of the Gauḍīya or Bengal School, followers of Chaitanya) and in a written form in a Manipur chronicle like the late *Vijaya-pāñchālī.* In this, the Meithei gods have been identified with Puranic deities, and old legends not known outside Manipur have been retained. From the days of a lengendary king who reigned for 120 years in the second century A.D., *viz.* Pakhangba, known also by his Sanskrit name of Yavishṭha, a kind of register of records, called the *Cheitharol Kumpaba,* was first started. The early history of Hinduism among the Kuki-Chin Meitheis is not known. It is certain that during the reign of Kiyamba (fifteenth century—he is credited with an incredibly long reign) Vaishṇavism was already established in the Manipur royal house. Manipuri is now written in the Bengali script, which replaced an earlier script, in which the language is said to have been written down to about A.D. 1700, during the reign of king Charairongba or Pitāmbara Siṁha in the second half of the eighteenth century. This old and now obsolete alphabet of Manipur is based on the Indian system, but the letters have peculiar shapes, and its exact affinities are not known. *Takhelgnamba* and *Samsokgnamba* are two chronicles, among the oldest MSS. in Manipuri in this old script, but their exact time is not known. Manipuri has a rich ballad literature, and the popular ballads dealing with the romantic loves and adventures of the hero Khamba and the Princess Thoibi may in their original forms go back to the second half of the twelfth century. Khamba and Thoibi lived during the reign of king Loyamba who ruled from A.D. 1127 to 1154, so that centering round the story of Khamba and Thoibi a popular literature may have commenced in Manipuri during the twelfth century.

Siamese, Burmese and Tibetan are three great Sino-Tibetan languages outside India which use forms of the Indian alphabet. Among Indian Sino-Tibetan or Kirāta speeches, Newāri, Manipuri and Lepcha of Sikkim became written languages through indigenous enterprise. The Lepcha script was devised early in the eighteenth century by a king of Sikkim, and its history falls outside the scope of the present chapter. Only for Newāri and Manipuri we can assume some literary life at least during the period under review.

The Khasi people (as Jaintias) came under Hindu influence from the fifteenth century; prior to that there is no evidence of any literature in the Khasi speech. In the eighteenth century the Bengali script was used in writing Khasi, but from the second half of the nineteenth, Christian missionaries have given it a literature and stabilised the language by writing and printing it in the Roman alphabet.

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1. Vol. IV, Ch. IX.
2. The *Uttaranaishadhīya* was written by Vandāru Bhaṭṭa in the nineteenth century. It consists of sixteen cantos.
3. Keith, *HSL*. 140.
4. For a list of the works of Kshemendra, see De, *SP*, I. 139-43; Kane, *HAL*. XCVIII f; *HSP*. 254 f. Kshemendra is again referred to while dealing with poetry, poetics, story literature, etc.
5. Keith (*HSL*. 137) gives the name as Jayaratha. But the printed text (*KM*, 1897) and Bühler's account have the form Jayadratha. According to De (*HSL*. 323 n 2) our author was probably the brother of Jayaratha, the commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* and Ruyyaka's *Alaṁkārasarvasva*.
6. *HSL*. 332; contra, Das Gupta, *op. cit*. 678; Keith, *HSL*. 173.
7. Gode, *IC*, VII. 327-33; 447-56; De, *HSL*. 332; Das Gupta, *op. cit*. 617; Keith, *HSL*. 137; Winternitz, *GIL*, III. 73; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*. 193.
8. *Kumārapālapratibodha*, intr; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*. 193.
9. This Vāgbhaṭa, who wrote under Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt, need not necessarily be identified with the author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra*. The *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of Harichandra, describing the life of Dharmanātha, perhaps belongs to the fifth or sixth century A.D. cf. Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*. 146. The *Padyachūḍāmaṇi*, dealing with the life of Buddha, is ascribed to Buddhaghosha, but his identity with the great Pāli scholar may be doubted.
10. For an account of the Jain writers in Sanskrit of the period, see Winternitz, *HIL*, II. 512 ff; 535 f; 555 ff; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*. 196 ff. Historical Kāvyas by Jain writers have been considered in the next section.
11. Cf. *HCSL*. 477.
12. De, *HBR*. 370.
13. Keith, *HSL*. 194 f.
14. De, *JRAS*, 1927. 471-7; *BSOS*, V. 499 f; *HSL*. 413; contra, Keith, *BSOS*, V. 27 f.
15. Fifth edition, p. xx, Leipzig, 1924.
16. See Vol. IV, pp. 97-8, 183.
17. See above, pp. 174-7.
18. Keith, *HSL*. 161. For an appreciation of Kalhaṇa, cf. Vol. I, pp. 49-50.
19. See above, pp. 31-2.
20. Belvalkar conjectured Jayānaka to be the author; the new edition of the poem from Ajmer also makes Jayānaka the author. Cf. De, *HSL*. 360 n 2.
21. This, along with his *Lalitaratnamālā*, is known only in name.
22. And hence identical with the author of *Chandrāloka*, a popular text-book on rhetoric. Cf. De, *SP*, I. 215 ff; *HSL*. 462.
23. The *Vīravijaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra and the *Sarvavinodanāṭaka* of Kṛishṇa Avadhūta are of the same type.

24. The *Krishṇavijaya* of Veṅkaṭavarada and the *Manmathonmathana* of Rāma are the late varieties of Ḍima.
25. Vol. IV, pp. 180-1.
26. Cf. De, "The Problem of the Mahānāṭaka," *IHQ*, VII, Nos. 3 and 4.
27. Hertel, *Streitberg Festgabe*, pp. 135 ff, referred to by Keith, *HSL*, Preface, xi-xii.
28. Edgerton, *HOS*, 26, p. lii.
29. For an attempt to reconstruct the original *Pañchatantra*, see Edgerton, *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed*, 1924.
30. One of these was translated into Pahlavi as early as the sixth century A.D. and this Pahlavi translation formed the basis for all other foreign versions (cf. Vol. III, p. 629).
31. R. Śarmā, *Kalpadrukośa*, intro, xxvii.
31a. Edited by E. D. Kulkarni. Poona, 1955.
32. Cf. *op. cit.* xl; Gode refers to the quotation from the *Medinī* in the *Varṇaratnākara*, a Maithilī work, by Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharāchārya who was patronised by Harisiṁhadeva (between A.D. 1300-1325)—*NIA*, VII. 171-5.
33. According to Pathak, Dhanañjaya Śrutakīrti Traividya wrote the poem shortly after 1045 Śaka (= A.D. 1123)—*IA*, XIV. 14.
33a. Edited by M. M. Patkar. Poona, 1953.
34. Pathak places one Śrutakīrti in A.D. 1123—See previous footnote; also Belvalkar, *SSG*. 88.
34a. Edited by G. B. Palsule. Poona, 1954.
35. *SP*, I. 337.
36. See above, pp. 66-7.
37. Kane, *HAL*. CIII f; *HSP*. 257-60; De, *SP*, I. 164-7.
38. Cf. Kane (*HAL*. CV, *HSP*. 261) who, on the evidence of ancient MSS., considers Alaka to be as good a Kāshmirian name as Alaṭa. De, however, prefers the form Allaṭa to Alaka and Alaṭa, as it is given in Stein's Jammu MS (*SP*, I. 163).
39. *JSML*, I. 9-13. For the date of Mammaṭa, see De, *SP*, I. 157-60; Kane, *HAL*. CVI. *HSP*. 263; Keith. *HSL*. 394.
40. Cf. Kane, *HAL*, CVIII-CX; *HSP*. 265-7.
40a. See *Jayadāman*, edited with introduction, list and index of Sanskrit metres, etc. by Prof. H. D. Velankar, and published by the Haritosh Samiti (Bombay, 1949).
40b. Cf. pp. 270 ff, 284 n 9.
40c. Edited by E. D. Kulkarni. Poona, 1953.
41. Vol. IV, pp. 201-2.
42. *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Ch. IV.
43. For the works of Bhoja, see Kane, *HAL*. XCVII f, *HSP*. 249-52; *KHDS*, I. 276 f; 719; *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 418; II. 95; III. 90; *Bhoja Rāja*. 69 f; *EI*, I. 231 f; VIII. 241-60; Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*. 500-4; 750 f; 845.
44. Kane thinks, with some hesitation, Bālarūpa to be identical with Bālaka (*KHDS*, I. 285).
45. De, *HBR*, I. 357 n 2; also Kane, *KHDS*, I. 297 f. Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* and other works, who was the Dharmādhyaksha of Lakshamaṇasena, has been considered later in this section.
46. Kane, *KHDS*, III. xviii.
47. See above, pp. 52-3.
48. See above pp. 174-7.
49. *Krityakalpataru*, Dānakāṇḍa, Intr. 24-35; *KHDS*, I. 290; IV. p. x.
49a. Cf. pp. 290, 293 f.
50. De. in *HBR*, I. p. 323; Kane, *KHDS*, I. 325-7; III. xii.
51. *HBR*, 353. For *Vratasāgara*, cf. *IC*, XI. 144; *IHQ*, XXVI. 330.
52. *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, intr. xlix ff; *KHDS*, III. xix; Gode, *Mīmāṅsā Prakāśa*, III. 15-18.
53. For other views, cf. *HCSL*. 293, f.n. 7.
54. See above, p. 178.
54a. Above, Vol. IV. 210.
54b. For a discussion of the date of this work, cf. Vol. III. 400.
54c. *HPL*, II. 613.
54d. Above, Vol. III. 398.
54e. The *Bhakti Śataka* by Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī is in Sanskrit. The author is a Bengali Brahmin of the thirteenth cent. A.D. who was later converted to Buddhism. In stanzas written in ornate style it praises Buddha as the great teacher and saviour of mankind.
54f. Above, Vol. IV. 211.
54g. Law, *HPL*, II, 609-10. Above, Vol. III. 401.

54h. Winternitz, *HIL*, II. 222.
55. Another *Mahāvīra-charita* was written by Devendra Gaṇin in A.D. 1085.
56. Dr. A. M. Ghatage, Narrative literature in Jaina Māhārāshṭrī, *ABORI*, XVI. 38.
57. Nos. 1, 5, 9, 11, 12 and 14 in Apabhraṁśa works listed here have been added by A. D. Pusalker.
58. Identified with Bamanwad in Sirohi State of Jodhpur (*NUJ*, VIII. 81 ff).
59. There is another *Kathākośa* of unknown authorship. It is written in bad Sanskrit with Prakrit verses.
60. Identified with Valad in Ahmedābād District. *NUJ*, VIII. 81 ff.
60a. Above, Vol. IV. 218.
61. H. D. Velankar, *ABORI*, IX. 272-280.
62. Cf. *NUJ*, VIII. 81 ff.
63. Cf. *NUJ*, VIII. 81 ff.
64. Cf. *Sandeśarāsaka*, Preface, p. 13.
64a. Above, Vol. IV. 212 ff.
65. For printed works, see "Marāṭhī-Grantha-sūchi" by Shankar Ganesh Date, Poona, 1943.
66. For unpublished works, see:
    (i) 'Mahārāshṭrīya Santa-kavi-kāvya-sūchi'—By G. K. Chandorkar. It deals with authors and their works ranging from Śaka 1100 to Śaka 1740.
    (ii) Śrī Rāmadāsī Saṁśodhana, Vols. I-II, Dhulia.
    (iii) M. S. Sarasvatī-Mahāl Library, Tanjore, Marāṭhī Catalogue, Vols. I-II.
    (iv) 'Mahānubhāva-kavi-kāvya-sūchi,' By V. L. Bhave, 1924.
    (v) MSS. Catalogues of the Bhārat Itihāsa Saṁśodhak Maṇḍal, Poona, Rājwāḍe Saṁśodhana Maṇḍaḷ, Dhulia, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, etc.
    (vi) There are also small collections of MSS. at the Universities of Bombay, Nagpur, and Poona, as well as in some public and institutional libraries in India and outside. Individual collections are to be found in almost every important village, and are still untouched, and their value unassessed by any scholar.
67. Introduction to "Jñānadevī,"—A critical and Philological Edition of Jñāneśvarī, Chapter I, pages 73-76, by R. G. Harshe.
    For further information consult:
    (i) Introduction to Jñāneśvarī by V. K. Rajwade.
    (ii) "Mahārāshṭrāchā vasāhatakāla," by V. K. Rajwade, *Itihāsa āṇi Aitihāsika*, Vol. I.
    (iii) "Ancient Civilization and Geography of Mahārāshṭra," by P. V. Kane, *JBBRAS*, No. 21.
    (iv) *Prāchīna Mahārāshṭra*, by S. V. Ketkar.
    (v) "Marāṭhī bhāshechā kālanirṇaya," by C. V. Vaidya and P. D. Gune, *Vividhajñānavistāra*, 1922.
    (vi) *Marāṭhī bhāshā, udgama va vikāsa*,—by K. P. Kulkarni.
    (vii) *Formation de la langue marathe*—by Jules Bloch.
    For the summary of different views see:
    Supplement to the *Mahārāshṭra-Sārasvata* of V. L. Bhave by S. G. Tulpule and Introduction to Vols. III and IV of the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakośa*, by Y. R. Date, and others.
68. Dr. M. G. Dikshit has discovered an early copper-plate dated Śaka 982 (A.D. 1060). Cf. "Marāṭhī bhāshetīla ādya tāṁrapaṭa," *Sahyādri*, June 1949, Poona.
69. Cf. *Mahārāshṭra Sārasvata*, 4th ed. pp. 13-14. Out of the five parts of this work only two have so far been published in the G. O. Series, Baroda.
70. As the language of the works of Mukundarāja is modernized there is still a controversy as regards his date.
71. P. C. Bagchi, *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya*, Introduction, p. 28. The problem is extremely complicated on account of the conflicting theories of many scholars.
72. *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, XI. 32.
    There are also such works as *Datta-Goraksha-Saṁvāda, Goraksha-Kanthaḍabodha, Goraksha-līlā, Gorakshakrita Yogāṅgeṁ*, etc. in Marāṭhī, which are ascribed to Gorakh-nāth (*Śrī Rāmadāsī Saṁśodhana*, Vols. I-II).
73. *Goraksha-gītā* and a few Abhaṅgas exist in the name of Gahinīnātha in Marāṭhī.
74. Cf. 'Naṭakṛitatāṇḍavavikaṭāḥ paṇḍitaṭīkāḥ sphuranti gītāyāḥ/Rambhālāsyavilāsā jayati Jñāneśvarī tāsu.'

75. It is alleged that there were two Jñānadevas and that the author of *Jñāneśvarī* was different from the author of the *Gāthā*.—see *Jñānadeva va Jñāneśvara* by Bhāradvāja.
76. The life of Jñānadeva or Jñāneśvara needs careful investigation. The only authentic document, supposed to have been contemporary, is "*Jñānadevāchī Ādi*," by Nāmadeva, in which it is said that Nivṛittinātha, Jñānadeva, Sopānadeva, and Muktābāī were the excommunicated progeny of a *sannyāsin*, turned a householder. If this is the work of Vishṇudāsa Nāmā who was a Mahānubhāva, it is easy to imagine how this story must have been concocted. In the first place, there is no reference to any caste disability in the works of Jñāneśvara. Secondly, the punishment meted out to their parents, Viṭṭhalpant and Rukmiṇībāī does not find support in Dharmaśāstra. (MM. Sridharasatri Pathak, *Jñāneśvara-darśana*, I. 20-39). The Mahānubhāva writers are in the habit of running down the Brahmanical works by inventing stories (The story of the Kūrmāvatāra for instance, in the *Padma-purāṇa* of Dāmodara: verses 1581-1603. See also *Viṭṭhalaviru kathana līlā* referred to by G. K. Chandorkar in *Mānbhāva kīṁ Bauddha*, pp. 273-74). In every important detail the life of Jñāneśvara and others is full of conflicting evidence and further researches are therefore needed in the matter.
77. See *Mahānubhāvāñcheṁ tattvajñāna*—by V. B. Kolte, Nagpur.
78. *Mahānubhāvāñchā āchāradharma*—by V. B. Kolte; *Mahānubhāva-Pantha*—by Balakrishnasastri, Nagpur.
79. According to G. K. Chandorkar this sect must have its origin towards the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Vide, *Mānbhāva kīṁ Buddha, Aithihāsika Vividha Vishaya*, pp. 273-304.
80. His life is given in a contemporary work called *Smṛiti-sthala*, composed chiefly by his disciples Narendra and Paraśarāmbāsa (A.D. 1308) and edited by V. N. Deshpande.
81. *Mahānubāvīya Marāṭhī Vāṅmaya*—by Y. K. Deshpande.
82. Edited by N. B. Bhavalkar and H. N. Nene, Nagpur.
83. Ed. by H. N. Nene.
84. In three parts, edited by H. N. Nene.
85. Editions of V. L. Bhave and D. S. Pangu.
86. Ed. by V. B. Kolte.
87. Ed. by V. L. Bhave.
88. Ed. by V. B. Kolte.
89. *Ādya Marāṭhī Kavayitrī*, Ed. by V. N. Deshpande.
90. The dates quoted here are mostly taken from the Supplement to the *Mahārāshṭra Sārasvata* of V. L. Bhave by S. G. Tulpule, Poona, 1951.
91. There is a great controversy regarding the date of Nāmadeva. If he is a contemporary of Jñānadeva, as is usually believed, he could not have written the biographies of later saints which are ascribed to him. We have, therefore, to believe in the existence of two Nāmadevas, the earlier and the later. Scholars are inclined to regard Nāmadeva and Vishṇudāsa Nāmā as two different personalities whose Abhaṅgas are mixed up in the published Gāthās. Again this Vishṇudāsa Nāmā is believed to have turned Mahānubhāva at the end of his career. Bhave mentions a Nāmadeva who was the disciple of Chakradhara (*M.S.*, p. 98). There is also a Nāmā Pāṭhak who was the grandson of Kānho Pāṭhak, the youngest contemporary of Jñānadeva. He was a voluminous writer and it is likely that during the dark ages that followed the Muslim conquest, the works of the different Nāmadevas got mixed up. A thorough research and an analytical study of their works will throw some light on the most intricate problems of authorship and chronology.
92. For further details, see *Vārakarī sampradāyāchā itihāsa* by S. V. Dandekar, 1927.
93. For the collected works of all these saints, see *Sakala-santa-gāthā*, edited by T. H. Awate.
94. For the life of Nāmadeva consult:
    (i) *Bhaktavijaya*—by Mahīpati.
    (ii) *Marāṭhī Vāṅmayāchā Itihāsa*, Vol. I. by L. R. Pangarkar.
    (iii) *Mahārāshtra Kavi-charitra*, Vol. VIII, by J. R. Ajgaonkar.
    (iv) *Śrī-Nāmadeva Charitra*—by M. A. Mulay.
95. It is alleged that Nāmadeva had undertaken a pilgrimage tour of the north in the company of Jñānadeva, in his early life. His popularity and personal contacts in this trip are perhaps responsible for his being called back again in the north, especially in the Punjāb, where he seems to have stayed for many years.

He had a number of followers in that region which still possesses many temples dedicated to him.

96. *Sikh Religion,* Vol. VI.—by Macauliff; *Bhakta-śiromaṇī Nāmadeva kī naī jīvanī, naī Padāvalī*—by Mohansingh, Amritsar; *Panjābātīla Nāmadeva*—S. P. Joshi.

97. We have a number of Muslim poets in Marāṭhī, who in imitation of the poets of the Bhāgavata School, wrote devotional songs to Viṭṭhala. Cf. Shaikh Mohammad and others. Hussain Ambar wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* and Shahamuni a philosophical treatise called *Siddhāntabodha.* Shaikh Mohammad has also written several works of this type.

98. Moropant alone has composed 108 *Rāmāyaṇas* of different kinds and in different metres!

99. Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* I. 2, which mentions the four highest human objectives, namely, religion *(dharma),* wealth *(artha),* ambition or desire *(kāma)* and the final liberation from the Cycle of Birth and Death *(moksha).*

100. See above, Vol. II, pp. 281 ff.

101. See above, Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.

102. The following English translation of a Charyāpada would convey some idea of the nature of these poems.

'The Ocean of Being is deep, and it flows with mighty force:
On two sides, mire,—in the middle, no bottom.
For the sake of *dharma,* Chāṭila builds a bridge;
People who go across pass on in full reliance.
Splitting the tree of ignorance, he joins the planks:
With the strong axe of Advaya (Monism) he strikes at *Nirvāṇa.*
Do not turn right or left on mounting the bridge:
Bodhi (Supreme Wisdom) is near—do not go far.
O ye men, if ye will be goers-across,
Ask of Chāṭila, the master without a peer.'

102a. There is in Bengali, as in other languages, a little *spruche* literature of proverbs and proverbial distichs relating to agriculture, divination, astrology, morals and good form for the guidance of men and women in their social relations. These are known as the Sayings *(bachan)* of Ḍāk and Khanā and Varāha-mihira. Ḍāk is a sage or seer of unknown antecedents, while Varāha-mihira is the well-known astronomer of ancient India, and Khanā, his daughter-in-law. The late Dr. Dines Chandra Sen referred these distichs and verses to pre-Muslim times in Bengal. Similar verses and distichs have been found in Assam. While a fairly high antiquity is quite likely for this literature, in the form in which they occur they are very late, and generally in late Middle or early Modern Bengali. We cannot refer them to the period, A.D. 1000 to 1300, in their present form, although their contents may be as old as that, or even older.

102b. This will be discussed in detail in Ch. XVI. E.

103. *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* (1941), p. 4.

104. S. S. Basawanal and K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Musings of Basava: A Free Rendering* (1940), pp. 49, 118.

105. *Ibid.,* p. 124.

106. S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook Vīraśaivism,* p. 170.

107. R. S. Mugali, *The Heritage of Karnataka,* p. 182.

107a. Also written as Tīrthakara.

108. *Kanarese Literature,* p. 40.

109. Quoted in Rice, *Kanarese Literature,* p. 112.

110. Introduction to P. T. Raju's *Telugu Literature* (1944), pp. viii and ix. See Vol. I, pp. 154 ff on the origin of the people speaking Dravidian languages.

111. Vol. I, Ch. XVI, B.

112. *A History of Telugu Literature,* p. 38.

113. *Ibid.,* p. 39.

114. *Telugu Literature* (P. E. N. Book), p. 95.

115. D. Sambamurty, *The Indian P. E. N.* (August 1939).

116. Royaprolu Subba Rao in *Triveni* (June 1939).

117. Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao, *Telugu Literature,* p. 50.

118. A critical study of this work has been published by the University of Madras.

119. P. T. Raju, *Telugu Literature,* pp. 94-5.

APPENDIX

B. *SANSKRITIC*

VI. GUJARĀTI

1. *Language*

Although several of the Middle Indo-Aryan (popularly called 'Prakrit') dialects attained literary status at diverse points of their history and became eventually standardized, highly stylized, and thus quite resistant to revivifying development, the numerous *spoken idioms* concurrent with them naturally remained subject to the continuous process of change.

Udyotana in his *Kuvalayamālā* (A.D. 779) refers to the distinct dialects of merchants hailing from Madhyadésa, Ṭakka, Sindhu, Maru, Mālava, Gurjara and Lāṭa.[1] But it was not till the end of the first millennium after Christ, that the numerous spoken idioms all over North India were transformed to such an extent, as to justify recognition of a distinctly new stage in the evolution of Indo-Aryan, that marks it off from the preceding stage through certain well-defined characteristics. Reference has been already made above[2] to this third and the last stage of Indo-Aryan, called the New Indo-Aryan.

It is from about this period that the predecessors of the modern languages of Rājasthān and Gujarāt are found to have followed a line of development different from the rest of the Śaurasenī group which eventually developed into Hindi.

This Rājasthāni-Gujarāti group later on, that is, after the period here dealt with, further bifurcates into the Jaipuri and Gujarāti-Mārwāri-Mālwi groups and the latter of these ultimately divides into Gujarāti, Mārwāri and Mālwi. As preservation of neuter gender and some other traits in Modern Gujarāti suggest an unbroken linguistic tradition, and as parts of West Rājasthān and North Gujarāt were known between the eighth and the eleventh century as "Gujjarattā" or "Gurjaratrā",[3] it would be more appropriate to call the language of that area by the name "Old Gujarāti" instead of "Old Western Rājasthāni" as coined by the late L. P. Tessitori.[4]

The name "Gujarāti" is based on the regional name "Gujarāta", earlier, "Gujjarattā" (Sanskritized 'Gurjaratrā'), which, on linguistic grounds,[5] can be shown to have the meaning 'the Gurjaras *en masse*' and later 'Gurjaradom,' 'the domain of the Gurjaras'.

Though the Gurjaras are found by the seventh century A.D. to be completely naturalized and absorbed into the Aryan fold, even to the extent of never once referring to their origin (they were foreigners, according to the more probable view), it is well-nigh impossible to believe that their original native speech yielded to the idiom of their adopted land without leaving behind any traces whatsoever. It is quite likely that a good portion of the underivable '*deśya*' element in the exclusively Gujarāti word-stock was inherited from the native idioms of the foreign settlers—chiefly the Gurjaras.

We may briefly recount here the most salient features of Old Gujarāti that for practical purposes can be considered to distinguish it from the previous stage.

In phonology: (1) Simplification of the consonant cluster along with lengthening of the preceding short vowel (which was also nasalized if the cluster began with a nasal) under favourable conditions. This was the most outstanding feature and Gujarāti shared it with most of the New Indo-Aryan languages. This development is indicative of a basic shift in the earlier accent system and, by re-establishing the Old Indo-Aryan state of intervocalic stops, it makes it possible to borrow Sanskrit words entirely unchanged, in contrast with the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, which, in general, modified most of the Sanskrit loans. (2) Loss of an intervocalic *h* in the terminational elements and of *-v-* in certain positions. (3) Development of an intervocalic *-l-* into the retroflex *-ḷ-*. (4) Unrounding of the final *-u-* to *-a-*. (5) Contraction of the contiguous vowels.

In morphology: (1) Greatly accelerated practice of using postpositions in place of case-terminations. (2) Constitution of the forms of the pleonastically extended stems into a separate declension. (3) Emergent tendency to employ auxiliary and participial tense forms. (4) Use of *-tau-* instead of the earlier *-ṁtau-* as the present participle formative—strictly speaking a phonological development. (5) Creation of a new passive present participle in *-ītau-*.

In syntax: Old Gujarāti developed various new constructions, terms of expressions and usages, several of which (along with some of the characteristically Apabhraṁśa stuff that was conserved in Old Gujarāti) continue in living use even to this day.[6]

In vocabulary: Words of '*deśya*' (*i.e.* foreign, obscure or unknown) origin and onomatopoetic, reduplicative and jingle elements were now playing a role far superior to what was found in the previous stage. Words of Perso-Arabic origin, which later on came to be absorbed in hundreds, were as yet the rarest exceptions.[7]

The variety of Apabhraṁśa, which is found in some of the illustrative stanzas in the Apabhraṁśa portion of the *Siddhahema* (c. A.D. 1143) of Hemachandra, reveals several modern traits as compared with the Classical Apabhraṁśa of Svayambhū (not later than the ninth century) and Pushpadanta (mid-tenth century). It has to a certain extent a transitional character that further develops into Old Gujarāti and Old Hindi. This is clearly seen from the use, side by side, of nominative singulars in *-au-* as well as *-ā-*,[8] of the dative postpositions *-taṇeṇa-* as well as *-kehī*[9]; and of words retaining an intervocalic *-m-* as well as those changing it to *-ṁv-*.[10] These traits later become specialized respectively to Old Gujarāti and Old Hindi. On the other hand, "even when the Modern Indo-Aryan languages had fully come to their own and had essayed their beginnings in literature, the Apabhraṁśa tradition continued either in the form of pure Apabhraṁśa, or in the form of a strong colouring of the vernacular with Apabhraṁśa orthography and Apabhraṁśa vocabulary and idiom, Apabhraṁśa *cachets* and atmosphere, to give a sort of semi-Apabhraṁśa semi-NIA literary speech."[11]

2. *Literature*

The Old Gujarāti literature of this period appears to manifest but very few basic departures from the just preceding Apabhraṁśa literature in point of literary trends, types, and forms of expression. It directly inherited and continued a good part of the Apabhraṁśa literary traditions. Hence, more in case of the literature than in case of the language, it is not possible to say exactly when Apabhraṁśa ended and Old Gujarāti began. One cannot be quite specific on this point, only because much of the Apabhraṁśa and early Old Gujarāti literature of the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding A.D. 1100 is either lost for good or remains unearthed so far.

Apabhraṁśa had developed its own literary forms. Its *Sandhi-bandha* or the epic narrative of the Puranic or the *charita* type which, in its ornateness and elaboration, was a successor of the ornate *Mahākāvya* of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit, is unrepresented in the earlier period of Old Gujarāti literature. But its *Rāsā-bandha,* a semi-lyrical, semi-narrative form of modest compass (somewhat reminding us of the *Khaṇḍa-kāvya* of Classical Sanskrit), continued in Old Gujarāti and became more and more prolific and altered in its original character with the course of time right down to the nineteenth century.

Besides the *Rāsā* form, Old Gujarāti prosody and poetic phraseo-

logy, too, supply us with sure indications of unbroken Apabhraṁśa literary traditions. This is further confirmed by the fact that early Old Gujarāti literature, like Apabhraṁśa literature, has almost exclusively a poetic form. Verse in both cases is the only medium of literary expression. Another such trait commonly shared by these two literatures is that all the available compositions are religious-didactic, and, with rare exceptions, Jainistic. Most probably, however, this is due to historical conditions, and not an indication of a total absence of Brahmanical activity in these fields. The Jains evidently took far greater and better care for the preservation of the manuscripts of their works than was done by the non-Jains. But works of pure literature in Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarāti, being of a non-religious nature, could not be expected to have had the same favourable chances of preservation. Jain compositions themselves, however, can be looked upon as indirect evidence for the existence of such purely literary works, because, the former had always a derivative character. Jains had a practical approach to literature. They valued it as the most effective vehicle for propagating their teachings and ideals, and hence they were ever ready to adopt, imitate, and press into service whatever literary languages, types, subjects, styles and fashions from time to time became popular.

Some direct evidence for the existence of non-Jain and purely literary works is provided by the contents of a few of the illustrative stanzas (e.g. 8.4.339, 442 etc.) cited by Hemachandra in the Apabhraṁśa portion of his grammar *Siddhahema.* These citations are important from another point of view, too. Not only that their language, as stated already, forms in certain points a link between Classical Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarāti, but not a few of them, with slight changes in spelling or wording, also continue to appear in Old Gujarāti literature of several succeeding centuries. Hemachandra's Apabhraṁśa illustrations breathe directness, ease, poignancy and freshness that are characteristic of a genuinely popular literature. Their themes pertain to love, valour, general morality and wisdom. As remnants of a lost poetry that throbbed with full and intense life, they are highly precious.

It should be remembered that for centuries after the employment of New Indo-Aryan languages for literary purposes, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, too, continued in use side by side with them as parallel literary mediums. Most of the early Old Gujarāti writers were Jain monks, who had as a rule some works in one or more of the three classical languages also to their credit. It is clear that their compositions in the *Deśa Bhāshā* were undertaken with

the specific purpose of administering instruction with entertainment to the general lay followers mostly having very modest educational or spiritual equipment. This fact obviously imposed an inherent limitation on the general character and scope of such works.

Most of the twenty and odd Old Gujarāti poems that are available to us onwards from about the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. are in the *Rāsa* form, though in view of some literary devices and specialised character of the subject-matter they have different styles like *Rāsa, Bārahamāsā, Mātṛikā* and *Vivāhala.*

As indicated above, our specimens are, in all probability, Jain imitations of the then most popular literary types that have continued to be productive down to the end of the eighteenth century.

The *Rāsa* had a long and varied past. It was known to several Purāṇas and Sanskrit rhetorical works[12] as a type of group dance specially associated with the divine cowherd Kṛishṇa and the *Gopīs* and hence, by implication, also with the cowherd community of the *Ābhīras.* In rhetoric tradition, *Rāsaka* is treated also as a variety of minor *Rūpakas,* essentially operatic and involving a big troupe of dancing pairs.[13] Obviously some poetic compositions, too, employed as texts for these *Rūpakas* that were performed on festive occasions, came to be called *"Rāsakas".* The general form of these compositions was called *Rāsā-bandha,* and as a characteristic and widely popular Apabhraṁśa literary *genre* it has been described, though very briefly, by two eminent Prakrit prosodists, Virahāṅka (before the ninth century) and Svayambhū.[14] From their obscure and inadequate account, this much at least can be gathered that the *Rāsā-bandha* was a poem having either a specific rhythm-controlled organic structure or a sustained form that used one specific metre for the general frame, and other choice metres, if necessary, for variation. Unfortunately, however, not a single *Rāsaka* poem of the classical Apabhraṁśa period has been preserved to us, and hence earlier stages of the development which culminated in the Old Gujarāti *Rāsa* remain mostly in the dark.

The Old Gujarāti *Rāsas,* falling within the period under our survey, were mostly composed to be sung in accompaniment with the *Rāsa* dance that was performed usually in Jain temples, especially to celebrate religious festivals. They turned around some narrative, biographical, purely doctrinal, or didactic subject, always with a religious moulding.

The earliest available specimens, viz., the *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-ghora* (c. A.D. 1170) of Vajrasena and its expanded version, the *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-rāsa* (A.D. 1185) of Śālibhadra, narrate the

mythological incident of war between the kings Bharata and Bāhubali, sons of the first Jain Tīrthaṅkara Ṛishabha. In the latter, consisting of fifteen sections (each composed after a specific metrical pattern), descriptions of warlike preparations, Bharata's march and a few battle scenes have been done with some power. The diction does not lack picturesqueness, nor is the style without vigour. In Vajrasena's poem (which has five sections), on the other hand, the sequel is characteristically Jainistic. Bāhubali, in the very moment of his victory, is shown becoming at once disgusted with the worldly life, taking to asceticism, and eventually, as he cures himself of pride, attaining omniscience; the account of the previous life of the principal characters is briefly touched to illustrate the working of the law of *karman;* and finally, the moral is spotlighted: he who gives up pride and deceitfulness and practises contemplation gets very rich rewards.

The *Chandanabālā-rāsa* (A.D. 1201) of Āsiga, the *Jambūsvāmi-chariya* (A.D. 1210) of Dharma, and the *Gayasukumāla-rāsa* (possibly *c.* A.D. 1250) of Delhaṇa sketch the instructive life-stories of some saints of Jain mythology and legendary history. Chandanabālā is known to the Jain tradition as the first *pravartinī* (head-nun) in the first monastic order founded by the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. Jambūsvāmin was the fourth pontiff in the pontificate that started with Mahāvīra. Gayasukumāla (Sk. Gajasukumāra) was, according to the Jains, a younger brother of Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva. As an ascetic, he remained unswerved in his meditation in the face of extreme physical torture, and consequently attained omniscience. Poetically these compositions hardly contain anything saving them from banality.

Of the remaining *Rāsas,* the *Revantagiri-rāsa*[16] (*c.* A.D. 1232) of Vijayasena eulogizes in four *Kaḍavas* (sections) the greatness of mount Girnār in Saurāshṭra (and especially, of the temple of Nemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, newly constructed thereon) as a place of pilgrimage. The second *Kaḍava* weaves in the swinging rhythm of the Madanāvatāra metre a picturesque description of the mount. The *Ābu-rāsa* (A.D. 1233) of Pālhaṇa too commemorates the erection of a temple of Nemi on mount Abu by Tejaḥpāla, the famous minister of king Vīradhavala (first half of the thirteenth century). Similarly the *Pethaḍa-rāsa* (*c.* A.D. 1300), about the merchant Pethaḍa, who took out a mass pilgrimage from Pāṭaṇa in Gujarāt to mount Śatruñjaya in Saurāshṭra, has a commemorative purpose.

Among the three *Rāsas* of a purely religious-didactic character, the *Buddhi-rāsa* (*c.* A.D. 1200) of Śālibhadra is a collection, in four sections, of moral sayings, proverbs, pithy maxims and reli-

gious instructions given as a summary list of "do's" and "don't's". The *Jīvadayā-rāsa* (A.D. 1201) of Āsiga, consisting of fifty-three stanzas, has a similar though more restricted purpose in that it concentrates on religious instructions. The *Saptakshetri-rāsa*[18] (A.D. 1271) gives in 119 stanzas a detailed description of the seven prescribed channels of religious charity.

The compositions generally labelled as *Bārahamāsā, Mātṛikā* and *Vivāhala* can be aptly described as *Rāsas* that are characterized by some special literary device or subject-matter. In the *Bārahamāsā,* the theme, preferably of love, is interlaced with the month-to-month description of varying seasonal characteristics and of the corresponding changes in the life-routine of the people at large. It introduces a new variant in the long tradition of seasonal poems initiated with the *Ṛitusaṁhāra.* Out of the two specimens of this type the *Nemi-Rājula-bārahamāsā* of Pālhaṇa (c. A.D. 1233) possibly served as a model for the later and more poetic *Neminātha-Chatushpadikā*[19] of Vinayachandra (end of the thirteenth century). The poems describe nature, in the order of the months, from the angle of love-lorn and expectant Rājimatī, whose wedding with prince Nemi failed to come off because the latter decided at the eleventh hour to renounce the world and become a monk. Pālhaṇa's poem has fuller descriptions, but it is Vinayachandra who has succeeded in giving us, we can say for the first time, a genuine artistic piece.

The central mood in the *Neminātha-Chatushpadikā* is effectively highlighted by delineating the situation in the form of small bits of tête-à-têtes between Rājimatī and her confidante. That Vinayachandra had an artistic sense of form, rather exceptional in that period, cannot be denied. Its forty *chatushpadikās (chaüpāīs)* are organized in thirteen uniformly patterned units. Each unit begins with a nature cameo, is followed by the confidante's loving, comforting, and practical advice, and is rounded off with Rājimatī's words that reveal a heart at once noble, loving, all-dedicating and bleeding.

Another *Bārahamāsā* of the thirteenth century, viz. *Jinadharmasūri-bāraha-nāvau* is still in the manuscript form.

The *Mātṛikās* give moral and religious instructions in verses, each of which begins with a letter of the Sanskrit syllabary in its serial order. This device is as old as the Buddhist sacred text *Lalitavistara.* We have got no less than three such specimens for our period: the *Mātṛikā-chaüpāī,*[20] the *Saṁvega-mātṛikā*[21] and the *Samyaktvamāi-chaüpāī* of Jagaḍu,—all the three to be dated before the end of the thirteenth century.

Lastly, the *Vivāhala* type is illustrated by the *Jineśvara-sūri-saṁyamaśrī-vivāha-varṇana-rāsa*[23] (A.D. 1275) of Somamūrti. As is clear even from the title, in such compositions the occasion of ordination of some well-known person was metaphorically described as his wedding with the lady Self-control. Somamūrti's poem relates to the ordination of one Ambaḍa (A.D. 1189-1275), who, as Āchārya Jineśvara Sūri, became well known in the Kharatara Gachchha.

There are indications that a few other types, too, e.g. *Kulaka, Phāgu, Charcharī, Dhavala,* etc. were current in the thirteenth century. But the materials being still unpublished, it is very difficult to gather positive information about them.

All these types of compositions remain very popular for centuries to follow. Monk after monk goes on mechanically turning out *Rāsas, Phāgus, Mātṛikās, Vivāhalas* and *Charcharīs* with the admitted purposes of instructing, earning merit and religious drilling. Very few of them succeed in reaching the literary level.

Structurally Old Gujarāti *Rāsas* reveal two distinct types: that which is made up of a number of sections, each constructed after a specific pattern; and that which is constructed throughout in one particular measure which is occasionally provided with a refrain repeated after every stanza. In the first type the main topic of the section runs in rhymed verses (distichs or three-lined) and frequently it is rounded off with a stanza in a different measure. Of course this general pattern permitted some minor variations. The *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-rāsa, Revantagiri-rāsa,* and *Pethaḍa-rāsa,* among others, have this pattern. The other pattern is illustrated by the *Nemināṭha-chatushpadikā, Nemi-Rājula-bārahamāsā, Chandanabālā-rāsa, Gayasukumāla-rāsa,* and others.

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1. *Apabhraṁśakāvyatrayī,* ed. L. B. Gandhi, GOS. 37, 1927, pp. 92-93.
2. Above, p. 350.
3. Ghaṭiyālā Inscription No. 2, v. 60, *JRAS,* 1895, p. 513; Ghaṭiyālā Inscription No. 1, *EI,* IX. 279. For fuller references, see K. M. Munshi, *The Glory That was Gūrjaradeśa,* Vol. III (1st Ed.), pp. 10-13.
4. L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani" etc. *IA,* XLIII, 1914 pp. 21-22.
5. The nominal derivative suffix *-āt* (feminine) 'aggregate, status, office' is attested in Modern Gujarāti words, *jīvāt,* 'germs and small insects collectively' (from *jīv* 'a creature'), *Bhīlāt,* 'the Bhil community' (from *Bhīl*), *ṭhakrāt* 'fief' (from *ṭhākar* 'a feudal chief').
6. The usage *maī jāṇia* 'I thought' recurs in one of the Apabhraṁśa stanzas of disputed authorship found in the fourth act of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* (S. P. Pandit's edition, Appendix I, st. 7), in a stanza cited by Hemachandra in the Apabhraṁśa portion of his *Siddhahema* (8.4.377) and in Modern Gujarāti in the form *meṁ jāṇyuṁ.*
7. *Sābāṇa,* 'small tent' (per. *sāybān*) is used in the *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali-rāsa* (A.D. 1185), ed. Jinavijaya Muni, 1941, st. 135.
8. *Uṇhau* and *sīalā* in the *Siddhahema,* 8.4.343 (1).
9. *Siddhahema,* 8.4.425.
10. *Ibid,* 8.4.397.

11. S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 1942, 99.
12. Vide *Bhāgavata*, 10.33.2; *Brahma*, 188. 21. 31; *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, p. 218; *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya, p. 266. Cf. also the definitions of *Rāsaka* given in Dhanapāla's *Pāialachchhīnāmamālā* (word No. 872) and in Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* (8.62).
13. *Bhāvaprakāśana* pp. 263-265; *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Vāgbhaṭa, Nirṇayasāgara edition, 1894, p. 181.
14. *Vṛittajātisamuchchaya* of Virahāṅka (ed. H. D. Velankar, *JBBRAS*, V, 1929), 4.37-38; *Svayambhūchchhandas* of Svayambhū (ed. H. D. Velankar, *JUB*, 1936), 8.49-50; cf. *Chhandonuśāsana* of Hemachandra, Com. on 5.3.
15. *Prāchīna-Gūrjara-kāvya-saṁgraha*, ed. C. D. Dalal, pp. 41-46.
16. *Ibid*, pp. 1-6.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 25-29.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 47-58.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 8-10.
20. *Ibid*, pp. 74-78.
21. L. B. Gandhi, *Pattanastha-Prāchīna-Jaina-Bhāṇḍāgārīya-Granthasūchī*, p. 190.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 78-82.
23. *Jain Aitihāsik Gūrjar Kāvya Saṁchay*, pp. 225-227.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. *GENERAL REVIEW*

The outstanding fact in the religious history of the period under review is the triumphant revival of Brahmanical religion. Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth and Jainism maintained its stronghold only in one corner of India, *viz.* Gujarāt. But Brahmanical religion had scarcely recovered its dominant position, practically over the whole of India, when it had to face the disastrous effects of the destructive inroads of Islam. The full effect of this was not apparent till a later age, but before the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Islam had effected permanent, though scattered, settlements all over Northern India, which were big with future consequences. For the first time in the history of India, the country was permanently divided, from a religious and social point of view, into two distinct entities, the gulf between which even seven centuries of peaceful existence side by side has not been able to bridge. This religious and social aloofness places the Muslim invasion of India on an entirely different footing from similar invasions elsewhere. Analogy has been drawn, for example, between Saxon and Norman invasions of England and the Turkish invasion of India in order to prove that since the invaders became the children of the soil, they can hardly be regarded as foreigners, and the 'foreign conquest' of India is a misnomer so far as the pre-British period is concerned. This analogy is however fallacious. For while within a century or two of the conquest of England by William, the Duke of Normandy, nobody could possibly distinguish the Saxon, Norman or other elements of which the English people were composed, it does not require a moment's thought today to draw a clear line between the Hindu and Muslim population, even though more than seven hundred years (in the case of Sindh, twelve hundred years) have elapsed since the Muslims first settled in the country.[1] Nor can we reasonably visualise a period when this difference will cease to exist.

It is by way of distinction from the Muslims that the term Hindu came into use. It is probable that the name was chosen by the Muslims in order to give a common designation to the people whom they found in India. This indirectly proves the essential unity of the creeds, beliefs and religious practices of the latter,

in the eyes of the former. In any case the term Hindu comes into general use during this period and it would be convenient to refer henceforth to the Indians, other than Muslims, and their religion as Hindu. As is well known, Hindu, a modified form of Sindhu,[2] was originally a geographical term used by the western foreigners to denote, first the region round the Sindhu river, and then the whole of India. The Indians, however, never called themselves by this name before the Muslim conquest. It was re-introduced after that event, with the added significance of a particular form of religious persuasion. Historically, therefore, 'Hindu' really signifies the aggregate of peoples in India and their culture and religion, as distinguished from Muslims. The common use of the term Hindu, as opposed to Buddhist, Jain or follower of any other religious sect in pre-Muslim India, is therefore quite erroneous.

The period under review thus brings into relief the emergence of Hinduism as the dominant faith with the menace of Islam as a disturbing element. The cloud was not as yet bigger than a man's hand, but ere long it grew in dimensions and cast its doleful shadow over the whole land. For the time being, however, this remote possibility was not visualised by the Hindus.

This leads us to one important question, *viz.* the result of the impact of Islam on Hindu religion during the period under review. So far as doctrinal changes are concerned, we could hardly expect any during the period under review when the Muslims were still a merely militant force and had hardly come into close or peaceful contact with the Hindus. To the latter, the Muslims were not only foreign and *mlechchha* (unclean and boorish) conquerors, but they had deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities by indiscriminate demolition of temples and destruction of images of gods on a large scale. The Hindus would therefore be hardly in a mood to take any lesson from the teachings of Islam, and the time was too short to produce even any indirect and unconscious effect.

But the Hindus kept themselves severely aloof in order to save their purity against the unclean aliens. This led to a change in their religious and social outlook and induced them to adopt stringent rules in regard to both which vitally affected their progress and future development. This would form the subject of discussion in the next volume.

While our main attention is naturally drawn to the intrusion of Islam as an effective factor in the religious history of India, it is necessary to refer to some other features in the evolution of Indian religion which characterised the period under review. The

most important among these was the growing influence of Tāntrik ideas over both Buddhism and Brahmanical religion. The high ideals of Mahāyāna, which aimed at the salvation of all and were actuated by the noble spirit of universal love for all mankind, soon yielded to gross superstitions and immoral practices so far at least as the general masses were concerned. Belief in the efficacy of *mantra, maṇḍala* and other elements of esoteric practices as the easiest means for attaining salvation retarded the growth of spiritual ideas, while the conception of ultimate reality as a duality of male and female energy—*Upāya* and *Prajñā* in Buddhism, and Śiva and Śakti in Brahmanical religion—, paved the way for the dominance of erotic and sensual practices which undermined the sense of moral values. Whatever views may be entertained regarding the ideals and practices of Tantra in their essence and origin, there can be no denying the fact that they led, in not a few cases, to gross debauchery and perversion of morals and ethics. It may be conceded that the fundamental principles of Tantra were conceived by great minds with the best of intentions, but the way devised for salvation was very risky and dangerous to the ordinary and unwary devotee and, as could be easily foreseen, most of the pilgrims fell victims to temptation and perished on the way before they could reach the promised land of bliss.

There has been much speculation regarding the causes of this general degradation of religious life in India. It is a significant fact that the same period also witnessed a great decline in the general intellectual and cultural level of the people in India. But whether the first is the cause or the effect of the second, or whether, and if so, how far, they reacted on each other, it is not easy to determine. It has been suggested that the universal appeal of Buddhism which brought within its fold peoples of diverse views and beliefs, in all stages of cultural development, wrought its own ruin. For, in order to satisfy the masses Buddhism had to come down from its high pedestal to their level and present itself in a popular garb which they could understand and appreciate and for which they felt an emotional urge in their own hearts. But by an inevitable process it also incorporated to a large extent the crude ideas, beliefs and religious practices held by them. A popular religion has little scope for an appeal to the intellect, and it has to strive its utmost to win the hearts of the people. This process, with its inevitable result, was in full swing during the period under review.

But whatever may be the cause, the most regrettable feature was the degradation in ideas of decency and sexual morality brought about by the religious practices. How far this evil corrod-

ed the whole society would be plain from a study of contemporary literature. A great Sanskrit poet of the period gave a vivid description of the *deva-dāsīs* in a temple of Kṛishṇa and added that they made one feel as if the goddess Lakshmī had come down on earth to attend her lord the god Murāri.[3] Contemporary epigraphic records also refer in rapturous terms to the personal charm and beauty of the hundreds of *deva-dāsīs* assigned to a single temple.[4] It is impossible to describe in a modern book some of the worst features of Tāntrik theories and practices which have been described by an eminent Indian scholar to be "at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of."[5] Fortunately the esoteric character of Tāntrik religion limited its field of operation, and it may be conceded that such debased forms of religious practices were exceptional and not normal. Even then we have to admit that the general effect of such religion was calculated to degrade rather than elevate the morals and general character of the people at large.

If we remember that religion in all ages has had a profound effect on Indian minds, the state of religion during the period under review cannot be regarded as an isolated topic, but has to be reviewed in the context of the general history of India, in particular its political history, social and economic condition, development of art, etc. The overall picture is one of decadence in every respect as compared to the high standard of older times. It may therefore be urged, with some degree of plausibility, that the overthrow of Hindu rule was as much due to internal as to external causes. The wealth and luxury with its enervating effect upon character on the one hand, and the degraded religious and social life on the other, sapped the vitality of the people and destroyed its manhood. The great fabric of culture and civilisation, reared up in course of centuries, was tottering, and it was no longer a question of whether but when it would fall. Foreign invasions merely accelerated the process of decay and hastened the downfall which was inevitable in any case.

Next to the growing evil of Tāntrik practices, and not altogether unconnected with it, is the almost complete disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth. This question has been discussed at some length in the section on Buddhism. It will suffice to state here that the principal reason seems to be the destruction by foreign invaders of the numerous monasteries in Bihār and Bengal which formed the stronghold of that religion. For the rest, it was partly assimilated to Brahmanical religion and partly survived in disguise or in a modified form in various medieval religious cults, specially in Bengal. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri even regarded the very little

known cult of Dharma-Ṭhākur as a living relic of Buddhism in Bengal.

The Brahmanical religion has always showed its catholicity by absorbing powerful rival religious sects. At a much earlier period it brought the cults of both Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva and Rudra-Śiva within its fold.[6] Now it repeated the same process in regard to Buddhism by declaring the Buddha to be an incarnation of Vishṇu. The developed doctrines and rituals of Mahāyāna and Brahmanical religion made such a near approach to each other, specially through the stress upon faith and devotion, worship of images of numerous gods and goddesses, and the use of Sanskrit in liturgical texts, on the part of the Buddhists, and the acceptance of the principle of *ahiṁsā,* specially in regard to diet, on the part of the Brāhmaṇas, that a merger of the two was not only rendered quite easy but became almost inevitable. The identification of the Buddha with Vishṇu by means of the theory of incarnation completed the process, and Buddhism silently merged itself into Brahmanical religion. Even today images of Buddha are worshipped as Śiva or Vishṇu in many places in Bengal. It is also interesting to note that Śiva and Buddha were identified in Java, and in modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva. Further, Śiva, Vishṇu and Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis. These no doubt truly reflected the religious conception of the motherland.

The Jains were more fortunate than the Buddhists. Under the patronage of the Later Chālukyas and the Hoysalas Jainism maintained for long a position in the Deccan and South India, but with the growing influence of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism it gradually lost its importance in both these regions. The Hoysala rulers, though converted to Vaishṇavism, supported the Jain religion, but the Choḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were bigoted Śaivas, and are said to have persecuted the Jains. The successful revolution of the Śaiva Liṅgāyat sect against the Kalachuri ruler Vijjala, who was a Jain, was also an important factor in the decline of Jainism, specially in the Deccan. Due to all these causes, Jainism gradually lost its hold in the Deccan and South India before the close of the period under review.

Jainism was also affected by the assimilating power of Brahmanical religion, but to a much less extent than Buddhism. This is due to the innate rigidity and conservative character of Jainism which enabled it to maintain to a certain extent its special characteristics *vis-à-vis* Brahmanical religion. The result is that while Buddhism disappeared from India, Jainism is still a powerful force in Gujarāt and Rājputāna. This is also partly due to the fact

that these two strongholds suffered less from the iconoclastic fury of the early Muslim invaders than Bihār and Bengal where Buddhism found its last refuge.

One great thing to be noted about Jainism is that it was never subjected to the contaminating influence of Tāntrik ideas, which proved ruinous to Buddhism and Brahmanical religion in North India. The Vaishṇava sects of Southern India were also largely free from the degrading Tāntrik ideas of the North. This was mainly due to the rise of the great *Āchāryas* like Rāmānuja and Madhva who shed lustre on this age. The great *Advaita* doctrine of Śaṅkara, which had a triumphant career in the preceding period, cut at the very root of *bhakti-vāda, i.e.* the doctrine of love and faith, for if there is only one universal spirit, there was no scope for love or devotion, which necessarily postulates two separate entities, the lover and the beloved, the devotee and the object of devotion. Rāmānuja solved this problem and placed the *bhakti*-cult on a firm philosophical basis by expounding the famous doctrine of *Viśishṭādvaita-vāda,* which was a qualified form of Śaṅkara's Monism and a reply to his challenge. In the system of Vaishṇavism preached by these *Āchāryas* there was no place for the cowherd girls *(gopīs),* an element which so profoundly affected the Vaishṇavism of the North and ultimately degraded it to the level of the gross form of Tāntrik religion referred to above.

But the South did not altogether escape the contamination of the North. If the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* were really composed in South India, as many believe, we have an indisputable evidence of the dominance of the *gopī* element. Still later, Nimbārka, a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa, also stressed the *gopī* element. Kṛishṇa, surrounded by thousands of *gopīs,* with Rādhā as his principal beloved, forms an essential element of his doctrine. It is, however, not without significance that Nimbārka, though hailing from the South, lived and preached in North India with his centre at Vṛindāvana (near Mathurā), the reputed centre of Kṛishṇa's dalliance with the *gopīs.* The followers of Nimbārka are also mostly to be found in North India. The Rādhā cult preached by him was further stressed by Chaitanya in the sixteenth century and it is still the most popular aspect of North Indian Vaishṇavism.

The Śaivas and Śāktas were more affected by Tāntrik ideas than the Vaishṇavas. The Śakti cult almost became a synonym for Tāntrik rites, often of a degrading character. Among the Śaivas also, both in the North and the South, sects like Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas followed most repulsive and obnoxious practices associated with wine and women.

The growing menace of Tāntrik ideas and practices should not, however, blind us to the fact that purer and higher forms of religious ideas and practices continued to flourish, at least among the higher classes, even in those regions in North India which were most contaminated by the debased ideas. Further, as noted above, there were also large areas, particularly in Deccan and South India, where Tāntrik influence was hardly perceptible.

The growth of big temples, both Śaiva and Vaishṇava, constitutes an important feature in the religious development, particularly in South India. Rich endowments made to them by kings, merchants, and other men of wealth made them not only important centres of higher education, but also centres of missionary activity and spiritual inspiration like the Buddhist monasteries of old. The *maṭhas*, which grew up in large numbers, not only supplemented these activities, but also took up humanitarian work like feeding the poor and tending the sick. It is interesting to note that many Buddhist monasteries were actually converted to such *maṭhas*.

Reference has been made above to the persecution of Jains by the Śaiva rulers of the South. According to Tamil Purāṇas, the Śaiva religion was firmly established by the cruel torture inflicted on the Jains. Specific reference is made to a case of an earlier period when 8000 Jains were impaled on stakes. But according to some scholars the story is apocryphal.[7] There are also stories that Rāmānuja and his followers were subjected to persecution by the Choḷas who were ardent Śaivas. It is difficult to say how far these stories can be relied upon as true, though some support is given to them by the fact that Rāmānuja had to withdraw to Mysore and live there for more than twenty years, before he could return to Śrīraṅgam.[8] But these cases, even if partially true, form an exception to the general rule, and on the whole the Hindus, even during this period, did not show any lack of the spirit of toleration which marked the religious evolution in India throughout the ages. This spirit was displayed even towards the Muslims[9] in the face of the greatest provocation caused by their iconoclastic fury.

B. BUDDHISM

I. DOCTRINAL CHANGES

1. *Tāntrik Buddhism*

The development of Tāntrism, during the period under review, effected a radical change in the outlook and character of Buddhism. The *Tantras*, whether of the Śaiva or Śākta schools or of the Buddhists, primarily pertain to the *sādhanā*, *i.e.* religious exercises or

practices, as contrasted with any abstract philosophy. They have little to do with metaphysical speculations, since their leading object is to expound practical methods for the realisation of the ultimate truth. These methods and practices, sometimes of highly erotic nature, comprise, besides esoteric *Yoga,* a medley of hymns, rites, rituals, etc. So far as theological speculations and philosophical doctrines are concerned, the Śaiva and Śākta *Tantras* accept the Brahmanical philosophical systems as authority, and utilise their fundamental tenets, while the Buddhist *Tantras* likewise adopt and put to use the Buddhist, or more precisely, Mahāyāna, principles. It should not be supposed that Buddhism, in the process of development, had evolved Tāntrism at a certain stage of its growth, within its own spheres, or out of its own materials. For there is absolutely no inherent relation between Tāntrism and Buddhism proper. In point of fact, Buddhism in the later phases of Mahāyāna had adopted, or had been engrafted into, these esoteric principles and practices which had an entirely independent growth and an independent history of their own. But, as pointed out above,[9a] Tāntrik ideas may be traced in Buddhism from a very early period.

Mahāyāna Buddhism does not recognise *Śūnyatā* or perfect knowledge[10] to be the highest truth, which, according to its postulation, is a state where *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* are united together. Thus the emphasis of Mahāyāna is divided; as a system of religion it is characterised by its stress, no less if not more, on *Karuṇā* or universal compassion, a feature that is conspicuous by its absence in Hīnayāna. The final goal of Hīnayāna being the attainment of *Arhathood,* its followers are supposed to dedicate themselves to the selfish hankering for personal liberation and to be thus busy with themselves only. On the contrary, the avowed object of *Karuṇā* is to stimulate one to make use of one's perfect knowledge in missionary activities for the welfare of the suffering world and the salvation of all beings. These missionary activities mainly consist of preaching the gospel to all the laity in order to banish their shroud of ignorance and make them realise the truth.

Śūnyatā, or perfect wisdom, and *Karuṇā,* or universal compassion, being associated together, generate in one's mind, according to the Mahāyāna conception, the *Bodhi-chitta,* which is that mental state in which nothing else remains but a firm determination to attain *bodhi* or perfect knowledge, mixed up with a strong emotion of compassion for the redemption of all suffering beings of the world. The *Bodhi-chitta* next proceeds on an upward march through ten different stages (*bhūmis*), and when the last stage, known as *Dharmamegha,* is reached, one becomes a perfect Bodhi-

sattva. To the Mahāyānists, the ultimate goal is not final extinction through *Nirvāṇa,*[11] but to transcend the states of both *bhava* (existence in the world of birth and death) and *Nirvāṇa* (in the sense of extinction), and to attain Buddhahood through different stages of Boddhisattvahood. Every human being, nay, any creature of the world, is, according to Mahāyāna, a potential Buddha, and has within him all the possibilities of becoming a *Samyak-sambuddha, i.e.* the Perfectly Enlightened One; but this hidden possibility can find tangible expression only by the attainment of the *Bodhi-chitta,* which is a unified state of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā.*

This broad outlook of Mahāyāna, coupled with the spirit of benevolence and humanity, elevated it to the sublimity of a religion of love and tender sympathy for all sentient beings, and formed an important factor in popularising Buddhism far and wide. For the liberation of all people being the sacred pledge of Mahāyāna, it stood out prominently as a religion for all. From this standpoint, it had to concern itself with, and accommodate within its fold, folks of all grades, shades, and tastes. But this zeal of popularisation did overstep its limits, and ultimately brought about degeneration in Mahāyāna, inasmuch as an influx of heterogeneous elements of faith and religious practices into the enclosure of Buddhism was rendered inevitable. What is, to the ordinary or plebian section of people, a religion, if it be not something that consists of belief in a pantheon of gods and goddesses and of the performance of rites and ceremonies and some esoteric practices along with the muttering of mystic formulas, etc. with which they had been hitherto only too familiar? So, in order to satisfy the ideas and sentiments of what is called the mass mind, manifold ceremonies and rites and rituals of very popular and homely nature had to be incorporated, and at the same time elements of *mantras, dhāraṇīs, mudrās, maṇḍalas,* etc. introduced into the religion of the Buddha. Gradually, however, a section of people of higher intellectual level, too, became convinced of the efficacy of the *mantra*-charms as the simplest and most suitable means for the realisation of the ultimate truth. Just at this stage of development Mahāyāna was subdivided into two distinct schools, *Mantra-yāna* or *Mantra-naya* and *Pāramitā-yāna* or *Pāramitā-naya,* and the former may justly be regarded as the initial stage of Tāntrik Buddhism. In this stage the emphasis was laid mainly on the elements of *mantra, dhāraṇī, mudrā, maṇḍala, abhisheka,* etc. But these elements of esoterism have by nature a propensity to generate beliefs in magic, sorcery, charms, etc., having their application to gods, demigods, ghosts, goblins, demons, fiends and the like. And when to these were added the elements of *yoga* or sexo-yogic practices, it was full-fledged Tāntrism. It may

thus be said that the Mahāyāna doctrine of *Karuṇā* was, directly or indirectly, responsible for introducing Tāntrism in Buddhism. This doctrine of universal compassion, as such, was also adopted and utilised to the full by the Tāntrik Buddhists themselves. All their teachings, all their mystic rites and ceremonies and practices, bear the impress of *Karuṇā* on them, and every thing they do is professed to be undertaken with the set purpose of saving the world from all miseries.

It should, however, be borne in mind that there is no fundamental difference between the esoteric *sādhanā* (religious endeavours) of the Brahmanical and Buddhist Tāntrism. Both the schools lay equal stress upon the theological principles of duality in non-duality, and hold that the ultimate non-dual reality possesses in its nature the potency of two aspects or attributes, *viz.* the negative and the positive, the static and the dynamic, the principle of pure consciousness and the principle of activity. In the Absolute Being these two aspects and attributes lie merged together in a state of absolute non-duality. In the process of phenomenalisation, however, come separation and duality, which mean bondage and suffering, the ultimate escape from which is liberation. The final goal of both the schools is to destroy all principles of dualism and to attain the final state of non-duality.

These two aspects of the absolute reality are conceived as *Śiva* and *Śakti* in Brahmanical Tāntrism and as *Prajñā* and *Upāya* in Buddhist Tāntrism. The terms *Prajñā* and *Upāya* are not of its coinage but are copiously used also in Mahāyāna literature, and are practically synonymous with *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* respectively. *Śūnyatā* is *Prajñā* because it represents perfect wisdom, *i.e.* knowledge of the void-nature of the self and the *dharmas*. *Karuṇā* or universal compassion is called *Upāya* because it is the means or medium for the attainment of the *Bodhi-chitta* for the realisation of the highest goal. *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā* (perfect knowledge) represents a static or negative state of mind which separates the individual from the world of suffering beings; it makes one observe the world of existence from a point of view where there is neither suffering nor happiness and, therefore, no opportunity left for displaying the spirit of benevolence; it makes a man altogether static. *Upāya* or *Karuṇā*, on the other hand, operates in one's mind like a dynamic force, draws one's attention to the world of suffering, and as the symbol of universal compassion removes the miseries of the suffering world. Through *Prajñā*, which is the one universal principle underlying the diversity of the phenomenal world, one's mind is purified, while *Upāya* is that principle which brings down

one's perfectly purified mind to this phenomenal world, the world around us, where the helpless beings are suffering the miseries of life. If *Upāya* impels one to benevolent activities for the removal of sorrow, those moral activities are to be yoked with and conducted by *Prajñā*. *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā,* standing for perfect wisdom, is regarded as absolutely passive and negative aspect of the reality, while *Upāya* or *Karuṇā,* with its active inspiration and because of its dynamic nature, is conceived as the active and positive aspect of the same. The nature of *Prajñā* is non-existence, and that of *Upāya* existence; *Prajñā* is essencelessness, while *Upāya* is of positive nature; so the whole truth is the unity of both these positive and negative aspects.

The first, as also the foremost, innovation that the Tāntrik Buddhism effected was the conception of these two cardinal principles of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya* of Mahāyāna as the female and the male. Accordingly, *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā* is the female, and *Upāya* or *Karuṇā,* male. The Tāntrik Buddhism differs from the Śaiva and Śākta *Tantras* as well as some other Indian systems of philosophy in regarding the negative, static or unqualified aspect of the reality as the female, and the positive or active counterpart as the male. Nevertheless, the most important thing in the Buddhist *Tantras* is the stress on the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* both in the philosophical and in the esoteric *Yogic* senses. *Prajñā* is declared to be bondage, if unassociated with *Upāya,* and so is also *Upāya* bereft of *Prajñā;* when the one is conjoined with the other, the two, being one, become liberation. In other words, the truth is both *Prajñā* and *Upāya* united together. The commingling of *Prajñā* and *Upāya,* like that of water and milk, in a state of non-duality, constitutes a state perfectly pure from the defilement of reality and unreality and subjectivity and objectivity, and it has only to be realised by intuition.

This ultimate state of non-duality, on the destruction of all principles of dualism, is called by the Tāntrik Buddhists the state of *Yuganaddha,* which is variously called in other esoteric systems as *Advaya, Maithuna, Samarasa,* etc. One reaching the stage of *Yuganaddha* has attained perfect enlightenment and eternal tranquillity and has crossed the sea of birth and death. This is in fact perfect enlightenment of *Buddhatva,* and this is the way in which, according to the Tāntrik Buddhists, innumerable Buddhas have attained perfection.

The Tāntrik Buddhists share in common with other esoteric schools the notion that practices of austere penances, difficult vows, fasting, going on pilgrimage, etc., only inflict torture upon the body

and mind of a man, make him morbid, disfigure his face, and so on, but can never bring forth perfection. To them this very approach appears to be unnatural, and perfect enlightenment is attainable only through an easy process, *viz.* through enjoyment. This either supplements or is supplemented by another conception of momentous consequences, *viz.* that the male and female represent in this world the division that exists in the nature of the Absolute as *Upāya* and *Prajñā* (cf. *Śiva* and *Śakti*), the union of which is the highest reality. As such, to obtain the highest spiritual experience, men and women must first of all realise themselves as manifestations of *Upāya* and *Prajñā* and be united together in body, mind, and spirit; the supreme bliss that emerges from that union is the highest religious gain. All esoteric *sādhanā* must, therefore, be performed by the male and female together, and this is precisely the easy process of realising the highest truth. The son of Māyādevī, Lord Buddha, was the incarnation of *Upāya,* and his wife Gopā that of *Prajñā,* and the Buddha attained, we are told, supreme bliss (*Mahāsukha*) of the nature of *Nirvāṇa* in union with the *Prajñā* Gopā.[12]

If in the Buddhist *Tantras,* therefore, *Prajñā,* the female aspect of the absolute, is viewed as the goddess (*Bhagavatī*), it is also a term often used to imply the *Mudrā,* which technically denotes the woman to be adopted in the *Yogic* practice. She is also called *Vajra-kanyā, Yuvatī* (young woman) and so on. In some *Tantras,* a beautiful girl of sixteen to be adopted for the *sādhanā* is styled as *Prajñā,* while, again in some places *Prajñā* is the word for the female organ, because it is the seat of all pleasure, which is great bliss (*Mahāsukha*). *Prajñā* and *Upāya,* as the symbol of the female and male, are also called, respectively, the lotus (*padma*) and the thunder (*vajra*), the former symbolising the female, and the latter, the male organ.

The *Yogic* practices involving the physical and physiological union of the *Prajñā* and the *Upāya* lead to the inner union of the two, and through this *Yogic* union is produced supreme bliss (*Mahāsukha*) which, according to the Buddhist and all other schools of *Tantra,* is the very nature of the Absolute. One realises the Absolute only when one realises one's own self as perfect bliss. The ultimate end is, therefore, to attain this state of perfect bliss. In our ordinary life we do feel like experiencing intense pleasure in our sex-experiences, but between the sex-pleasure and perfect bliss, which constitutes the ultimate nature of our self, there is an abyss of difference. The experiences of sex-pleasure, extremely transitory and of defiled character as they are, only fasten us to a lower plane of life, as against ministering to our progress towards self-

realisation. But the sexo-yogic *sādhanā* of the Tāntriks is a *sādhanā* which is calculated to be capable of transmuting "even gross sex-pleasure into the realisation of infinite bliss in which all the activities of the mind are absolutely lost and in which the self and the world around are lost in an all-pervading oneness". This is what is reckoned as *Nirvāṇa*[13] by the Tāntrik Buddhists.

With the identification of *Mahāsukha* with *Nirvāṇa* and that of the principles of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* with the female and male organs, the Mahāyāna conception of the *Bodhi-chitta* was destined to undergo a thorough change in Tāntrik Buddhism. The *Bodhi-chitta* is no more the state of the mind in which reigns only a strong determination to attain perfect wisdom (*bodhi*), but signifies the production of an extremely blissful state of mind through the *Yogic* union of the male and the female. This is further elaborated by the identification of the different philosophical concepts with the various parts of the nervous system of the human body and the conception of the attainment of the final bliss as a physical process, which is too technical and intricate to be explained here.

2. *Vajra-yāna*

This system of Tāntrism, compounded with the principle of sexo-yogic practice, is conventionally known by the general name of Vajra-yāna, or the Adamantine path. But perhaps we should rather take Vajra-yāna merely as the name of a school of Tāntrik Buddhism, though undoubtedly the largest school. The justification of the name of the school is to be sought in its preference of the use of the term *Vajra* in place of *Śūnyatā*. In this system *Vajra* connotes the unchangeable adamantine void-nature of the self and of the *dharmas*. Thus Vajra-yāna is the way for the realisation of the *vajra*-nature or the changeless and impenetrable void-nature of the self and all entities. It has been rightly suggested that Vajra-yāna may also be designated as *Śūnyatā-yāna*.[14]

Notwithstanding the considerable emphasis laid by Vajra-yāna upon the secret *Yogic* practices, absolute confidence was not reposed upon them as the only method of realising the truth. This is evinced by the high degree of importance attached at the same time to the worship of various gods and goddesses of an extensive pantheon that it evolved, to the numerous rites and practices that it developed, to the efficacies of *mantra*-charms, *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas*, and so on. A singular peculiarity that marks out Vajra-yāna is that it considers everything as *vajra*. For instance, in worshipping a god, it is not only that the god adored is meditated on as of *vajra* (void) nature, but also the image of the god, the *mantras*, the pro-

cesses of worship, the worshipper himself, etc., are all supposed to be *vajra*. This *vajra* bias is so acute in the minds of the followers of the system that even the articles of worship including the image, flowers, lamp, conchshell, bell, jar, incense, sesamum, fried paddy, etc., all bear the mark of *vajra* on them. The idea underlying this apparently queer pursuit is, however, simple; anything stamped with *vajra* before one's eyes conduces to the realisation of the void-nature of the self and the *dharmas*.

The most outstanding feature of Vajra-yāna is the identification of the ultimate reality with the conception of a Lord Supreme (*Bhagavān*) as Vajrasattva, sometimes also called Vajradhara. This monotheistic conception is the most significant departure of Vajra-yāna from earlier Buddhism. This Vajrasattva is not merely of the nature of *Śūnyatā*, but is as well the non-dual state of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*. He is thus the Being of infinite wisdom and universal compassion. Hence it is that Vajrasattva is often identified with the *Bodhi-chitta*. He who realises Vajrasattva becomes himself Vajrasattva. To realise Vajrasattva is to bring home to one's mind that all existence is nothing but *Śūnyatā* in its pure nature, and as soon as one attains to this knowledge, one becomes Vajrasattva.[15]

The evolution of the idea of Vajrasattva as the Lord Supreme ushered into being a new and expanded pantheon of gods and goddesses in Vajra-yāna. Vajrasattva as the Primal Enlightened One is Ādi-Buddha. The Primal Lord is possessed of five kinds of knowledge conceived as his five attributes, from which proceed five kinds of meditation (*dhyānas*); from these, again, emanate five deities known as the five Dhyānī-Buddhas or Tathāgatas, *viz.* Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akshobhya. These Dhyānī-Buddhas, who are the presiding deities over the five *skandhas* or elements whose aggregate constitutes the body, have each got a divine consort or *Śakti* of his own, *viz.* Vajradhātvīśvarī, Lochanā, Māmakā, Pāṇḍarā and Ārya-Tārā respectively. Each Dhyānī-Buddha has again a particular Bodhi-sattva as a son as it were, and also a particular human Buddha (*Mānushī* Buddha). The consort of Vajrasattva himself is variously called as Vajra-sattvātmikā, Vajra-Vārāhī, Prajñā, Prajñā-pāramitā, etc. We have the injunction of many a *sādhanā* that the god to be worshipped is to be meditated on as in union with or deeply embraced by his *Śakti* or *Prajñā*, filled with erotic emotion and as enjoying great bliss (*Mahāsukha*). This illustrates the principle of *Yuganaddha* or *Advaya*. Thus we find that Vajrasattva and some other gods are

depicted in sculpture as " in sexual union touching at all points of contact", representing the knowledge of non-dual union.

Some idea of the actual process of worship and nature of meditation in Vajra-yāna may be had from the description of a particular *sādhana* of a deity. First, the Lord Supreme should be meditated on with the five Dhyānī-Buddhas, and then flowers are to be offered. Then these five with their five respective *Śaktis* are to be adored with offerings of flowers, incense, lamp, etc. Then follow some other details including the devotee's confession of his sins before the Lord and taking refuge in the three jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha. "Then he takes the resolution of producing the Bodhi-chitta for the well-being and deliverance of all, and adopts the path followed by the Sugatas and their followers. Then he should think of the world, both static and dynamic, as all void, and place himself in the void with the *mantra,* 'Oṁ, I am of the nature of the immutable knowledge, of the void'. Then he should realise that all the *dharmas* are pure by nature and he, too, is pure by nature, and then he should read, 'Naturally pure are all the *dharmas,* pure am I by nature—amen". Then after some details follows the meditation of the self as the Lord himself, and that of various gods and goddesses on either side of the Lord with *mantras,* etc.[16]

3. *Kālachakra-yāna*

Within the fold of Vajra-yāna there arose, in or about the tenth century A.D., a school known as Kālachakra-yāna, which should not be regarded as a separate school of Tāntrik Buddhism distinct from Vajra-yāna. The supreme deity in this school is called the Lord Śrī-Kālachakra. *Kāla* means the ultimate immutable knowledge (*Prajñā*) or the state of *Śūnyatā,* while *Chakra* means the cycle of the world process, or the body of the Lord containing the potency of the existence of the universe, which is just the principle of *Upāya.* Kālachakra, therefore, implies the absolutely unified principle of *Prajñā* and *Upāya,* and he is thus the *Bodhi-chitta.* In some *Tantras* he is characterised as *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* unified, as the non-dual Lord, and as embracing *Prajñā.* There is, therefore, no essential difference between the two conceptions of Kālachakra and Vajrasattva. As to other matters also, *viz.* worship, *mantras,* practices, rites, etc., the principle and method are the same both in Kālachakra-yāna and Vajra-yāna. The difference between the two lies in a few distinctive features of Kālachakra-yāna, of which one, though not the main, is the introduction and predominance in the system of a number of gods and their female energies, having awful and terrible aspects, though as powerful as the celestial Buddhas

themselves, and of other dreadful fiendesses known as *Ḍākinīs*, all of whom have to be appeased with *mantra*-charms, magic circles, offerings and sacrifices. One other distinctive feature is the stress on *time* which is the common meaning of the term *Kāla*. *Time*, with all its divisions and subdivisions, *viz.* moment, hour, day, night, week, fortnight, month, year, etc., dwells within one's body, in which lies the whole universe with all its animate beings and inanimate objects. And *Time* with its divisions is caused by, or is the production of, the vital winds (*vāyus*) that remain diffused throughout the entire nervous system of one's body. One who can control the vital winds in the nerves by *Yogic* practices, thereby keeps oneself above all influence of the whirl of *Time*, which is the root cause of all miseries including decay and destruction.[17]

The Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna completed the evolution of Buddhism in India. As we have seen above, some time after the seventh century A.D. Hīnayāna was practically dislodged by Mahāyāna from the mainland of India. After the tenth century, Mahāyāna, too, in its turn, was to a considerable extent eclipsed by Vajra-yāna, which "revolted against both the monasticism and scholasticism of Hīnayāna Buddhism and the intellectual pedantry of the Mahāyānists",[18] and now began to make its triumphant headway. It exerted its influence most in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., wherever in India Buddhism prevailed at that time. The influence of Kālachakra-yāna was felt more from the latter half of the eleventh century, and speaking generally, its sphere of influence was limited to Bengal, Magadha (South Bihār) and Kāshmir, though subsequently it spread to Nepāl. Round these two schools a vast body of literature grew up in different Buddhist monasteries, while the artists carved out a large number of images of deities of the Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna pantheons for worship in numerous temples that were built up.

4. *Sahaja-yāna*

In Bengal, during the Pāla period, a section of the Tāntrik Buddhists rose in revolt against all conventionalism, ceremonialism, muttering of *mantras*, etc. of Vajra-yāna. These rebels, known as Sahajiyā Buddhists, also made their position distinct by their scrupulous abhorrence of high thinking and deep learning, even of constructing images and worshipping gods, etc.; for truth, they affirmed, was a matter of intuition and could never be attained by these artificial and unnatural means. To that end one must proceed through the natural way, which lies not in discarding the inborn propensities of human beings and the total annihilation of the sex passions, but in sublimating the same. Sahajiyā Buddhists, to

whom deliberate infliction of any sort of strain on human nature was an idea as shocking as it was sickening, would adopt human nature itself as the best appliance for realising the truth, and consequently they called their path the easiest, the most straight and the most natural (*sahaja*). The path was one of *Yoga* practices, for the process of *Yoga,* according to their way of thinking, takes its rise from one's sex impulses.

The fundamental tenets of these Sahajiyās are known exclusively from a number of *Charyāpadas* or devotional songs and *Dohās* composed by them. As for the *Yogic* practices, the Sahaja-yāna accepts the general Tāntrik Buddhist texts as its authority, though it invented some new terminologies to suit its standpoint. In the matter of sexo-yogic practices, the Sahajiyā Buddhists, however, went ahead of the Vajra-yānists by laying more emphasis on two points, *viz.* (i) the imperative necessity of making the body sufficiently strong and fit before starting with *Yogic* processes; and (ii) conception of an internal female force in the *Nirmāṇa-chakra* (navel region), corresponding to that of the *Kula-kuṇḍalinī* śakti of the Brahmanical *Tantras.*

The sphere of influence of the Sahajiyā Buddhist cult was for the most part Bengal and probably, to some extent, its western and south-western environs. When exactly this offshoot of Tāntrik Buddhism rose as a distinct school is difficult to determine, but many of the poets of the *Charyās* and *Dohās* are known to have flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during the Pāla period. In popular mind the term Sahajiyā or Sahaja-yāna is another name for excesses and debauchery, but the authors of the *Charyās* and *Dohās* do not seem to have prized morality any less than other religious systems do.[19]

II. SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

There is a general belief that Bengal and Bihār remained the only resorts of Buddhism in India after the age of Harsha-vardhana, till it was finally extirpated in the twelfth century. But both epigraphic and literary records testify to the fact that it had quite a large number of followers in other parts of India also, even between A.D. 1000 and 1200. It is true that Buddhism had ceased to be a creative force in religion, literature or aesthetics, and was merely a legacy of the past in less capable hands. But it is equally true that Buddhism, in a new form, was still a living religion in India during this period. This will be evident from the following account of Buddhism, arranged on a regional basis.

1. *Pāla kingdom (Bengal and Bihār)*

In A.D. 1000 the king of Bengal (Gauḍa) was Mahīpāla I,[20] doubtless the most energetic ruler of the line after the great Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla, both from political and religious points of view. Under him the Pāla monarchy once again outstripped the limits of Magadha to the west, while a galaxy of Buddhist scholars and other celebrities joined hands with him to revive Buddhism in Eastern India from the stupor into which it had fallen in the tenth century A.D. After him his son Nayapāla strove, not without success, to maintain the progress of Buddhism. It suffered decline during the political troubles that followed,[21] but in the reign of Rāmapāla (c. A.D. 1077-1120) the religion was again active and stirring, and a number of scholars, teachers and artists shed lustre on the age of the last great Pāla king. But this was the last flickering of the lamp and Buddhism steadily declined till it was finally ousted from the land of its birth by the Muslim raids towards the close of the twelfth century A.D.

The possession of Magadha gave the Buddhist Pāla rulers the mastery over the greatest *vihāras* or *saṁghārāmas* of India, *viz.* Nālandā, Odantapurī (Uddaṇḍapura, probably near the town of Bihār), and Vikramaśīla (near Bhāgalpur),[22] the last two being the creation of the Pālas themselves towards the commencement of their rule. The *vihāras,* as is well known, served as Buddhist seats of learning, as also citadels of strength of the *Saṁgha,* and the centres wherefrom radiated the influence of their doctrine and culture. As such, they played a very important part in the propagation of Buddhism and maintaining its influence.

Nālandā, the origin and glorious history of which have been referred to above,[23] was damaged by fire some time before the eleventh regnal year of Mahīpāla I, but was repaired in that year. Far more damaging to it was, however, the rise of Vikramaśīla, which, we are told, had about this time surpassed Nālandā in fame and renown. Tāranātha even hints that the professorial board of Vikramaśīla kept watch over the affairs of Nālandā, which amounts to a sort of control by the former over the latter.[24] Like Vikramaśīla in Magadha, the university of Somapurī occupied a position of preeminence in Bengal ever since the days of Dharmapāla.[25] The monastery of Somapurī, the site of which is represented by Pāhārpur in North Bengal, was in a flourishing condition till the eleventh century. The great Atīśa or Atīśa Dīpaṅkara resided here when he translated into Tibetan, in collaboration with some others, the *Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa* of Bhāvaviveka.[26] We have also a stone inscription on a pillar, in characters of the eleventh century,

found in the ruins of Pāhārpur, recording that the pillar was caused to be made by Śrī-Daśavala-garbha for the good of the animate beings.[27]

About the middle of the eleventh century, the *Somapurī-mahā-vihāra* was set on fire by the armies of Vaṅgāla or South-east Bengal. Even though, some time after, a monk, Vipulaśrīmitra, undertook a wholesale renovation of the monastery, [28] it could not be restored to its former glory. About this time Rāmapāla established a new *mahā-vihāra,* in North Bengal, called *Jagaddala,* which also came to occupy an important position in Bengal. Besides Vibhūtichandra and Dānaśīla, the two most renowned celebrities of Jagaddala, the names of some other scholars, *e.g.* Mokshākaragupta, the logician, Śubhākaragupta, Dharmākara, etc. are intimately associated with Jagaddala, where the great Śākyaśrībhadra is also said to have dwelt for some time.[29]

To all these *mahā-vihāras* or universities, richly endowed with royal grants, flocked learners from all quarters of India to receive instructions at the feet of the most profound savants of the day. Another feature that marked them, and which is historically very important, is that they were largely frequented by monks from Tibet, specially from the time of Mahīpāla I. This resulted in bringing Tibet closer to India than ever. While, usually on invitation from the Tibetan kings, the *vihāras* used to send forth from time to time pre-eminent scholars to the Land of Snow with the mission of preaching the gospel of the Buddha or reforming the religion there, they also frequently supplied competent monks to that country for translating Buddhist works from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Thus the nucleus of a Tibetan Buddhist literature began to take shape in Tibet. Gradually, the Tibetans, too, began to study Sanskrit under Indian monks both in Tibet and in India and took up the task which had hitherto been done by the Indian monks only. The influx of the Tibetan monks began to swell more and more as time went on, and the universities had, as a matter of course, to make commodious provisions for them to learn Sanskrit and be *Lochāvas.* The Buddhist *Paṇḍitas* of India, in their turn, found it alluring to master Tibetan, in order to permeate Tibet all the more with the doctrines of Buddhism by means of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit books, and the Indian universities, particularly those of Eastern India and Kāshmir, became genial centres of the cultivation of Tibetan. The growth of the vast Tibetan Buddhist literature was thus due as much to the contributions of Indian scholars, as to those of the Tibetans themselves. That literature forms now, for the most part, the only extant source of our information regarding

the Indian Buddhist scholars and their works during the period under review.

Besides Somapurī and Jagaddala, there were many other less known *vihāras* in Bengal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among these Devīkoṭa in North Bengal and Paṇḍita-*vihāra* in the Chittagong District of East Bengal deserve particular mention and were noted as seats of Buddhist learning and culture.[30]

Amongst the host of Buddhist scholars who kept the light burning in Bengal and Bihār in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by their writings and other exertions, and at the same time propagated and popularised the faith, through the medium of translation, in Tibet, it is possible to name only a few. Tilopāda or Tilopā, *alias* Prajñābhadra, was a celebrity of the Paṇḍita-*vihāra*. Nāḍapāda, *alias* Yaśobhadra, a Kāshmirian by birth, was his disciple, who worked for some time, along with Vinayaśrīmitra and some others of Kāshmir, in the grand *vihāra* of Kanakastūpa, which is located by some in Kāshmir, but was really in the district of Tipperah of East Bengal.[31] According to the Tibetan tradition he succeeded Jetāri in the Chair of the North-door *Paṇḍita* of Vikramaśīla, and subsequently became the High-priest of Vajrāsana.[32] Jetāri, *alias* Jetakarṇa, was the son of one Gaganaghosha, a Brāhmaṇa,[33] and not of Garbhapāda[34] nor of king Sanātana of Varendra,[35] as tradition would have it. Tradition also makes Nāḍapāda a preceptor, and Jetāri a teacher, of the great Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, but there is no positive evidence to substantiate it. The distinction of being a preceptor of Atīśa, however, rightly belongs to Ratnākara Śānti,[36] better known to the Tibetans as Śānti-pāda, a voluminous writer, an eminent logician, and occupant of the Chair of *Paṇḍita*, a prize post at that time, at the East gate of Vikramaśīla[37] in the first half of the eleventh century. His title *Rājāchārya*,[38] if it has any genuine significance at all, shows that he was the spiritual guide of Mahīpāla I. Contemporary with him was Jñānaśrīmitra of Gauḍa, also associated with Vikramaśīla. Advayavajra, who belonged to the same age and was known variously as Advayagupta, Atulyavajra, Avadhūtapāda, Maitrīpāda, etc., testifying to his eminence, lived in the Devīkoṭa-*vihāra* of North Bengal. The next exalted figure is Atīśa Dīpaṅkara,[39] otherwise called Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, undoubtedly the greatest of all Buddhist *Paṇḍitas* of Bengal, and possibly the most outstanding personality in the entire Buddhist world after Nāgārjuna. He was appointed the High-priest of Vikramaśīla by Nayapāla about A.D. 1040-42, but resigned owing to the repeated importunities of the Tibetan king Ye-śes-hoḍ and his successor Chaṅ Chūb, in order to go over to Tibet to reform the

religion thereof. On his way he resided for a year in Nepāl. He was received with royal honours in Tibet and worked almost miracles there during the thirteen years of his great mission, till his death in A.D. 1053 at the age of seventy-three. The Tibetans still bestow divine honours upon him and he richly deserves them on account of his literary and missionary activity in that far-off land. Another illustrious monk, later by half a century, was Abhayākaragupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, and a glory of Vikramaśīla in its last days. To him also is attributed the authorship of a good many works, mostly on Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna, and he exerted immense influence on Tibetan thought through his numerous translations. He is said in different anecdotes to have been born in Gauḍa or in Jhārikhaṇḍa of Orissa, but in the colophons of at least two works of his own he figures as one of Magadha. He is still worshipped as a great saint by the Northern Buddhists and many stories are current about his various supernatural powers.[40]

Another monk of great repute was *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūtichandra, son of a king (*rāja-putra*) and a celebrity of Jagaddala. He was a contemporary of, or just posterior to, Abhayākaragupta, and a pretty large number of Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna works are associated with his name either as an author or as a translator or redactor. He also went to Tibet, and on his return journey made a halt in Nepāl for some time.[41] Another famed writer on Tāntrik Buddhism of about this period was Dānaśīla of Jagaddala, who must not be confounded with an earlier namesake of his of the time of Dharmapāla. He made his mark chiefly as a translator, and translated without aid more than fifty works into Tibetan.[42]

Although all these scholar-monks and others of this period concerned themselves primarily with Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna in their literary activities, some of them, including Jetāri, Ratnākara-śānti, Atīśa Dīpaṅkara and Abhayākaragupta, made contributions to Mahāyāna literature (Sūtra, Mdo-Hgrel) by their commentaries and sub-commentaries.[43] A gloss on the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā,* entitled *Āmnāyānusāriṇī,* is ascribed to king Rāmapāla himself.[44] The study of Buddhist logic was also not neglected in Bengal in this period and we have logical treatises in Tibetan translation of Jetāri, Ratnākara Śānti, Mokshākaragupta, etc.

As literature is a fair index of the ideas of people of the upper stratum, art normally reflects the popular mind. In matters religious, art expresses itself through divine images and the temples built for them. A large number of Buddhist images belonging to

this period[45] presuppose a large number of votaries of that religion among the ordinary people.

2. *Kāshmir*

Another vigorous centre of Buddhism was Kāshmir. The exodus of numerous missionaries from this region in order to spread the doctrine in Tibet and Central Asia had made the valley a sort of holy land to the Northern Buddhists. When, after the notorious persecution of the Faith in Tibet by Glan-dar-ma[46], the decaying religion was revived a century later, it was mostly the Kāshmirian *śramaṇas* whose services were requisitioned to re-instruct the people of Tibet in the forgotten Law.[47]

Again, of the number of *śramaṇas* who went over to China in the tenth and eleventh centuries, some belonged to Kāshmir. For instance, a Kāshmirian *śramaṇa* went, along with another, probably named Dānapāla, of Udyāna, in A.D. 980 to China, where the emperor commissioned them, both well-versed in the *Tripiṭaka,* to translate the scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. In A.D. 1005 another *śramaṇa* from Kāshmir repaired to China with some manuscripts and a twig of the sacred Bodhi-tree of Bodh-Gayā, which he presented to the Chinese emperor.[48]

Within the valley itself Buddhism had in the past found in Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and his grandson, Jayāpīḍa, of the eighth century, two powerful Brahmanical kings very tolerant towards Buddhism.[49] To the Buddhists of Kāshmir, the great Buddha image installed by Lalitāditya at his new capital, Parihāsapura, and the statue of the Great Buddha (Bṛihad-Buddha) set up much earlier by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II, in the Jayendra-*vihāra* of Śrīnagara,[50] were objects of great adoration even in the eleventh century. When king Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) of the Lohara dynasty, in a fit of rage, gave himself up to the destruction of the divine images of Kāshmir, these two colossal statues of the Buddha were saved, it is said, at the intercession of two Buddhists.[51] But this might also have been due to Harsha's own pro-Buddhist leanings, clearly reflected in the hymn entitled *Ashṭa-mahāsthāna-chaitya-vandanā-stava* which, along with another hymn, *Suprabhāta-prabhāta-stotra,* is attributed to his authorship in the *Tangyur.*[52] And it derives further corroboration from the fact that it was in his presence, or under his auspices, that the translation of the *Paralokasiddhi* of Dharmottara was executed by Bhavyarāja of Kāshmir in the Ratnaraśmi-*vihāra* at Anupamapura.[53] But king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1155), the contemporary of Kalhaṇa, lacked this catholicity of heart, and broke up images and burnt down a *vihāra* at Arigon near Śrīnagara, though it was afterwards

rebuilt.[54] Fortunately only few bigots of the type of Jayasiṁha sat on the throne of Kāshmir.

The famous Jayendra-*vihāra* of Śrīnagara and the Rāja-*vihāra* founded by Lalitāditya at Parihāsapura, which long inspired the Buddhists of Kāshmir, had played out their part in history by the eleventh century A.D. But the two celebrated *vihāras, viz.* Ratnagupta- and Ratnaraśmi-*vihāra,* in the centre of Anupamapura, figure as the greatest centres of Buddhist learning and culture in Kāshmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[55] There a vast body of literature grew up in Tibetan translation during this period, and a considerable part of this corpus of translation seems to relate to Mahāyāna works.[56]

But in Kāshmir, as in Bengal, Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna found a fertile soil and the *Tangyur* furnishes us with the names of a fairly large number of *Vajrāchāryas* and *Kālachakrāchāryas* of Kāshmir of this period, who made mark as authors, commentators and translators. Pre-eminent amongst these are Jñānaśrīmitra (A.D. 1074) of Anupama-*vihāra,* and Buddhaśrījñāna, Sarvajñaśrīrakshita and Śākyaśrībhadra, called *'the Grand Paṇḍita of Kāśmīra'*.[57] Among less known scholars may be mentioned Jayānanda, Sūryagupta, Sumanaḥśrī, Jinamitra, Tilaka-kalasa, Prajñāśrīgupta, Valaśrībhadra, Mahājana and Manoratha, whose dates cannot be fixed within precise limits, except that of the first, Jayānanda, who flourished about A.D. 1050.

History of Kāshmir Buddhism during this period is characterised by a lively study of Buddhist logic, and Bhavyarāja[58] and Śaṅkarānanda[59] are two of the best known products of the valley in this domain. Of the former, who was a contemporary of king Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101), only translations of three works of Dharmottara have found place in the *Tangyur,* but his grandiloquent title *Kāśmīra-nyāya-chūḍāmaṇi*[60] indicates real contributions to Buddhist logic in some original treatise or treatises written by him. Of other logicians of Kāshmir, mention may be made of Mahāsumati, bearing the title of *Mahātārkika,*[61] Parahitavrata, who translated the *Pramāṇa-viniśchaya* of Dharmakīrti,[62] and Jñānaśrī, the author, amongst others, of the *Tarka-bhāshā.*[63]

Apart from sacerdotal, theological and logical works, Kāshmir produced in the first half of the eleventh century, in *Kāvya* style, the far-famed *Bodhisattv-āvadānakalpalatā,*[64] which is a collection of legendary stories about the deeds of the Bodhisattvas. The author of this book, the renowned Kāshmir polymath Kshemendra, died after having composed 107 *pallavas* of the book. His son, Somendra, not only added an introduction and the concluding

chapter, but also wrote the *Jīmūtavāhana-Avadāna*. Kshemendra, who strikingly illustrates in this poem the six transcendental perfections of a Bodhisattva, was after all a layman, and celebrated the Buddha as an *Avatāra* of Vishṇu. This is why some of the great Lamas of Tibet have discarded the book as profane.[65]

Buddhism produced such a salutary effect on the minds of the people of the valley that even some kings had insisted upon the practice of *ahiṁsā* in their daily lives.[66] And it also seems that both the Kāshmir schools of Śaivism, *viz. Spanda* and *Pratyabhijñā*, that came into being in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., had been more or less influenced by Buddhism, and this accounts for their being more rational and humane in outlook than all other schools of Śaivism in India.

3. *Madhyadeśa*

When, in the first half of the seventh century, Hiuen Tsang visited India, most of the Buddhist sacred places were desolate and in ruins.[67] With the establishment of the Pāla empire the Magadhan sites again became popular, and in the eleventh, as also the twelfth, century an effort seems to have been made to reclaim and renovate most of the holy places. An inscription of the reign of Mahīpāla I, at Sārnāth, dated in Saṁvat 1083 or A.D. 1026, records the restoration of many monuments as noted above.[68] At Bodh-Gayā, too, between A.D. 1000 and 1033 there was an influx of a good many Chinese pilgrims who built *stūpas*, etc.[69] And this is exactly the period covered by the reign of Mahīpāla I, who himself is glorified in a votive inscription on an image of the Buddha installed there in the eleventh year of his reign.[70]

Even the long-forgotten name of Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam) reappears in the reign of Mahīpāla I. We know from a record of the eleventh year of his reign that the Nālandā-*mahāvihāra*, badly damaged by fire, was repaired by a follower of Mahāyāna, Bālāditya by name, hailing from Kauśāmbī (*Kauśāmbī-vinirgata*).[71] We have yet another inscription, over the gateway of the fort of Karra, referring to Kośāmba-*maṇḍala* or the district of Kauśāmbī, in A.D. 1035,[72] which also falls within the regnal period of Mahīpāla I.

Likewise, the name Kapilavastu is heard of in a tradition as the birth-place of Dāmodara, *alias* Advayavajra,[73] one of the illustrious Buddhist contemporaries of Mahīpāla I. Whether the tradition is genuine or not, it shows that Kapilavastu was about this time not a depopulated site. At Kusinārā, where the Master obtained *Parinirvāṇa*, a stone inscription of the eleventh-twelfh century refers to a king of a branch of the Kalachuri family, who, a Bud-

dhist, is said to have revered, not unusually, the Brahmanical god, Śiva, along with the Buddha and Tārā.[74] The evidence of an illustrated twelfth century MS. of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* shows that Vaiśālī had again been famous in the Buddhist world, for a temple of Tārā was established there (*Tīrabhuktau Vaiśālī-Tārā*). Similarly in the Jetavana mound at Sahet-Mahet, the ancient Śrāvastī, has been found a stone inscription, dated A.D. 1118, which records that one Vidyādhara, a counsellor of Madana of a line of Rāshṭrakūṭa kings in U. P., had established a convent for the Buddhist ascetics.[75] It offers a striking contrast to the day of Hiuen Tsang when 'all was in ruins' in this region.[76]

After the reign of Mahīpāla I Sārnāth had passed under the domination of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, and a fragmentary inscription found in a monastery there says that in A.D. 1058 in the reign of Karṇadeva, Māmakā, a devout worshipper and follower of Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* to be written, which was presented, along with other things, to the order of monks residing there.[77]

Eventually the Sārnāth region was incorporated within the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. The third king of this dynasty, Govindachandra, was not himself a declared Buddhist, but his reign is marked by two memorable events in the history of later Buddhism. The first is the construction of the stupendous Dharmachakra-Jinavihāra (Monastery I) at Sārnāth by his Buddhist wife Kumāradevī, who installed therein an image of the goddess Vasudhārā.[78] The ruins of this monastery, so far exposed, cover a stretch of ground more than 700′ from east to west. About the same time was added the last encasing of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa,* which was earlier repaired in A.D. 1026 by Sthirapāla and his brother.[79] Sārnāth thus again became a lively centre of Buddhism, which is proved not only by the inscriptions but also by the discovery of a variety of Buddhist images of this period.

The other notable incident of Govindachandra's reign is recorded in an inscription at Sahet-Mahet, *viz.* that he, having been gratified by the *Saugata-Parivrājaka,* the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Śākyarakshita, a resident of the Utkala country, and his disciple, the *Saugata-Parivrājaka,* the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Vāgīśvararakshita, a resident of the Choḍa country, bestowed as many as six villages upon the community of Buddhist friars (*Śākyabhikshu*), of which Buddharakshita was the chief, residing in the holy convent of Jetavana.[80] Whether this convent at Jetavana was the one established by Madana's counsellor in A.D. 1118 cannot be determined, but Jetavana, where the

Master resided for so many years of his life, was not a desolate place in the twelfth century.

In the matter of religion Govindachandra presents a striking resemblance to Harsha-vardhana; both are styled *Parama-Māheśvara* in their official records, but both had imbibed a strong inclination in favour of Buddhism in some period of their lives. In case of Govindachandra, the feeling seems to have been considerably fostered by the influence of his two Buddhist queens Kumāradevī and Vāsantadevī.[81] Buddhism thus gained so strong a hold over the family that Govindachandra's grandson, Jayachandra, who was originally initiated as a devotee of Kṛishṇa,[82] had subsequently become, out of reverence (*śraddhayā*) for a Buddhist monk, Śrīmitra of Bodh-Gayā, his disciple "with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering".[83] This further shows that Gayā continued to be a centre of Buddhism.

There are other evidences also, vouching for the prevalence of Buddhism in Madhyadeśa where it is generally believed to have been almost in a moribund condition in the eleventh-twelfth century. We know, for instance, of a Vajrāchārya of Kosala, Vairochanavajra, who flourished not earlier than the eleventh century, and was the author of a few works.[84]

In Mālava, too, Buddhism had in about the first half of the twelfth century an enterprising adherent in Dāna-śrījñāna, styled differently as *Bodhisattva, Āchārya Bodhisattva* and *Mahāchārya Bodhisattva* in his different books.[85] Sometimes represented as *Malavahi Paṇḍita,*[86] he was more popularly known as Dhāri-Śrījñāna, implying his residence at Dhārā, the capital of Mālava under the Paramāras, and it may be that he enjoyed the patronage of his contemporary Paramāra king.

No Chandella king of Kālañjara (Bundelkhand) is known to have directly furthered the cause of Buddhism. Yet Paramardideva of this dynasty, while registering a grant of land in A.D. 1179 to several Brāhmaṇas, made the benign provision of excluding from it a piece of land lying therein, as that had previously been granted to a temple of the Buddha.[87] An inscription of Malayasiṁha, the Buddhist feudatory of the Chedi king Vijayasiṁha of Tripurī, dated A.D. 1193, records the excavation of a big tank, obviously on a Buddhist site in Rewa (C. I.), the cost of which was met by 1,500 *taṅkakas* specially designed for the occasion, stamped with the effigy of the Buddha.[88] The prevalence of Buddhism in this region in the eleventh-twelfth century is further attested to not only by some other epigraphical and literary evidences but also

by several images of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, discovered at Gopālpur in the Jabalpur District.[89]

In other parts of North India, however, Buddhism presented a sad contrast. From Sindh, where Hiuen Tsang found many monasteries and 10,000 followers, an exodus of the monks followed on a large scale after its occupation by Muhammad-ibn-Qāsim; many came to the Kāmpilya-Mahāvihāra on the outskirts of Surat,[90] while some went over to other safe quarters, including Bodh-Gayā.[91] We have in the *Tangyur* a work, in Tibetan translation, by a Vajrāchārya of Gujarāt, the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Pūrṇavajra,[92] but his date is not known.

4. *South India*

Buddhism suffered a steady decline in South India, partly by the growing importance of Jainism, but mainly due to the rise of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, as noted above.[93] But that the religion lingered in some form even after A.D. 1000, is proved by literary evidences as well as by no fewer than fifteen epigraphs. Of these the Larger and Smaller Leiden plates of the Choḷas have been referred to above.[94] Of the rest, five belong to Andhra, and six to Karṇāṭaka.

The records of Andhra, dating from A.D. 1137 to 1234, show that the famous Amarāvatī *stūpa* was still in good preservation; provisions were made for burning perpetual lamps at this *stūpa* as also in the temple of the Buddha at Dīpāladin, near Amarāvatī, by some individuals of the Brahmanical creed, including some merchants, ladies, and a chief of the Kota family, Keta II, and his relations.[95]

Two inscriptions, one at Belgāmi in the Shimoga, and the other at Lakkuṇḍi in the Dhārwār, District, refer to the worship of the Buddha and Tārā along with some deities of the Brahmanical, and sometimes even of Jain, pantheons, in the self-same temples by some followers of Brahmanical religion, mostly merchants, and by princess Akkādevī, the elder sister of the Western Chālukya king, Jagadekamalla Jayasiṁha III.[96] An analogous instance of syncretism or universality in religion is to be found about this time in case of one Gaganaśiva, a Śaivite teacher of Orissa,[97] where, again, we know of a tenth century ruler, Devānanda, *alias* Dhruvānanda, who is styled a devout Śaiva in one of his records and a devout Buddhist in another.[98]

But these illustrations do not really signify the existence of genuine or bona fide Buddhism. The donors and patrons were not Buddhists and did not even claim to be such. To some of them,

the worship of the Buddha was that of an *avatāra* of Vishṇu, and in other cases the worship of the Buddha and Tārā was merely due to the fear of incurring the displeasure, unless propitiated, of the two supreme deities of a living pantheon. It is interesting to note that some of the real or orthodox Buddhists of South India of this time preferred to leave their home and migrate to North India.[99] The *Tangyur* furnishes us with the names of some Vajrāchāryas who belonged to South India and the Deccan.[100] A large number of images of both Mahāyāna and Vajra-yāna pantheons, datable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and lying in the Mayurbhañja region and the Nilgirī States of Orissa,[101] indicate the prevalence of both the doctrines in this part of the country during the period under review.

III. THE LAST PHASE

The brief sketch given above leaves no doubt that Buddhism was a living force in many parts of Northern India down to the end of the twelfth century. It was, of course, visibly on the decline and had long ceased to be a rival of Brahmanical religion, even in Bengal and Bihār. The process of assimilation between the two was also steadily gaining force, as is evidenced by the recognition of Buddha as an *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishṇu, and the close affinity between Brahmanical Tāntrism and the later phases of Buddhism such as Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna described above. It is not unlikely that Buddhism would have been considerably absorbed by Brahmanical religion in course of time. But the invasion of the Muslims and the ruthless destruction of Buddhist monasteries by them finally extinguished the lamp of Buddhism that was still flickering in the plains of North India. The vivid description, by an almost contemporary Muslim writer, of the wanton destruction of the great monastery at Uddaṇḍapura (Bihār) and the wholesale massacre of its shaven-headed monks,[102] gives us an idea of how the great monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and others of less renown met with a sudden and tragic end.[103] These monasteries served as the citadels of Buddhism, and with their fall Buddhism lost its foothold in India. It found a last refuge in the fastnesses of Nepāl,[104] where it is flourishing even now, though in a modified form. But for all practical purposes it vanished from the rest of India.

It is, however, hardly possible that Buddhism, which was once such a great religion, could altogether disappear without leaving some traces behind. It has been plausibly suggested that it was not only fused with Śāktism and other Brahmanical Tāntrik cults, but

also survived in the guise of such medieval religious cults of Bengal as Nāthism, Sahajiyā, Avadhūta, Bāul, etc. Some have even found in the cult of Dharma a living relic of Buddhism in Bengal and Orissa, but this is doubtful.[105]

But howsoever that may be, we get very few traces of Buddhism as a distinct religious cult in India after the thirteenth century. Buddhism still flourished in the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā (Comilla)[106] early in the thirteenth century A.D. when Muslims had not yet penetrated into that region, and a Buddhist king Madhusena was reigning as late as A.D. 1289 in some parts of Bengal.[107] About the same time we find two other Buddhist rulers Aśokavalla (or Aśokachalla), king of Sapādalaksha (Siwalik hills in U.P.), and his feudatory, Purushottamasiṁha of Kamā (Kumayun), building some new structures in Bodh-Gayā.[108] They mention in their records that Buddhism had decayed, but nevertheless votive records at Bodh-Gayā prove that Buddhist pilgrims visited the holy place down to the fifteenth century A.D. and even later.[109] Stray references to Buddhism occur in a few other records of the thirteenth century and even later, and Buddhist manuscripts were copied here and there.[110]

We possess contradictory general statements about Buddhism in later period. Abul Fazl states that "for a long time past scarce any trace of them (the Buddhists) has existed in Hindustan."[111] Although when he visited Kāshmir in A.D. 1597 he met with a few old men professing Buddhism, he 'saw none among the learned'. This is borne out by the fact that Buddhist priests were conspicuous by their absence from the motley crowd of learned divines that thronged the Ibādatkhānā of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

On the other hand the Vaishṇava literature of Bengal refers to a Buddhist community in Bengal as also in South India in the sixteenth century A.D.,[112] and the Tibetan pilgrim Buddhagupta Tathāgatanātha, who visited India in the seventeenth century, saw traces of Buddhism not only in Bengal and Orissa, but also in Triliṅga (Trikaliṅga), Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara), Karṇāṭaka, and some other tracts of South India. He also mentions by name a few Buddhists who possessed great supernatural powers.[113]

As noted above, Buddhism found a last refuge in Nepāl. The popularity and vitality of Buddhism in this region are proved by the large number of *vihāras,* Buddhist manuscripts, many of which are dated, copied there, numerous images in stone and metal, and pictures of Buddhist gods and goddesses.[114] One of the principal *vihāras* of Nepāl during the first three centuries following A.D. 1200, was the Pāṇḍubhūmi-*vihāra,* where many of the Indian

Paṇḍitas and Tibetan *Lochāvas* translated many important sacred books into Tibetan. Pāṇḍubhūmi seems to have been one of the resorts in Nepāl of the Kāshmirian monks like Vimalaśrībhadra, Somanātha, etc. while the three leading figures associated with the history of this *vihāra* were *Parama-Guru-Dharmarāja-Matidhvaja* Śrībhadra, *Mahānāyaka* Śākyabhadra and *Ānandadhvaja* Śrībhadra, known as the *Grand Paṇḍita* of Pāṇḍubhūmi-*vihāra.*[115] At Svayambhū, the capital of Nepāl, was the great Nirābhoga-*vihāra,*[116] which must be distinguished from the Tibetan *vihāra* of the same name. Another *vihāra* of Svayambhū that attained celebrity was the Puṇyadhārodaya-*vihāra.*[117] Of the *vihāras* of Lalitapattana, the greatest was the Govindachandra-*vihāra,* associated with two illustrious scholars, the *Mahāpaṇḍita* Siddheśvara Vanaratna, for whom we have the date A.D. 1384-1468;[118] and his contemporary, *Sarvadigvijaya Matimat Puṇya*-Sāgarasena, who was a follower of Yogāchāra school[119] and a native of Nepāl. Vanaratna is, however, said to have hailed from Sannagara in Eastern India,[120] and this affords a clue to the explanation of the expression *Sannagarīya bhikshus* which has for long been a puzzle to scholars. Vanaratna was a voluminous writer and an assiduous translator, too,[121] while Sāgarasena made his mark as a translator only. They found a brilliant collaborator in Kumāraśrī (A.D. 1392-1481),[122] a learned *Lochāva* working in the same *vihāra.* Another monk of Eastern India, *viz.* Sūrya of Magadha, followed Vanaratna in Nepāl, became his disciple and composed a hymn in praise of his preceptor.[123] In later times there grew up at Lalitapattana many other *vihāras,* great and small.[124] After the sixteenth century, Nepalese Buddhism became more and more stereotyped and unproductive of anything really great. There are at present four different sects among the Buddhist community of Nepāl, which belong to the Vajra-yāna system. These are the *Svābhāvikas,* the oldest of the four, the *Aiśvarikas,* and the two later developments of these, *viz.* the *Kārmikas* and the *Yātnikas.* Many of the Nepalese Buddhists are votaries of Paśupatinātha (Śiva) as well.

C. *JAINISM*

I. JAINISM IN GUJARĀT

Gujarāt was a flourishing centre of Jainism throughout the period under review. The Jain influence at the court of the Chaulukya kings of Gujarāt may be traced from the time of the very founder of the dynasty. A Jain temple, known as *Mūlabastikā,* is said to have been constructed by Mūlarāja himself at his capital Aṇahilapāṭaka or Aṇahilavāḍa. According to the *Kathākosha* of

Śrīchandra, Mūlarāja had for his legal adviser *(dharma-sthānasya Goshṭhikaḥ)* one Sajjana of the Prāgvāṭa family of Aṇahilavāḍa, and Śrīchandra, the disciple of Sahasrakīrti, whose spiritual predecessors were Śrutakīrti and Śrīkīrti in the line of Kundakunda, composed the work for the instruction of the family of Sajjana's son Kṛishṇa. The prestige that this line of spiritual teachers enjoyed in the political world of the period is indicated incidentally in the *praśasti,* where Sahasrakīrti is described as "the sinless teacher whose supreme lotus feet were worshipped by eminent kings like Gāṅgeya, Bhojadeva and others." The reference is presumably to the Kalachuri king of Chedi and the Paramāra king of Mālwā.[125]

During the reign of Bhīma I, his minister Vimala of the Prāgvāṭa family built, at Ābu or Abu, the most magnificent Jain temple—that of Ādinātha. Indian craftsmanship of the age has found its best expression here, and the temple, for its rich delicate carving, grace, and beauty, is considered to be unique in the world.[126] The temple was completed in A.D. 1031, *i.e.* within seven years of the demolition of Somanātha by Mahmūd of Ghaznī. The *Kharatara-gachchha-paṭṭāvalī* records[127] that minister Vimala of the Porwāḍ caste captured the parasols of thirteen Sultāns, founded the town of Chandrāvatī, and built the temple of Ṛishabhadeva on the Arbudāchala. These activities of Vimala which, of course, had the approval of his royal master, Bhīma, were probably a reaction to the Muslim vandalism exhibited at Somanātha and other places.

Jainism became more dominant at the Chaulukya court during the reigns of Siddharāja and his successor Kumārapāla. The latter actually became a convert to Jainism under the influence of "the most learned man of his time," the celebrated Hemachandra (A.D. 1088-1172), and under his inspiration and guidance enriched Gujarāt with Jain shrines to an enormous extent. During his reign Gujarāt became a stronghold of Jainism, in respect of followers as well as institutions, for all time to come. The secret of this success was not any fanatic zeal, but the promotion of understanding between different faiths, which is the corner-stone of Jainism and was particularly emphasised by Hemachandra in word as well as in deed. The continuity of the faith and the prosperity of the followers are attested by the temple of Neminātha built in the vicinity of Ādinātha temple at Ābu, mentioned above, by Tejaḥpāla of the Porwāḍ family, who was a minister of the Chaulukya king Somasiṁhadeva. It was completed in A.D. 1230. In its beauty of sculptural decoration it is only comparable to the Ādinātha temple. To these were added numerous Jain shrines and other structures during the twelfth and the thirteenth century, the fame of which gave

the place its new name Devala-Vāda or Delwāḍā. Besides Ābu, Śatruñjaya and Girnār in Kāthiāwād received particular attention of the rulers and merchants, whose bounty is reflected in the huge and beautiful temples which have since been adorning their peaks. The Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha temple at Khambhāta (Cambay) was built about A.D. 1108 and repaired in A.D. 1295. It records names of several devotees from Mālwā, Sapādalaksha, and Chitrakūṭa, who endowed the temple from time to time.

II. JAINISM IN THE DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Western Chālukyas and the Hoysalas gained political ascendancy in the South. Both these royal dynasties were great patrons of Jainism, and their emergence into power proved a great boon for the propagation and glorification of the faith.

Tailapa, the founder of the Western Chālukya dynasty, was the patron of the great Kannaḍa poet Raṇṇa. The next king Satyāśraya received spiritual guidance from a Jain teacher named Vimala Chandra Paṇḍitadeva of the Draviḍa Saṅgha. Many other kings of this dynasty such as Jayasiṁha II, Someśvara I and II, and Vikramāditya VI, showed favour to the Jain faith by patronising Jain writers, and giving lands to Jain teachers and Jain temples or settlements *(basti* or *vasadi)*.

As regards the Hoysalas, reference has been made above to the legend about the founder of the dynasty who owed his greatness to the benedictions of a Jain saint. A Jain saint, Vardhamānadeva, is said to have been "foremost in the management of the affairs of the Hoysalas," probably during the reign of Vinayāditya. The next two kings had Jain saints as their spiritual teachers. All these kings made grants to Jain temples and settlements. Vishṇuvardhana, the most celebrated and glorious of the Hoysalas, is said to have changed his faith under the influence of the Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānujāchārya, but there is ample evidence to prove that he continued to be benevolent and generous towards Jainism all through his regime. Even as late as A.D. 1125 he paid his devotions to the Jain saint Śrīpāla Traividyadeva, built the Jain abode at Chalya, and made suitable grants for repairs of the Jain temples as well as for the maintenance of Jain saints.[128] According to another stone inscription at Belur (A.D. 1129),[129] he made a gift to the Malli Jinālaya. In A.D. 1133, he granted a village to the Pārśvanātha temple in the capital itself, Dvārasamudra, and to commemorate his recent victories, he named the God as Vijaya Pārśvanātha and his own son as Vijaya Narasiṁha.[130] Here we have a clear indication how

Vishṇuvardhana tried to hold the balance even between his loyalties to his ancestral faith and to the faith of his choice. His queen Śāntaladevī continued to be a staunch devotee of Jainism all through her life, and made several donations to the Jain temples. Her spiritual guide was Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Meghachandra Traividyadeva. She died by the Jain form of renunciation called *Sallekhanā* in A.D. 1131. Some of the most outstanding ministers and commanders, to whom Vishṇuvardhana owed his great victories and conquests, were also staunch devotees of the Jain faith. Amongst them was Gaṅgarāja, who built several Jain temples, repaired many more and generously endowed numerous Jain institutions. His wife Lakshmīmatī died in accordance with the rules of Jain *Sallekhanā,* and her noble husband commemorated her by an epitaph at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Other commanders of Vishṇuvardhana, who subscribed to the Jain faith and served it properly, were Boppa, Punisa, Maniyane and Bharateśvara whose devotion to Jain teachers and acts of piety are recorded in several inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and other places. Vishṇuvardhana's successor Narasiṁha I paid a visit to Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and endowed the *Chaturviṁśati basadi* built by his illustrious general Hulla, by the grant of a village.[131] The later Hoysala kings were also patrons of Jainism. Two of them, Vīra Ballāla II and Narasiṁha III, had Jain saints as their spiritual ancestors, and these and others erected Jain temples and made rich endowments to them. It will thus be seen that the Hoysala kings personally professed Jainism and by their active support and patronage Jain temples and other institutions grew and benefited immensely in the South.

It was not only these predominant royal houses that patronised Jainism, but the faith was adopted by several feudatory chiefs and small rulers in the land as well. For example, the Sāntaras, who ruled over that part of Karṇāṭaka which roughly corresponds with the modern Tirthahalli *Tāluk* and its surrounding country, were the followers of Jainism from the very beginning. Bhujabala Sāntara erected a Jain temple in his capital Pomburcha and granted to his *guru,* Kanakanandideva, a village for its maintenance. In A.D. 1081 Nagularasa, the minister of Vīra Sāntara, is described as 'a fortress to the Jain Dharma'.[132] The later chiefs also built numerous Jain temples and shrines and endowed them suitably with lands and tolls. In A.D. 1173,[133] Vīra Sāntara is described as 'a bee at the lotus feet of Jina'. Later on, however, the Sāntaras adopted the creed of Vīraśaivism, and this affected the progress of Jainism in that region to some extent. During the thirteenth century the capital of the Sāntaras was shifted to Kalasa, and later to Karkala in Tuluva,

where they, in spite of their new faith, continued to be benevolent towards Jainism.

The Kāngalvas, who ruled over north Coorg and the Arkalgud *Tāluk* in the south of the Hassan District of Mysore, and emerged into prominence during the eleventh century, were great patrons of Jainism. The Kāngalva rulers constructed Jain temples and made grants for their maintenance till the beginning of the twelfth century, when their fortunes declined consequent upon the expulsion of the Choḷas by the Hoysalas from the land.

Similarly, the Chāngalvas of the Changanāḍ (roughly corresponding with the Hansur *Tāluk* in Mysore State), although Śaivite by profession, were benevolent towards Jainism, as is clearly proved by epigraphic records of A.D. 1091 and 1100[134] which make mention of their construction of Jain temples and donations for the same, particularly to some of the "sixty-four *basadis* in the city of Hanasoge or Panasoge (in the Yedatore *Tāluk* of Mysore), reputed to have been built by Rāma the son of Daśaratha." We possess numerous records, both dated and undated, and ranging between A.D. 1000 and 1300, of solitary rulers and noblemen, in addition to those of persons of the merchant class and others, who built temples, installed images, performed worship and made endowments for perpetual service of divinity and piety, and who even ended their lives by the renunciation of all worldly attachments and by observing fasts in strict accordance with the Jain faith. Jain temples, shrines, images, tombs and epitaphs, found strewn all over the South, amply testify to the fact that during this period the Jain religion was extremely popular and constituted a living faith of all classes of people from royalty to peasantry, inspiring them to deeds of piety and philanthropy during life, and affording them solace and hope in death.

III. ASCETIC ORGANISATIONS AND SUCCESSION LISTS

A large number of inscriptions, found at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, record genealogical lists of pontifical succession for several centuries, and afford us an insight into the organisation of monks and their activities. The Siddharabasti pillar inscription of Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398)[135] records the tradition that Arhadbali acquired brilliance by his two pupils Pushpadanta and Bhūtavali, and that he split the Mūla-saṅgha Kundakundānvaya into four branches, namely Sena, Nandi, Deva and Siṁha, in order to assuage the jealousies arising out of the nature of the Age. The earliest mention of the Mūla-saṅgha and Kundakundānvaya is met with in the copper-plate grants of the fifth century. Records of the subsequent period show that Saṅghas, Gaṇas, Gachchhas, Balis, and Śākhās of monks had grown

into a very large number by A.D. 1000. During the period of the next three centuries we meet with references, in the epigraphical records, to the following orders: Mūla-saṅgha, Nandi-saṅgha, Namilūra-saṅgha or Mayūra-saṅgha, Kiṭṭura-saṅgha, Kollātūra-saṅgha, Nandi-gaṇa, Deśī-gaṇa, Dramila-gaṇa, Kāṇūra-gaṇa, Pustaka- or Sarasvatī-gachchha, Vakra-gachchha, Tagarila-gachchha, Maṇḍitāla-gachchha, Iṅguleśvara-bali, Panasoge-bali, etc. Epigraphic evidence shows that some of the pontiffs of these branches of the Digambara Jain community distinguished themselves in the South during this period.

The pontifical succession, as recorded in the North during the same period, is somewhat different. According to the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis, Sarvadeva Sūri, the thirty-sixth pontiff (Āchārya) in the line of succession after Mahāvīra, wielded the leadership at the beginning of the eleventh century. A few events of his time are recorded in the Paṭṭāvalis with dates. Dharmaghosha Sūri converted the chief minister Vimala in A.D. 1011, and Śānti Sūri *Vādi-Vetāla* of the Thirapadra-gachchha, who composed a commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana,* attained heaven in A.D. 1039. Sarvadeva Sūri was followed by Deva Sūri, Sarvajayadeva Sūri, and Yaśobhadra Sūri successively. Of the last it has been recorded that in his time Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri, the author of commentaries on the nine Aṅgas, went to heaven in A.D. 1078, or, according to another account, in 1082. Yaśobhadra's successor Munichandra, who lived on sour gruel *(sauvīra)* only, was the foremost logician and was the author of *Anekānta-Jaya-Patākā-Pañjikā, Upadeśapada-Vṛitti* and other works. He attained heaven in A.D. 1121. During his leadership the Punamiyā-gachchha was founded by his colleague Chandraprabha Sūri in A.D. 1102, and for its guidance Munichandra wrote the *Pākshika-Saptati.* The next in succession was Ajitadeva Sūri. His co-disciple Vādideva Sūri is said to have held a disputation with the Digambara teacher Kumudachandra at the court of Jayasiṁhadeva in Aṇahilapattana, and vanquished him; as a result of this the Digambaras were prevented from entering the capital any more. This claim is denied by the Digambara sect. Whatever may be the truth, the record is an evidence of the jealousy which had unfortunately developed between the two sister communities. The spirit of the times is also reflected in the record of a series of splits within the Śvetāmbara sect itself. The foundation of the Kharatara-gachchha by Jina Vallabha, the pupil of Jineśvara Sūri of the Kūrchapura-gachchha Chaityavāsin, took place at Chitrakūṭa in A.D. 1147. Nine years later the Añchalaka-mata was founded. The year A.D. 1169 saw the emergence of Sārdha-Paurṇamīyaka-mata, a branch of the Punamiyā sect mentioned above, and in A.D. 1193 Āgamiyaka-mata

came into existence. In A.D. 1165 minister Bāhaḍadeva is said to have carried out some reconstruction work to the Pārśvanātha temple at Śatruñjaya.

The pontifical period of Ajitadeva is also remarkable for the activities of Hemachandra Sūri, the pupil of Deva Sūri. It has been recorded about Hemachandra that he was born on the 15th of Kārttika in V.S. 1145 (A.D. 1088), received initiation at the age of five, became a Sūri at twenty-one, and attained heaven in V.S. 1299 (A.D. 1172). In A.D. 1157 he converted king Kumārapāla and founded the Pūrṇatala-gachchha. The claim that he was the author of three crores of books *(Trikoṭi-grantha-kartā)* is, of course, absurd. There is, however, no doubt, that no other author has enriched literature, both in volume and variety, to the extent that Hemachandra has done. An account of his literary works has been given above.[136]

Ajitadeva Sūri was succeeded by Vijaya Siṁha Sūri who, in his turn, was succeeded by Somaprabha Sūri and Maṇiratna Sūri jointly. This period was marked by the birth of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla (A.D. 1205), their pilgrimage to Siddhāchala, and erection by the latter of the temple on Mount Ābu at an expense of eighteen crores of silver. The next pontiff in succession was Jagatchandra Sūri. He was devoted to austere penances, in recognition of which the Nāhaḍa Rāṇās conferred on him the title of 'Tapā'. It was thus that the sixth schism 'Tapā-gachchha' was founded in A.D. 1228. The next in succession was Devendra Sūri, who was much honoured by minister Vastupāla. During his preaching tours Devendra Sūri visited Prahlādapura where he nominated Vidyānanda Sūri as his successor in A.D. 1266. At Śrīstambha Tīrtha (Khambhāta-Cambay) he found that Śrī Vijayachandra Sūri had been following his own ascetic practices for the last twelve years without any reference to the pontifical head, whom he did not even now care to welcome. Devendra Sūri, therefore, stayed separately from him, and hence his party came to be designated as 'Laghu-Śālika' as distinguished from the party of Vijayachandra Sūri which had been settled in the place much earlier and was therefore called 'Vṛiddha-Śālika'. Devendra is said to have toured for a long time in Mālwā and died in A.D. 1270. He was the author of *Karma-grantha, Śrāddhadina-kṛitya-vṛitti* and other works.

Devendra Sūri's nominee Vidyānanda Sūri also died just thirteen days after his predecessor, and so Dharmaghosha Sūri succeeded to the pontifical seat. He blessed the merchant Pethaḍadeva, who became the chief minister of the ruler of Maṇḍapa and proved his loyalty to the faith by building eighty-four Jain temples and causing 'seven compendiums of knowledge' *(Sapta-Jñānakośa)* to be

produced. He also installed the Indramālā at Śatruñjaya and took the vow of celibacy at the age of thirty-two. His only son Jhāñjhaṇadeva installed gold and silver flagstaff at Śatruñjaya and Ūrjayanta, and celebrated the event of his spiritual teacher's arrival at Maṇḍapāchala at an enormous cost. Dharmaghosha Sūri is credited with great magical powers and some of his magical deeds are recorded. He died in V.S. 1357, *i.e.* A.D. 1300.

IV. LITERATURE

The literary activity of the Jains during this period was very intense, and reference has been made above, in Chapter XV, to the Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraṁśa works of a large number of Jain writers. The study of the Jain Ardhamāgadhī canon was carried a step further by Abhayadeva (A.D. 1064), who wrote commentaries on the nine Aṅgas, and by Śānti Sūri and Devendragaṇi (eleventh century), both of whom wrote exhaustive commentaries on the important and popular canonical work, the *Uttarādhyayana.* The literary productions of Hemachandra constitute a library by themselves, and have been referred to above.[136] Narrative poetry was mainly directed towards the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. *Śantinātha-charita* was written both by Deva Sūri and Māṇikyachandra, *Neminātha-charita* by Sūrāchārya as well as Maladhāri Hemachandra, and *Pārśvanātha-charita* by Vādirāja, Bhavadeva and Māṇikyachandra. The *Nemidūta* by Vikrama, son of Sāṅgaṇa, though probably of a much later date,[137] is interesting, as the last line of each verse is here taken from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta,* and is, thus, a good example of *Samasyāpūrti Kāvya.* Vāgbhaṭa wrote his *Neminirvāṇa-kāvya,* mentioned above, under Jayasiṁhadeva Chaulukya, to whom he pays a tribute in his *'Alaṅkāra'* where, in one of the verses illustrating the figure of speech called *Saṁkara,* he says that there are only three gems in the world, namely, Aṇahilapura city, king Jayasiṁhadeva, and his *Śrīkalaśa* elephant. The *Mṛigāvatī-charitra* of Maladhāri Devaprabha (thirteenth century) contains interesting legends about Udayana, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, reminiscent of Bhāsa's dramas. For short religious stories mention may be made of the *Kathākośa* of Jineśvara, pupil of Vardhamāna (A.D. 1092). As examples of literary activity in Mālwā we might mention Śrīchandra, pupil of Śrīnandi, who, under Bhojadeva of Dhārā, wrote *Purāṇasāra* and commentaries on *Padma-charita* of Ravisheṇa and *Mahāpurāṇa* (Apabhraṁśa) of Pushpadanta. Another poet of Mālwā, namely Āśādhara, deserves a special mention. He is the author of more than twenty works, the *Sāgāra-Dharmāmṛita* and *Anāgāra-Dharmāmṛita* being the most famous and popular. He wandered from place

to place due to fear of harassment by the Muslim raiders, and makes mention of five kings of his time, Vindhya-varmā, Subhaṭa-varmā, Arjuna-varmā, Devapāla and Jaitugideva. He was reputed as 'Kali-Kālidāsa' on account of his poetic attainments, even as Hemachandra became famous as 'Kalikāla-Sarvajña'. Mahāsena wrote his *Pradyumna-charita* under Sindhurāja who died about A.D. 1000. Mention is made of his being honoured by Muñja. Amitagati, mentioned above, claims to have been honoured by Bhoja, Muñja and Sindhula, and composed a compendium of Jain philosophy called *Pañchasaṁgraha.* At the court of the Western Chālukya king Jayasiṁha flourished the great logician poet Vādirāja, of whom, besides the works mentioned already, we have two works on logic, *Pramāṇa-Nirṇaya* and *Nyāyaviniśchayavivaraṇa,* a work on duties of householders, *Upāsakāchāra,* a lyrical poem *Ekībhāvastotra* and three other works, *Ārādhanā, Sāmayikapāṭha,* and *Adhyātmaśataka,* on meditation and spiritual practices.

Of a very special importance are the contributions of two writers of dramas, one of whom flourished in the north and the other in the south. Rāmachandra (A.D. 1110-1173), a pupil of Hemachandra in Gujarāt, has given us no less than eleven dramas, namely *Raghuvilāsa, Nalavilāsa, Yaduvilāsa, Satya-Hariśchandra, Nirbhaya-Bhīma-vyāyoga, Mallikāmakaranda, Rāghavābhyudaya, Rohiṇī-mṛigāṅka, Vanamālā-nāṭikā, Kaumudīmitrānanda,* and *Yādavābhyudaya.* He is also the author of a collection of verses called *Sudhākalaśa.* He, in collaboration with Guṇachandra, also wrote *Nāṭyadarpaṇa,* as noted above, and *Dravyālaṁkāra,* a work on Jain logic. The other dramatic genius of the age was Hastimalla who, according to the *Praśasti* attached to one of his plays, *Vikrānta-Kaurava,* was a southerner (Dākshiṇātya). He is the author of four plays of considerable value from the poetic as well as technical points of view. These are *Vikrānta-Kaurava, Maithilī-kalyāṇa, Añjanā-pavanañjaya,* and *Subhadrā.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have been here, as everywhere else, the chief sources of themes with an original colouring suitable to the faith and the genius of the writer. Hastimalla's date is not precisely known, and all that may be said with certainty is that he wrote between A.D. 900 and 1300.

D. *VAISHṆAVISM*

I. NORTH INDIA

The doctrine of Vaishṇavism underwent profound changes during the period under review. The most important of these was the gradual dominance of the pastoral life of Kṛishṇa and his dalliance with the *gopīs* or cowherd girls. The beginnings or germs of

all this may be traced in early literature. But the story in its fully developed form—the birth of Kṛishṇa in the prison of Kaṁsa, his secret removal to the house of Nanda, bringing up by Yaśodā, early life among cowherds, miraculous acts like holding up of Govardhana hill, killing of Pūtanā and Kālīya-nāga, etc., amorous dalliance with *gopīs* or cowherd girls, particularly with Rādhā, wife of a near relation—all these are found in detail in the literature of this period. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* which is almost a complete store-house of these legends, is generally believed to have been composed in the ninth or tenth century A.D., somewhere in South India. Although even this late work does not mention Rādhā, she certainly came into great prominence during the period under review.[137a] The most poetic, and at the same time very realistic, description of the amorous relations between Kṛishṇa and Rādhā is given in the *Gīta-govinda* by Jayadeva, a court-poet of Lakshmaṇasena (twelfth century A.D.). It is a famous lyric poem highly venerated by the Vaishṇavas all over Northern India, who explain away the erotic elements as allegorical or symbolical representation of the highest spiritual ideals. The representation of amorous scenes, however, takes a more grossly sensual form, bereft of Jayadeva's poetic charms, in texts like *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa,* which is a later work but probably belongs to this period. Whatever may be the value of the explanation offered by the Vaishṇavas, it is impossible to ignore the vulgar elements in these erotic pictures and their influence upon the morals of the common people. This is sufficiently indicated by the fate which overtook Vaishṇavism at no distant date in future, when a class of this sect came to be a byword for sexual immorality. There can be hardly any doubt that this was largely due to the prevalent Tāntrik ideas and practices to which reference has been made above.

II. ŚRĪVAISHṆAVAS

A refreshing contrast is offered by the development of Vaishṇavism in South India. Thanks to the Śrīvaishṇava sect founded by Nāthamuni,[137b] a more elevated form of Vaishṇavism prevailed in this region. His worthy successors not only maintained the purity of the doctrine but placed it on a firm philosophic basis.

Āchārya Nāthamuni was succeeded on the apostolic seat by his disciple Puṇḍarīkāksha, also called Uyyakondar or "Saviour of the New Dispensation", a title which he received from his preceptor. He was a native of Tiruvallar near Śrīraṅgam. The third Āchārya was Rāmamiśra, who was the *guru* of the next Āchārya, the celebrated Yāmunāchārya, grandson of Nāthamuni. Yāmunāchārya or

Yāmunamuni was born at Vīranārāyaṇapura or Mannarguḍi. He was the son of Nāthamuni's son Īśvarabhaṭṭa.

1. *Yāmunāchārya*

It is said that Yāmunāchārya received the title Ālavandār or "the victor" from the Choḷa queen by vanquishing in a disputation the Paṇḍit at the court of the reigning Choḷa king. The king granted him some lands with which he began to live a life of luxury. Later, at the instigation of his preceptor Rāmamiśra, he took his residence at Śrīraṅgam and spent his life in expounding the doctrines of the Viśishṭādvaita school.

Yāmunāchārya is stated to have been the real founder of the Viśishṭādvaita or Śrīvaishṇava school and to have "laid the foundation of all the doctrines that go under Rāmānuja's name". It has been said that had there been no Yāmuna there would have been no Rāmānuja. Yāmunāchārya is the author of a number of works such as the *Siddhitraya, Āgamaprāmāṇya, Gītārthasaṁgraha, Mahāpurushanirṇaya* and *Stotraratna.* The *Siddhitraya,* which contains three sections, *viz.* Ātmasiddhi, Īśvarasiddhi and Saṁvit-siddhi, demonstrates the real existence of the Individual and Supreme Souls and refutes the doctrine of Avidyā. The *Āgamaprāmāṇya* defends the grounds of the orthodox Bhāgavata or Pāñcharātra school against Śaṅkara's criticism. The *Gītārthasaṁgraha* analyses the text of the *Gītā* as an exposition of the *Bhakti* doctrine giving only a subordinate position to the *Karma-yoga* and *Jñāna-yoga.*

2. *Rāmānuja*

Yāmunāchārya was succeeded by Rāmānuja said to have been born in Śaka 938 corresponding to A.D. 1016-17.[138] At first Rāmānuja lived at Kāñchīpura and was a pupil of the Advaita philosopher Yādava-prakāśa. Having been dissatisfied with the teaching of spiritual monism, Rāmānuja began to study the works of the Āḷvārs and found solace in them. After becoming the successor of Yāmunāchārya, he settled at Śrīraṅgam. In his later years he is said to have been persecuted by the Choḷa prince who was a follower of the Śaiva faith. As a result Rāmānuja is said to have taken refuge in A.D. 1096 at the court of the Hoysala prince Vishṇuvardhana[138a] whom he converted to Vaishṇavism. Rāmānuja was the author of a number of works including the *Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasaṁgraha, Vedāntadīpa* and the commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhagavad-gītā.*

It is said that one of the last directions of Yāmunāchārya to Rāmānuja was to compose a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma-*

sūtra. This was absolutely necessary to maintain the doctrine of love and grace, the fundamental tenet of Vaishṇavism, in the face of the theory of spiritual monism which Śaṅkara based upon the *Brahma-sūtra* and the Upanishads. According to Śaṅkara's theory there exists only one spirit, and the attributes of the animal spirit, such as the feelings of individuality as well as the variety of the inanimate world, are due to illusion (*māyā*) and are unreal. Thus according to this view love and piety favoured by the Vaishṇavas have room only in the illusive state of the human soul and have no place in the world of reality. The Vaishṇavas had therefore to defend their doctrine by reconciling it with the same *Brahma-sūtras* and the Upanishads and to overthrow the doctrine of *māyā* on the authority of the same works.

According to Rāmānuja's doctrine, which is called *Viśishṭ-ādvaita* or qualified monism, there are three eternal principles, *viz. chit* (the individual soul), *achit* (the insensate world) and *Īśvara* (the Supreme Soul). The individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul and form his body. The Supreme Soul, which exists in a subtle form before creation, develops itself in the form of the universe (which in its subtle form before creation is called Prakṛiti) at the time of creation. The Supreme Soul or God is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. He is thus the material and efficient cause of the world and is a composite personality having the individual souls and the inanimate world as his body. He has no defects and is the grantor of boons to his devotees. He has five different aspects, *viz. Para* or the highest, *Vyūha* in which he appears in the four forms of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for creation and other purposes, *Vibhava* in which he appears as the ten incarnations, *Antaryāmin* in which he lives in the hearts of all, and *Pratimā* or idol. The conception of the cowherd Kṛishṇa and of the relation between Kṛishṇa and the cowherdesses, including Rādhā, is absent from Rāmānuja's Vaishṇavism. Rāmānuja regarded *Bhakti* to be the same as the Upanishadic *upāsanā* or meditation.

3. *Rāmānuja's Followers*

After the death of Rāmānuja about A.D. 1137, the Śrī-Vaishṇavas were gradually divided into two sects called Vaḍakalai (*i.e.* the school of northern learning) and Teṅkalai (*i.e.* the school of southern learning). One class believed that salvation was more easily obtainable through the Sanskrit scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads and the *Gītā* than through the *Prabandhas,* called the Tamil Veda, while the other class held the diametrically opposite view. Rāmā-

nuja himself gave equal importance to both the classes of scriptures. But the difference of attitude on this point led to the growth of certain doctrinal differences, and ultimately to the division of his followers into two distinct sects, about the close of the fourteenth century.

Both the Vaḍakalai and the Teṅkalai agreed as to the necessity of *śaraṇ-āgati* or *prapatti, i.e.* self-surrender unto God; but while the former laid emphasis on the performance of *karma,* the latter believed that self-effort is unnecessary, as God's love is spontaneous and brings salvation to mankind by itself. The Vaḍakalai's belief that Lakshmī is also capable, like her consort, of bestowing final emancipation, is not shared by the Teṅkalai. Generally the Teṅkalai sect is more liberal than the Vaḍakalai. It provides for the teaching of the eight-syllabled formula *Oṁ namo Nārāyaṇāya* to all classes of peoples, while the Vaḍakalai sect omits the syllable *Oṁ* from the *mantra* when taught to non-Brāhmaṇas. The Teṅkalai sect favours equal treatment for all castes.

The two sects trace two different *guru-paramparās* from Rāmānuja. According to the Vaḍakalai, Rāmānuja was succeeded by Kurukeśa, the celebrated author of the *Six Thousand.* His successor Vishṇuchitta or Eṅgal Āḷvār, who flourished during the second half of the twelfth century, immortalised himself by his *Sārārtha-chatushṭaya* and *Vishṇuchittīyam* (a commentary on the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*). Vishṇuchitta's successor was his disciple Varadāchārya or Naḍādūr Ammāl who was the leader of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas for the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. He preferred Kāñchīpuram to Śrīraṅgam for his residence and activities. This resulted in the development of Śrīraṅgam as a prominent centre of the Teṅkalai. Varadāchārya was the author of the *Tattvasāra,* while his interpretation of Rāmānuja's *Śrī-Bhāshya* was committed to writing by his disciple Sudarśana in his *Śrutaprakāśikā.* Varadāchārya's successor was Ātreya Rāmānuja or Appiḷḷār, who was succeeded by his nephew Vedāntadeśika or Veṅkaṭanātha in A.D. 1290. In the history of the medieval Vaishṇavism the name of Vedāntadeśika, who was born in A.D. 1269 and died in 1370, is second only to that of Rāmānuja. His works number more than a hundred. He was equally great as a poet, philosopher and controversialist, and wrote both in Sanskrit and Tamil. His Tamil works include original compositions like those of the Āḷvārs as well as a large number of commentaries. He became famous as *Kavitārkikasiṁha* (the lion among poets and philosophers), *Sarvatantrasvatantra* (the master of all the branches of learning) and *Vedāntāchārya.* By this third name he is invoked by all sects and subsects of the Śrī-Vaishṇavas while beginning the study

of the *Śrī-Bhāshya.* Vedāntadeśika acted as an arbiter in a disputation between Vidyāraṇya and Akshobhyatīrtha, a disciple of Madhvāchārya, and gave a decision in favour of the latter.

The Teṅkalai sect regards Embār, a cousin of Rāmānuja, as the latter's apostolic successor, although he died earlier. Embār's successor was his disciple Parāśarabhaṭṭa, author of the *Sahasranāma-bhāshya.* Parāśarabhaṭṭa's successor Nañjīyar composed a commentary on the *Prabandhas,* called the *Nine Thousand,* while the views of Nañjīyar's disciple Nampillai on the Tamil Veda were incorporated in Periya Āchchān Piḷḷai's commentary entitled the *Twenty-four Thousand.* Pinbaḷagiya Perumāḷjīyar, another disciple of Nampillai, composed the *Twelve Thousand,* which is a commentary on the *Tiruvoimoḷi,* and the *Guruparamparā,* which is a biographical work on the succession of the Teṅkalai Āchāryas. The successor of Nampillai was Kṛishṇapāda or Vaḍakkutiruvīdi Piḷḷai who composed another commentary on the *Prabandhas,* called the *Thirty-six Thousand.* This work is generally known as the *Īḍu* (*i.e.* 'the equal'), probably because it was considered equal to the commentary on the *Śrī-Bhāshya* composed by his contemporary Sudarśana, disciple of Varadāchārya. The *Īḍu* was afterwards made the subject of compulsory study by the followers of the Teṅkalai. Kṛishṇapāda's son and successor was Piḷḷai Lokāchārya who was an elder contemporary of Vedāntadeśika. He is regarded as the real founder of the Teṅkalai sect. His works are believed to contain the only correct interpretation of the views of Rāmānuja and the Āḷvārs. He died some time after the capture and sack of Śrīraṅgam in A.D. 1327.

4. *Nimbārka*

The founder of another school of Vaishṇavism supporting the cult of *Bhakti* against the doctrine of *Māyā* was Nimbārka who is said to have been a Telugu Brāhmaṇa residing at the village of Nimba. This village has been identified with Nimbapura in the Bellary District. His father was a Bhāgavata named Jagannātha. Nothing is definitely known about the time when Nimbārka flourished; but Bhandarkar suggests that he lived some time after Rāmānuja. His death has been tentatively assigned to a date in the second half of the twelfth century. Nimbārka lived at Vṛindāvana near Mathurā and the followers of his school are usually found in North India. The Vaishṇavas of the Nimbārka school, called the Sanaka-sampradāya (*i.e.* the school founded by Sanaka), wear on the forehead two perpendicular lines of Gopīchandana with a black mark in the middle. They also use a necklace and a rosary made

of the wood of the Tulasī plant. They are divided into two classes, *viz.* ascetics and householders.

Nimbārka composed the *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha,* a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra,* as well as the *Siddhāntaratna* usually called the *Daśaślokī.* Nimbārka was succeeded by his disciple Śrīnivāsa who commented on his preceptor's *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha.* Devāchārya, the thirteenth successor on the pontifical seat after Nimbārka, was the author of the *Siddhāntajāhnavī* on which a commentary called the *Setu* was composed by the next pontiff Sundarabhaṭṭa. The thirtieth pontiff Keśava Kāśmīrin wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra.* Harivyāsadeva, who was the thirty-second in the list of succession, commented on Nimbārka's *Siddhāntaratna* or *Daśaślokī.*

The doctrines of the Nimbārka school of Vaishṇavism resemble in some respects those of Rāmānuja's school. But Nimbārka preached *Bhakti* in its original sense of love and gave exclusive prominence to the conception of Kṛishṇa attended by the cowherdesses headed by Rādhā. Rāmānuja's theory about the Supreme Soul being a composite personality and developing into the animate and inanimate world is not accepted by the Nimbārka school, according to which the Supreme Soul (God), the individual soul, and the inanimate world are both identical and at the same time distinct from one another. They are identical in the sense that the individual soul and the inanimate world are entirely dependent on God and have no independent existence. Nimbārka's theory is thus both monistic and pluralistic.

5. *Madhva or Ānandatīrtha*

Madhva or Ānandatīrtha, whose original name was Vāsudeva, was born at Beḷḷe in the South Kanara District. In the *Madhvavijaya* by Nārāyaṇa, Madhva is said to have been born in the Madhyageha family of Rajatapīṭha. Madhva or Ānandatīrtha was also known as Pūrṇaprajña and Madhyamandāra. He received his initiation from Achyutaprekshāchārya, otherwise called Purushottamatīrtha, and went on pilgrimage to Badarikāśrama from where he brought the images of Digvijaya-Rāma and Vedavyāsa. Later he travelled in different parts of the country to establish his own doctrine against other schools including the followers of Śaṅkara. His pupils were Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharitīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha and Akshobhyatīrtha. Of these Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha-kshetra (Purī) in Orissa to bring the idols of Rāma and Sītā. Naraharitīrtha became the preceptor of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1279-1306) and is known from several inscriptions with dates

ranging between Śaka 1186 (A.D. 1264) and 1212 (A.D. 1290). There is little doubt, therefore, that his *guru* Madhva flourished in the thirteenth century. Bhandarkar suggested that Madhva was born in Śaka 1119 (A.D. 1197) and died in Śaka 1198 (A.D. 1276).

The followers of Madhva wear on the forehead the mark of two white perpendicular lines of Gopīchandana joined by a cross line on the bridge of the nose, together with a dark line in the middle with a reddish spot in the centre. They also wear, on various parts of the body, especially the shoulders, Gopīchandana prints of the various weapons of Vishṇu. Sometimes permanent prints are made on the skin with the help of heated metallic stamps. The Kannaḍa country is the stronghold of the Mādhvas, *i.e.* the followers of Madhva-Ānandatīrtha. There are eight Maṭhas of this sect, some of which were founded by Madhva himself.

Madhva did not favour the conception of Gopāla-Kṛishṇa attended by Rādhā and the cowherdesses. The Vyūha doctrine also has no place in his system. Madhva denies that God is the material cause of the world. According to him, God is a substance entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. The innumerable individual souls, which are distinct from one another and are characterised by defects like ignorance, go through a succession of existences. The relation between God and the individual souls is like that between the master and his servant. By serving and worshipping God, the individual souls become like God in most respects. Madhva enjoins worship of Vishṇu as God. He was bitterly against Śaṅkara's theory of *Māyā*. Madhva's theory of creation is based on the doctrine of the Sāṅkhyas.

Thirty-seven treatises are ascribed to Madhva. The most important among those are his commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtra* and the Upanishads. One of his works, based on the epics and the Purāṇas, is the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*. Large commentaries on his works were composed by his followers, one of them being Jayatīrtha, sixth successor of Madhva on the pontifical seat. Jayatīrtha, whose original name was Dhoṇḍo Raghunātha, was a native of Maṅgalveḍhā near Paṇḍharpur.

E. *ŚAIVISM*

I. ROYAL PATRONS OF ŚAIVISM

In the previous volume we gave an account of Kāshmir Śaivism and showed how both kings and scholars helped to spread and consolidate the doctrine. In the centuries which are covered by the present volume Śaivism continued to flourish in Kāshmir. Of the

successors of Abhinavagupta who wrote on the Pratyabhijñā system, mention may be made of Kshemarāja, the author of the *Pratyabhijñā-hṛidaya,* which is an important manual of the doctrine. The tutelary deity of the Royal House of Nepāl is Paśupatinātha. In Nepāl, as elsewhere, Mahāyāna Buddhism mingled with Śaivism, and there were mutual borrowings in doctrine and in practice.

In Assam, the cults of Śiva and Vishṇu were prevalent. Ratnapāla, the most important king in the eleventh century, professed faith in both Śiva and Vishṇu.

The founder of the Sena kingdom of Bengal, Vijayasena, was a devotee of Śiva. He assumed the titles of *Parama-Māheśvara* and *Arivṛishabha-Śaṅkara,* and built a Śiva temple. His son and successor, Ballālasena, was also an ardent follower of Śaivism. But Lakshmaṇasena, who succeeded his father Ballāla, became a convert to Vaishṇavism.

Govindachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla king of Banaras and Kanauj, was a *Parama-Māheśvara.* But he practised religious tolerance and patronised the Bauddhas. On the obverse of his gold and copper coins are found the figures of a *triśūla* (trident).

The founder of the Chaulukya dynasty, Mūlarāja I, was a worshipper of Śiva. Among his successors, we find Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, who was a staunch Śaiva, though he patronised Jains like Hemachandra, and Kumārapāla who visited Somanātha frequently, and included in his inscriptions invocations to Śiva, even after he became a convert to Jainism.

Bhoja I of the Paramāra dynasty of Ujjain and Dhārā was not only a follower, but also an exponent, of Śaivism. One of his works, the *Tattvaprakāśa,* deals with Śaivism. His brother or cousin Udayāditya built the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapur. The later Paramāras were also adherents of Śaivism. Ujjain was in those days a stronghold of the Śaivas, in spite of the fact that Jainism was then in a flourishing condition in Western India.

The Kalachuris of Tripurī, with a few exceptions, were Śaivas. So also were the Chandellas of Bundelkhand. Kīrtivarman of the Chandella dynasty patronised Kṛishṇa-miśra, who wrote the *Prabhodha-chandrodaya,* and probably also built a Śiva temple at Mahobā.

The Western Chālukyas, whose capital was Kalyāṇa, were of Śaiva persuasion. Someśvara I (A.D. 1043-1068) was an ardent Śaiva. During the reign of his son Someśvara II (A.D. 1068-1076), Śaivism made rapid progress. Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), who succeeded his brother after deposing him, was probably a Jain

at first; but he became a staunch Śaiva in later life. About A.D. 1156 Bijjala, claiming kinship with the Kalachuris, usurped the throne. It was during his reign that there was a revival of Vīraśaivism under the great leadership of Basava. We shall give an account of this system of Śaivism in the next section.

The Eastern Chālukyas, the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the Kākatīyas were Śaivas. They were profoundly influenced by the Vīraśaiva revival. Pratāparudra I (A.D. 1162-1185), who founded Warangal, was the patron of Somanātha, a well-known Vīraśaiva writer, who was proficient in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannaḍa. Under the aegis of the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra flourished several Vīraśaiva scholars. Harīśvara and Rāghavāṅka, Devakavi and Somarāja were among the men of letters of first rank who popularised Vīraśaivism.

From many inscriptions of Mysore we learn that Śaivism became in that part of India a very popular faith from the twelfth century onwards. Even earlier, the Lakulīśa and Kālāmukha forms of Śaivism seem to have been in vogue. In an inscription, dated A.D. 1078, one ascetic is described as an ornament to the Lakula school, and another is referred to as 'a hand of Lakula'. Another inscription, dated A.D. 1103, speaks of Someśvara Sūri's contribution to the Lakula doctrine. A third inscription, dated A.D. 1177, calls certain ascetics upholders of the Lakulāgama-samaya. There are also other epigraphic records of grants made to scholars of the Śaiva schools. In some of them are to be found the names of great Śivāchāryas.

The Choḷa kings were great patrons of Śaivism. Vīrarājendra I (A.D. 1063-1070) made an offering of a ruby to Śrī Naṭarāja of Chidambaram. In A.D. 1128 Vikrama Choḷa gave large donations to the Chidambaram temple. Similar benefactions were made by his successor Kulottuṅga II (A.D. 1133-1150). Kop-Peruñjiṅga (A.D. 1229-78), who started his career as a loyal feudatory of Rājarāja III and later declared his independence, was also an ardent devotee of god Naṭarāja. The eastern *gopura* of the Chidambaram temple was built by him. The Pāṇḍya kings, like the Choḷas, continued to follow Śaivism. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-*c.* 1268) gave expression to his devotion to Śrī Naṭarāja by covering with gold the roof of the temple at Chidambaram.

One of the important features of this age in South India was the rising rivalry between Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. An inscription of the Tanjore District, dated A.D. 1160, makes mention of a Mahāsabhā's resolution prohibiting the association of Śaivas with Vaishṇavas. But generally the kings adopted an attitude of tolera-

tion. Rājarāja I, for instance, was well disposed towards the Vaishṇavas, though he was himself a Śaiva; and his sister Kundavā built temples for Śiva and Vishṇu at Dadapuram in South Arcot District.

The principal faiths of the day, Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and Jainism, flourished at Kāñchī. The Kālāmukhas had great influence in the capital city. There were, besides, the Kāpālikas and the Pāśupatas also. Temples and *maṭhas* became important all over the country. The ruling princes made rich endowments to them and saw to it that their influence with the people grew.

II. VĪRAŚAIVISM

Vīraśaivism or Liṅgāyatism traces its origin to the five great religious teachers, Reṇuka, Dāruka, Ghaṇṭākarṇa, Dhenukarṇa, and Viśvakarṇa who, according to tradition, were the earthly manifestations of the five aspects of Para-Śiva, *viz.* Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and Īśāna. These five teachers are said to have incarnated in the Kali-yuga as Revaṇasiddha, Maruḷasiddha, Ekorāma, Paṇḍitārādhya and Viśvārādhya, and expounded anew the ancient system of Liṅgāyat. They are referred to as the Pañchāchāryas, and an account of their incarnation is given in the *Svāyambhuva Āgama.* They are said to have established five *maṭhas* in the different parts of India—Kedāra in the Himālayas, Ujjayinī in the South, Śrīśailam in the East, Rambhāpurī in the West, and Banaras in the North. These institutions were charged by them with the mission of spreading the Liṅgāyat faith and of safeguarding the interests of, and giving a lead to, the Liṅgāyats.

The names of three of the five *Āchāryas, viz.* Viśvārādhya, Paṇḍitārādhya and Ekorāma, are mentioned in the beginning of the *Basava Purāṇa;* and they are spoken of as old teachers of Vīraśaivism. We learn from an inscription at Ablur that one Ekānta Rāmayya, an ardent worshipper of Śiva, defeated the Jains by performing a miracle. He is said to have laid a wager that he would cut off his own head, and that it would be restored seven days later by the grace of Śiva. King Bijjala, to whom we have already referred, seems to have received news of this miracle; and he summoned the Śivāchārya to his court where the miracle was repeated. According to the *Basava Purāṇa,* Basava himself was present at the court when the miracle was repeated. But beyond Rāmayya's yogic powers, of which there is a record both in the inscription and the Purāṇa, nothing is known either of the teacher or of his teachings.

The greatest name, however, in the history of Vīraśaivism is that of Basava, who, though not the founder of the faith, was mainly responsible for making it popular in the Kannaḍa country. According to the traditional account, Basava was born at Bāgevāḍi in the Bijāpur District as the son of Mādirāja and Mādalāmbike. He spent his early days at Kappadi, at the junction of the Malaprabhā and Kṛishṇā, where a shrine stands, dedicated to Saṅgameśvara, "Lord of the Confluence." Here Basava is said to have received a divine call to work for the revival of Vīraśaivism. He found a great opportunity to fulfil his mission when he was appointed prime minister of Bijjala (A.D. 1156-1168) in succession to his own maternal uncle who had filled that post till his death. Basava's influence in the realm increased when the king married his sister, Padmāvatī. In concert with Channabasava, the son of another sister of his, he pursued a vigorous policy of spreading the Vīraśaiva doctrine through the priests of the faith called Jaṅgamas. The other officers at the court carried tales about Basava to the king, and accused him of embezzlement. Basava fled and, with the help of his numerous followers who accompanied him, defeated the king, who was compelled to reinstate him in his former high office. True reconciliation, however, there could not be, and we possess different accounts of what followed.

The Liṅgāyat account is that Basava directed one of his disciples to slay the king when he came to know of the latter's design to put out the eyes of two Liṅgāyat devotees, and fled to Saṅgameśvara where he was "absorbed into the Liṅga". The Jain version is that when the king was camping on the bank of the Bhīmā river after a military expedition, Basava sent him a poisoned fruit, and then fled to Uḷavī, at the foot of the Western Ghats, where he threw himself into a well to escape capture by the king's son.

After Basava, his nephew Channabasava, became the leader; and he was helped in his mission by a band of able apostles. The Vīraśaiva movement gradually gained strength, and spread to the Andhra country and also further south. A number of mystic bards arose, who expounded the doctrine in a popular and catching manner. Their writings are known by the collective name *Vachanaśāstra,* to which a detailed reference has been made above.[138b] Even in the humblest of homes in the Kannaḍa country the *Vachanas* are current coin. The pithy epigrams of the *Vachana*-writers have become proverbial in the popular language. The one burden of these writings is to call men back from their career of sin and make them turn to Śiva for refuge.

Vīraśaivism means the Śaivism of the stalwarts or heroic Śaivism. The name serves to distinguish the Vīraśaivas from the three other classes of Śaivas, *viz.* the Sāmānya-, Miśra-, and the Śuddha-Śaivas. The first two of these classes worship Śiva and also Vishṇu, while the Śuddha- and Vīra-Śaivas worship Śiva alone. The Liṅga they wear on their person distinguishes the Vīraśaivas from the Śuddhaśaivas. Hence the name 'Liṅgāyats' is also applied to them, and the cult itself is called *Liṅgāyata.*

Vīraśaivism is generally described as a phase of the Āgamānta, from the fact that Śaiva Āgamas constitute the basic authority of this, as of other forms of Śaivism. But the Āgamas themselves are regarded as texts expounding the Vedic religion. Reverence is paid by the Vīraśaivas to the sixty-three Tamil saints also, and their writings are accepted as divinely inspired. These saints are referred to as *purātanas* in contrast to the later mediaeval saints who are called *nūtana-purātanas.* Seven hundred and seventy of these later mystics are enumerated, and Basava and his principal disciples are included among these. The sayings of the saints, besides the Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas, are accepted by the Vīraśaivas as their authorities in religion and philosophy. The other *pramāṇas* admitted by them are perception *(pratyaksha)* and inference *(anumāna).*

The Vīraśaiva philosophy is called *Śaktiviśishṭādvaita*—a term which means the non-duality of God (*viz.* Para-Śiva) as qualified by Power (or Śakti). When expanded, the meaning of the expression would be: "There is no duality between the soul and the Lord, each qualified by Śakti." According to this system, therefore, God and soul are in an inseparable union through the inalienable power called Śakti. The individual soul is neither absolutely identical with, nor entirely different from, God. It is a part of which God is the whole; it is the body of which God is the Soul.

As in the other systems of Śaivism, so in Vīraśaivism, Para-Śiva is the supreme reality, the one Absolute without a second. He is of the nature of existence *(sat),* intelligence *(chit)* and bliss *(ānanda).* He is all-powerful, omniscient, most glorious, and endowed with all auspicious qualities. The universe of souls and matter is but a part of him, a projection of His will. The manifestation of the universe, however, does not affect Him in any way. He himself does not undergo any change or mutilation. His greatness is such that in spite of being the ultimate cause *(parama kāraṇa)* of the world, He does not suffer any change or diminution. As in Kāshmir Śaivism, so in Vīraśaivism, Para-Śiva is held to be both the material and the instrumental cause of the universe. He is immanent as well as transcendent. From Him all beings spring

into existence; in Him they live; and unto Him they return at the end. The *Kaivalya Śruti* says: "Without beginning, middle or end, He is the one all-pervading reality, of the nature of intelligence and bliss, without form and wonderful. United with Umā (His consort), the Parameśvara is the lord with three eyes and a blue-throat, and is quiescent".

Śakti is the Power which eternally resides in Parama-Śiva as His inseparable attribute. It is the ultimate creative principle, *mūla-prakṛiti* or *māyā,* which evolves itself into the phenomenal universe. The term *māyā* in Vīraśaivism is not to be understood in the sense of the principle of illusion in Advaita-Vedānta. The *Siddhāntāgama* interprets the word to mean "that which naturally attains to and eternally resides in the supreme Brahman." As heat is to fire and light to sun, Śakti is to Śiva, inseparably united with Him as His attribute. It is through His Śakti that Śiva becomes the cause of the universe. Śiva lends His own nature to Śakti; and in its discriminative or differentiating aspect *(vimarśākhyā),* it becomes the agent of world-manifestation. Out of Śakti come all beings that constitute the universe. This is called creation or *sṛishṭi.* And in *pralaya,* all return to Śakti and remain therein in a seedal form.

The individual soul or *jīva* is a part (*aṁśa*) of Śiva; and it imagines itself to be different from Him on account of ignorance *(avidyā).* The soul is identical with Śiva in the sense that it proceeds from Śiva, partakes of His essence, and finds ultimate rest in Him. Having no independent existence, it finally becomes one with Him, on the removal of *avidyā.* It is also distinct from Śiva in the sense that, though sharing in His essence, it does not possess the attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, etc. Its powers of knowledge and action are limited and imperfect. It is a victim of impurities such as *karma* and *māyā,* and is consequently a creature of *saṁsāra.* The Upanishadic simile of sparks and fire is employed by the Vīraśaiva philosophers to explain the relation of the soul to God. And since both difference and identity are said to govern the relation, the Vīraśaiva philosophy is a doctrine of *bhedābheda* (difference *cum* non-difference).

The final goal of the soul is conceived in the Vīraśaiva system as *aikya* or unity with Para-Śiva, the supreme reality. The soul in union with Śiva enjoys unexcellable bliss. This final state of experience is technically called *liṅgāṅga-sāmarasya, i.e.* identity in essence between *Liṅga* (Śiva) and *aṅga* (soul).

Para-Śiva Brahman, which is the supreme reality, is known as *sthala* in Vīraśaivism. The word *sthala* means place, position or abode. Para-Śiva is the home or abode of all beings. He is the

support of all things. In Him the universe exists (*stha* signifying *sthāna* or residence); and to Him it returns at the end (*la* signifying *laya* or dissolution). Out of His own will and by the agitation of His innate power *(śakti)*, Para-Śiva, the supreme *Sthala*, becomes divided into *Liṅga* and *aṅga*. *Liṅga* is Śiva or Rudra, and is the object of worship or adoration. *Aṅga*, which means *part*, is the individual soul, and is the worshipper or adorer. Śakti also gets divided into two parts—*kalā* and *bhakti*, the former resorting to Śiva and the latter to the individual soul. *Kalā* is responsible for the projection of the world from Śiva. *Bhakti* leads the soul from bondage to final release.

The three terms most often used in Vīraśaiva writings are *Guru*, *Jaṅgama* and *Liṅga*. The *Guru* is the preceptor who imparts to the aspirant spiritual knowledge; the *Jaṅgama* is the realised soul; and the *Liṅga* is the Deity, Śiva.

As aids to progress in faith, Vīraśaivism teaches eight rules to be observed, which are called *ashṭāvaraṇa:* (1) obedience to a *guru;* (2) worship of a *liṅga;* (3) reverence for the *jaṅgama* as for an incarnation of Śiva; (4) smearing of ashes (*vibhūti)* made of cow-dung; (5) wearing of a rosary of *rudrāksha* beads; (6) *pādodaka*, sipping the water in which the feet of a *guru* or *jaṅgama* have been bathed; (7) *prasāda*, offering food to a *guru*, *liṅga*, or *jaṅgama*, and partaking sacramentally of what is left; and (8) *pañchākshara*, uttering the five syllabled formula *namaḥ śivāya*. At the *dīkshā* ceremony these eight modes of piety are taught to every Liṅgāyat child.

We have already mentioned that the distinguishing mark of a Liṅgāyat is the wearing of a *Liṅga* on his body. This is called the *Ishṭa-liṅga* and is the object of Liṅgāyat worship. The Liṅgāyats do not concern themselves with the worship of Śiva in public temples. Some of the other peculiarities of the sect, which are in the nature of reforms, are the following: the *dīkshā* ceremony which takes the place of *upanayana* is performed in the case of girls also, and the women, too, have to wear the *Liṅga*, like men. The widows are allowed to marry, and women are not considered to be polluted during their monthly periods. The Liṅgāyats dispense with the rite of offering oblations in fire; and instead of the *Brahma-gāyatrī* they make use of the *Śiva-gāyatrī*. The reformist zeal of the Liṅgāyat teachers and the spiritual fervour of the *Vachana*-writers have combined in making Vīraśaivism the most popular faith in the Kannaḍa country.

III. ŚAIVA-SIDDHĀNTA

Another school of Śaivism which flourished in South India during the period under review, and which still claims as its followers a

large number of Tamils, is *Śaiva-siddhānta*. An account of the lives and teachings of Tamil saints has been given above. The chief of these, Māṇikkavāchakar, Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar, are regarded as the four great teachers of the Śaiva faith (*samayāchāryas*). They did not expound the Śaiva philosophy in any systematic way. Their sole aim was to create a fervour in the hearts of the people and make them turn towards Śiva, relinquishing what they, the Śiva-*bhaktas*, considered to be unsuitable forms of faith, *viz.* Jainism and Buddhism. The task of formulating the metaphysics of Śaivism was left to the later teachers, called the *Santānāchāryas*, preceptors of the Śaiva metaphysical doctrines. Reference has already been made above[138c] to four of them who are reckoned as the most important. They are: Meykaṇḍa-deva, Aruḷnandi-śivāchārya, Maṟai-jñāna-sambandhar and Umāpati-śivāchārya. For a knowledge of the Śaiva-siddhānta metaphysics we must turn to the writings of these teachers.

Meykaṇḍa's *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., is the basic text of the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy. Two of the works listed among the Siddhānta-śāstras, *viz. Tiruvundiyār* and *Tirukkaḷiṟṟup-paḍiyār*, were composed by two authors, teacher and disciple according to tradition, bearing the same name 'Uyyavanda-deva,' who came before Meykaṇḍa. But these two works should be regarded as making the transition from the *stotras* of the *Samayāchāryas* to the *śāstras* of the *Santānāchāryas*. It is the *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* that provides the Sūtras of Śaiva-siddhānta, stating in a nutshell, as it were, the leading doctrines of the system. There is a verse which says: "The Veda is the cow; its milk is the true Āgama; the Tamil sung by the Four is the *ghee* extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work, full of wisdom (*bōdham*) of Meykaṇḍār of the celebrated city of Veṇṇai, is the fine taste of the *ghee*."

The chief of Meykaṇḍa's disciples was Aruḷnandi-śivāchārya. The *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar* which he wrote is next in importance only to the *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham*. As it gives an authoritative explanation of the *bōdham*, it is held in high esteem by the students of Śaiva-siddhānta. Aruḷnandi wrote also another work called *Irupāvirupadu*.

The other two *Santānāchāryas*, Maṟai-jñāna-sambandhar and Umāpati-śivāchārya, were related as master and disciple. The master is not known to have written any work. But the disciple amply compensated for this by contributing as many as eight treatises to the Siddhānta-śāstras. His works are: *Tiruvaruṭpayan*, *Pōṟṟippaḥroḍai*, *Vinā-veṇbā*, *Koḍikkavi*, *Uṇmai-neṟiviḷakkam*, *Saṅkalpa-nirākaraṇam*, *Neñjuviḍu-tūdu*, and *Śivaprakāśam*. Of these

the most important work is the last. In the *Saṅkalpa-nirākaraṇam,* Umāpati gives the date of its composition which works out to be A.D. 1313.

One other author, whose work *Uṇmai-viḷakkam* is included among the fourteen Siddhānta-śāstras, is Manavāchakam-kaḍandār. He was one of the disciples of Meykaṇḍa. His name signifies "one who has gone beyond thought and speech."

We now proceed to give a short account of the Śaiva-siddhānta system. The Śaiva-siddhānta is a system of pluralistic realism, as it recognises the reality of the world and the ultimate plurality of the souls. From the fact that the siddhānta writers employ the analogies of body and soul, and of consonant and vowel, it may be shown that there is some identity of views on an important topic as between the Siddhānta and Viśishṭādvaita. But the Siddhāntin himself does not favour the characterisation of his system as Viśishṭādvaita. He claims that his view is the true Advaita. Meykaṇḍa uses the term 'Advaita' to refer to his own system. Tāyumānavar describes Meykaṇḍa as one who saw the truth of pure Advaita. But in the interpretation of the term 'Advaita' the Siddhāntin differs from the Śāṅkara-Advaitin. What is denied by him by the negative expression 'Advaita' is not the existence of two, but the duality of two. He says: "They are not two", and not "There are not two". Advaita does not mean absence of difference *(bheda-abhāva)* but similarity *(sādṛiśya).* Introducing the metaphysics of the Siddhānta, Umāpati says in his *Śivaprakāśam:* "We expound here the beauty of Śaiva-siddhānta, the cream of the Vedānta, *whose excellent merit consists in its exposition of the Advaita,* postulating an inseparable relation like body and soul, eye and the sun, the soul and the eye, supported as it is by the Dharma of the highest authoritative books, and unlike the *bheda* and *bhedābheda* and *abheda* relations illustrated, respectively, by light and darkness, word and meaning, gold and ornament, set forth by other schools, and which is further supported by perfectly logical methods, and is light to the truth-seekers and darkness to others."

The supreme Reality is Śiva, the Lord *(pati)* of all beings. Though the human intellect cannot comprehend Śiva's nature, an attempt is made to understand His greatness. Śiva is superior to the Trimūrtis, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra. Even when He is identified with the Destroyer, His superiority to the other two may be easily seen. Brahmā and Vishṇu are also affected in a way by *pralaya.* Only Śiva stands unaffected and exists eternally as the supreme Being. Eight qualities are attributed to Śiva: independence, purity, self-knowledge, omniscience, freedom from *mala,*

boundless benevolence, omnipotence, and bliss. The author of the *Kuṟal* describes God as *eṇ-guṇattān* (endowed with eight qualities). But there is no limit to the Lord's greatness. The most comprehensive terms that we can apply to Śiva are *Sat* and *Chit*. As *Sat*, God is the plenitude of being and is incomprehensible. As *Chit* or intelligence, we can know Him. *Sat* and *Chit* are like the sun and its light. From these characteristics, all the other attributes of God may be derived. It is wrong to think of God as attributeless. What is void of qualities would be a mere blank, a night of nothingness. When scriptures speak of Brahman as *nirguṇa*, what they mean is that God is above the *guṇas* of *Prakṛiti*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

Śiva is immanent in the universe and transcendent as well. The conception of *Ashṭa-mūrti* brings out the aspect of immanence. Māṇikkavāchakar says:

> "Earth, water, air, fire, sky, the Sun and Moon,
> The sentient man, these eight forms He pervades."

God is of the form of the universe *(viśvarūpa)*. "Behold! He is the male and the female and the neuter", sings the bard of the *Tiruvāchakam*. The omni-form of the Lord is described by almost all the saints. But at the same time, they are conscious of the fact that the universe does not exhaust God. Śiva exceeds the world. His greatness is beyond conception. Meykaṇḍa says that Śiva is not the object of perception nor the content of thought. Māṇikkavāchakar declares that, though the supreme Śiva became man, woman and what is neither, ether, fire and the final cause, He transcends all these forms. Rudra is *viśvādhika* (more than the universe).

It is to stress the transcendent nature of God that the Siddhāntin conceives of Śiva as the operative cause of the world, and not as the material cause also. One of the arguments for the existence of God offered by the Siddhāntin, the cosmological argument, seeks to establish the efficient causality of Śiva in relation to the world. The first *sūtra* of *Śiva-jñāna-bōdham* contains this argument: "The universe which is diversified as 'he' 'she' and 'it', and is subject to the states of origination, sustentation and destruction, should have a cause which is eternally free and intelligent. That cause is Hara (*i.e.* Śiva)". The analogy of the potter is used to explain God's causality in relation to the world. Mere clay will not transform itself into a pot but for the operation of an active agent, *viz.* a potter. Māyā is the material cause of the world, as clay is of pot. God is the efficient or operative cause, and is analogous to the potter. His Śakti is the instrumental cause, like the potter's wheel. The analogy of the potter, however, should not be pressed too far. God has no purpose of His own to be fulfilled through His creation. He

is *satya-saṅkalpa* and *āpta-kāma;* His resolves are all true, and desires eternally accomplished. He causes the world to evolve, in order that the souls may be given opportunities for the riddance of their impurities. Of the five functions of Śiva, *tirodhāna, sṛishṭi, sthiti, saṁhāra,* and *anugraha,* the first four have the last as the goal. And even when evolution takes place Śiva remains unaffected. Just as the wind causes disturbances only to a part of the sea, evolution relates to a part of God's *parigraha-śakti.* The sun is impartial and the same to all things; but because of it, diverse phenomena occur; the lotus blooms, the burning glass emits heat, and water evaporates. We should understand the nature of Śiva in relation to the world in a similar way.

One of the distinctive features of the Siddhānta is that it does not countenance the doctrine of *Avatāra.* The author of the *Śiva-jñāna-siddhiyar*[139] says that while the other gods are subject to birth and death, suffering and enjoyment, Śiva, the consort of Umā, is free from these. There is no incarnation for Śiva; for incarnation, with birth, death, and other changes which are incidental to it, is the result of *karma* and constitutes *saṁsāra.* This, however, does not mean that Śiva does not appear in bodily forms. He appears in the form in which He is worshipped by the devotee. Out of His great love for the souls, He comes as the *guru* to save them from *saṁsāra.* One of the favourite themes with the Śaiva saints and hymnalists is the conception of God as Love and Grace. There is a well-known verse of Tirumūlar's which says that only the ignorant distinguish between God (Śiva) and Love *(anbu),* and that wisdom lies in identifying the two.

Besides Śiva, the Siddhāntin accepts two other ontologically distinct and eternal entities, *viz. māyā* and *jīva.* Believing in the theory of *sat-kārya* as he does, the Siddhāntin argues that as the material cause of the non-intelligent world there must be admitted the non-intelligent *māyā. Māyā* is so called because the world is resolved *(mā)* into it, and is evolved *(yā)* from it. It is the primordial stuff of which the universe is made. It provides the souls with bodies *(tanu),* organs *(karaṇa),* worlds *(bhuvana),* and objects of enjoyment *(bhogya).* Being non-intelligent, *māyā* cannot evolve of itself. It requires guidance from an intelligent being; and that being is Śiva. Śiva, however, acts on *māyā,* not directly, but through His *Chit-śakti.* Thus guided, *māyā* projects from itself the *tattvas* which constitute the universe.

Jīva or soul is by nature infinite, pervasive, omniscient, etc. But on account of its association with *malas* or bonds, it experiences itself as limited, finite and parviscient. The three *malas* that bind

the soul are *āṇava, karma* and *māyā*. (1) Āṇava is a connate impurity, and occupies in the Śaiva-siddhānta a position similar to that of *avidyā* in Advaita-Vedānta. Being connate to the soul, it is beginningless. It is the cause of the soul's delusion and the consequent transmigration. (2) The lot of the soul in any particular life is the result of its past *karma*. And in working out its past *karma* it acquires fresh *karma*. This vicious circle could be broken only through the grace of Śiva. Even for adjusting deserts to deeds the guidance of God is necessary, since *karma* is a blind force, being non-intelligent by nature. (3) The third *mala* which is *māyā* we have already taken note of.

The *jīva* is related to Śiva as body to soul. God pervades the soul as the letter *A* pervades all the other letters. The relation between Śiva and *jīva* is described by the Siddhāntin as *advaita*. But '*advaita*' to him means, not *abheda* or non-difference, but *ananyatā*, non-separateness. As a substance, the soul is different from God; in nature it is similar to God. Even in *moksha* it does not lose its personality; as an entity it is unique even then.

Souls are many, since each has a distinct body, mind, etc. When one is born, all are not born; when one dies, all do not die; and when one is released, all are not released. The scriptural statement that the 'self is one' does not refer to the souls; it is a declaration made about God who is one. Innumerable are the souls, and they belong to various types ranging from the egg-born to the placenta-born. The kind of birth that a soul takes is determined by its previous *karma*. The birth of a soul as a human being is superior to birth in the other species of existence. But the birth as a Śaiva-siddhāntin is said to be the best, as one so born has the best chance of release.

Charyā, kriyā, yoga and *jñāna* are the means the soul has to adopt for gaining its freedom from *mala*. Following the path of *charyā*, the soul thinks itself to be the servant of God, and engages itself in such acts as cleansing God's temples, adorning the images of God with garlands, praising God, serving God's devotees, etc. When the soul reaches the stage of *kriyā*, it becomes more intimate to God and considers itself to be His son. Its service to God becomes closer. It invokes God's presence, and offers Him its love and praise. The acts of service are still of an external type. But there is a change in the inner attitude which enables the soul to march nearer to God. The next stage which is *yoga* makes the soul regard itself as a friend of God. Here the soul withdraws its senses from their respective objects, and concentrates its mind on God. The three paths we have now considered, *charyā, kriyā* and *yoga*, are

but preparatory stages which the soul has to go through before it is made fit to meet its Lord. The reward of *charyā* is *sālokya, i.e.* residence in the region of God; the fruit of *kriyā* is *sāmīpya, i.e.* attaining the nearness of God; and the result of *yoga* is *sārūpya, i.e.* gaining the form of God. None of these three acquisitions is to be regarded as the final goal. The supreme end is *sāyujya* or union with Śiva. This is to be attained only by *jñāna* or wisdom; for what binds the soul is ignorance, and the antidote for ignorance is wisdom. *Jñāna-mārga,* or *san-mārga,* as it is otherwise called, is the last stage in the journey to God. All that goes before it is of the nature of preparation for this final step.

The attainment of *Śivatva,* which is release, is not complete mergence of the soul's being in Śiva; for as an existent the soul is ever different from Śiva. Even after the release the soul continues to be a soul and does not become God. It can claim God's nature as its own too; but it cannot claim that it is itself God. What happens in *moksha* is this: ceasing to experience through *pāśa* which it did in bondage, the soul now experiences through *pati* (the Lord). It has shed its *pāśa-jñāna* and *paśu-jñāna;* its knowledge now is *pati-jñāna.* The expression *pati-jñāna* does not mean the Lord's knowledge but the soul's knowledge through the Lord.

Moksha is a state of freedom from *mala.* There is no longer any need for the soul to return to empirical life. In *moksha* the soul finds rest, peace and bliss. It enjoys the bliss of Śiva, but not His five-fold function of creation, sustentation, destruction, concealment, and bestowal of grace. Thus the entitative difference between God and soul still continues and will never go. Like the combination of the two words '*tāḷ*' and '*talai*' in the compound word 'tāḍalai', in *moksha,* there is a mystic union of soul with God. *Moksha* is not a state of bare identity; it is the experience of unity-in-duality. God is the giver of eternal bliss; and the soul is the recipient thereof. They are not two, but two-in-one. This is the Advaita of Śaiva-siddhānta.

IV. ŚIVĀDVAITA

Śrīkaṇṭha, who was probably a contemporary of Rāmānuja, expounded a system of Śaivism which is called Śivādvaita. While resembling Kāshmir Śaivism in certain respects and Śaiva-Siddhānta in certain others, Śrīkaṇṭha's Śaivism has unique features of its own. Śrīkaṇṭha bases his exposition on the *Vedānta-sūtra,* and identifies Brahman with Para-Śiva who is superior to the *trimūrtis, viz.* Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra. Because Śrīkaṇṭha explains the relation between the world of souls and matter on the one hand, and God on the other,

on the analogy of the relation between body and soul, his system has been described as Śiva-viśishṭādvaita. Śrīkaṇṭha himself calls his system so. But unlike Rāmānuja Śrīkaṇṭha does not criticise Śaṅkara's Advaita. On the contrary, there are indications in his writings of his leaning towards non-dualism. A careful reading of Śrīkaṇṭha's bhāshya will convince one that this philosopher occupies a position midway between Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. While theism is the pronounced doctrine he teaches, he leaves the door open for passing beyond to the higher truth, *viz.* Absolutism.

God, according to Śrīkaṇṭha, is the supreme Lord who exercises the five-fold function of the creation, preservation and destruction of the world, and of concealment and grace in respect of the soul (*sṛishṭi, sthiti, saṁhāra, tirobhāva* and *anugraha*). The purpose of creation is to redeem the soul. Since impurity is innate in the soul, and it could be got rid of only through action, the soul has to pass through cycles of births and deaths. For this purpose the Lord conceals the soul's eternal perfection. And when by successive performance of action the soul has become pure and is fit for release, the Lord bestows grace on it in consequence whereof it realises its own eternal nature, which is in essence the nature of God. Thus *tirobhāva* and *anugraha* are the two ends in the process of perfecting the soul, and the creation, preservation and destruction of the world are the intervening links in this chain.

Brahman is the material as well as the operative cause of the world. As the material cause, He is the soul of the universe. As the operative cause, He is higher than the universe. He is both *viśvākāra* and *viśvādhika* (immanent and transcendent).

Brahman effects the manifestation of the world through His Śakti or Power. It is by virtue of His Śakti that Brahman is immanent in His creation and yet transcendent. The ultimate Reality is not a bare identity; it is a unity-in-duality, an identity-in-difference. Parā-śakti is the form of the Lord. She figures as His wisdom, strength, and activity. The Lord's will, knowledge, and action are but modes of his Śakti. Through his Ichchhā-śakti, the Lord desired "May I become many"; by Jñāna-śakti He considered the means and instruments necessary; with Kriyā-śakti He created the universe which is like a picture painted on the wall of Ichchhā-śakti.

Śrīkaṇṭha believes in *sat-kārya-vāda* and maintains that the universe is non-different from Brahman just as the pot is non-different from the clay of which it is made. And yet Brahman is not completely one with the universe, for He is intelligent, while the universe is for the most part non-intelligent. The relation between

Brahman and the world is to be explained on the analogy of the soul-body relation. The whole world, consisting of intelligent beings and non-intelligent things, is the body of Īśvara. Ignorance, change, etc., affect this body, while qualities like permanence, omniscience, etc., belong to the Self.

Śrīkaṇṭha identifies Brahman with Śiva. He sees in the *Vedānta-sūtra* "a doctrine of the Supreme Being as Śiva, the auspicious one, the Being whose throat shows for all time the mark of His grace to His creatures, the consort of Umā who is the Supreme Light of Intelligence and Bliss, the three-eyed cause of the destruction and subsequent re-creation of the Universe." Śrīkaṇṭha shows how the eight names of Śiva, *viz.* Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Īśāna, Paśupati, Ugra, Bhīma and Mahādeva, are applicable to Brahma as defined by the *janmādi-sūtra.* Among the several Upanishadic texts that the teacher quotes is the one from the *Śvetāśvatara* which declares that men can indeed attain release without knowing Śiva, when they can roll up the skies like a piece of hide.

Release is attained through realisation of one's own essential nature. But this has to wait till *karma* fructifies and is fully experienced through enjoyment or suffering. The Lord is impartial and wills the release of all. But only those whose *karma* is ripened are released, even as on the rising of the sun only those lotus buds that are ready bloom.

Contemplation of the Lord is the means to release. The soul's *saṁsāra* is due to its beginningless finitude and dependence. But this miserable state can be terminated, for it is not of the essence of the *jīva.* The *jīva* should rise above its limitations by meditating on the glory of Śiva. According to the *tatkratu-nyāya* one becomes what one meditates on. By meditating constantly on Brahman, the devotee acquires his distinctive characteristics (*asādhāraṇa-guṇāḥ*). Occasional acts of meditation will not do. Only when practised unintermittently and with concentration, meditation will lead to *Brahma-sākshātkāra.* Meditation should not be given up at any time; it must continue every day until death. The Lord should be contemplated as identical with the self, not as different therefrom. Otherwise, the soul will not be released from its bondage (*paśubhāva).* To go beyond the limitations one must identify oneself with the unlimited.

The enlightened one attains final release from good and evil deeds, "not at death, but only on crossing the Virajā, the river that constitutes the boundary of Vishṇu-loka, beyond which lies the abode of Śiva, the region of final liberation and the full attainment of self-hood." Till that stage is reached there is *saṁsāra.* The en-

lightened soul departs at death on the path of the gods, sheds all the residue of its impurities at the Virajā, crosses the river, and attains final release. Speaking of the devotees of the Non-related (*niranvaya-upāsakas*), Śrīkaṇṭha says that there is no passing for them along the path.

The soul which has attained release through the intuition of Brahman and has become equal to Brahman, enjoys supreme bliss before which the joys of the world pale into insignificance. The world is seen now, in its proper context, as a part of the Lord. Negatively, release is freedom from *paśutva* (bondage); positively, it is the attainment of bliss (*Śivatva*). The self's real nature is made manifest in release. It regains self-luminosity and acquires the auspicious qualities characteristic of Śiva. The five-fold functions of creation, etc., however, continue to be exercised by the Lord alone. The similarity of the released soul to Brahman is only in respect of wisdom and enjoyment. Is it not enough that the soul has been redeemed from *saṁsāra,* and that it no longer returns to the world of tears and sorrow?

V. KĀPĀLA AND KĀLĀMUKHA SECTS[140]

Passing reference has been made above to the great influence of the Kāpālikas. These, along with the Kālāmukhas, represent two extremely horrid and repulsive forms of Śaivism.

The Kāpālas and Kālāmukhas are two distinct sects, though they were often confused with one another. According to Rāmānuja, the Kāpālikas (members of Kāpāla sect) maintained that a man, who was advanced in their doctrine, could attain the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. They worshipped Bhairava as the great God and attributed great virtues and occult powers to drinking wine and eating disgusting substances as food. They performed human sacrifices, and believed that by the practice of *Yoga* they could achieve miraculous powers of speedy movement. The Kālāmukhas held that happiness in this world and salvation in the next could be attained by such practices as (1) eating food in a human skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of the dead and also eating those ashes; (3) worshipping the God as seated in a pot of wine; and (4) holding a club. Men of other castes could become Brāhmaṇas by performance of certain rites, and one who undertook the vow of a Kāpāla became a holy saint.

The religious devotion of these outlandish sects was reserved for the horrid God Bhairava with his wife Chaṇḍikā, wearing a garland of human skulls, and requiring human sacrifices and offering of wine for his propitiation. It is unnecessary to give any further details about

the horrible, almost demoniacal, practices of these sects, which form a "ghastly picture of the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit."[141] They must have been in vogue from fairly early times and their origin may be traced to the terrible form and conception of Rudra. What is, however, significant is their popularity, side by side with the highly devotional and philosophical aspects of Śaivism.

It would be wrong to think that these sects were quite insignificant. According to tradition even the great Śaṅkarāchārya had to enter into a keen contest with them. Centuries later, Rāmānuja, Ānandagiri and others took note of them, and their beliefs and practices find a place in the *Śiva Purāṇa* and other sacred books of the Śaivas. They also figured in literature of fiction and we get a picture of them in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti. Śrīśaila is referred to as the chief seat of the Kāpālikas in this drama. A female member of this sect, Kapālakuṇḍalā by name and wearing a garland of human skulls, carries away, at dead of night, the heroine Mālatī to the cemetery where her preceptor Aghoraghaṇṭa was to sacrifice her before the image of Karāla-Chāmuṇḍā.

There can be hardly any doubt that such extreme sects of Śaivism reflect the same human tendency and mentality as we find in some revolting Tāntrik rites mentioned above, and that in some form or other they have continued to exercise bewitching influence over certain sections of the people.

F. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

I. IMPACT OF OTHER CIVILIZATIONS—THE THEISTIC URGE

Reference has been made above[142] to the early Christian and Muslim settlements in India. To what extent and in what way, if at all, these extremely monotheistic civilizations affected the thought of the country, we have not materials enough to judge.[143] But we find that during the period under review there was a theistic urge in the philosophy of the land. This finds powerful expression in many Vedāntic writers who came after Śaṅkara.

Śaṅkara's efforts had earned a prestige for the Vedānta which no other philosophy enjoyed at the time, and re-introduced in the minds of men a reverence for the Vedas from which the Vedānta professed to spring. Śaṅkara's Brahma was, however, an impersonal being, who could not evoke any devotional emotion, and prayers to whom were meaningless. But man in sorrow and suffering required a solace. He looked for a god who could show mercy to a sinner and secure safety for him in times of need. Jainism and Buddhism

had killed such a god while Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā and Kapila's Sāṅkhya did no better. Nyāya-Vaiśeshika's god was more a creator than anything else. A better god was yet to come. Man's yearning spirit, therefore, turned to the Vedas and the higher philosophy that sprang from their womb. We thus find thinkers and writers with a theistic bent of mind attempting to re-interpret the Vedānta.

II. RĀMĀNUJA (eleventh-twelfth century A.D.)

One such great writer was Rāmānuja, to whom reference has been made above. The line of thought that he followed did not appear in him for the first time. He was preceded by others in this way of thinking. But he surpassed them in clarity and vigour of thought and urgency of appeal. So he eclipsed his predecessors and gave a lead to many others who followed him.

The first point of his attack was Śaṅkara's theory of knowledge and his theory of Brahma as a substance without attribute. Commonsense says that when there is knowledge, there must be a knower who knows and an object that is known, and knowledge is the relation between the two. Śaṅkara demurred to this. Brahma was consciousness; but as there was no second to him, he could not be a knower in the ordinary sense with an object to be known. The world of things and finite selves was unreal, and so Brahma was without relation, and without any attribute. There was nothing else from which he could be differentiated, and no quality either by which he could be differentiated.

Rāmānuja challenged this entire position. Knowledge always implied a relation. The world of things and selves was real. It was not different from Brahma in essence, but differentiated from him by their individuality. Brahma was not a mere 'is' without any quality. The world is in him like a quality in a thing, like heat in fire or weight in a stone. The world is his expression, his body, so to say. Brahma is a personal being, having infinite qualities of goodness and purity. He is in fact the same as Vishṇu of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and the Vaishṇavas. Rāmānuja's commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtras* is interspersed with profuse quotations from the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and other Vaishṇava writings. His conclusions are based on these quite as much as on the *sūtras* of Vedānta as interpreted by him.

There was another important point on which Rāmānuja differed from Śaṅkara. According to Rāmānuja, religious performances (*karma*), as explained and advocated by the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, were a necessary preliminary to and a preparation for the study and

practice of the Vedānta. Further, knowledge alone was not enough to save a soul. It was to be followed by devotion to God (*bhakti*) which could lead man to his destination.

III. OTHER VAISHṆAVA COMMENTATORS OF VEDĀNTA

(i) *Nimbārka* (twelfth century A.D.)

Rāmānuja's philosophy has been called 'qualified monism'. It was so called because, according to it, though the ultimate reality was one, it possessed qualities and was thus qualified. The world and finite souls were in Brahma like qualities inhering in a thing, like light in the sun. Rāmānuja was followed in the theistic line of thinking by several powerful Vaishṇavas. Next in time and rank to him was Nimbārka, a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, whose philosophy has been given the name of 'dualism-monism'. Like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, he, too, believed that the ultimate reality was one and it was Brahma. But unlike them, he thought that the world and finite selves were real, too; and they were distinct from Brahma. There were thus *two* realities—Brahma and the other than Brahma. So far he was a dualist. But these two reals were at bottom and in essence one; for Brahma was the essence of all. So far he was a monist. And the relation between Brahma and the other than Brahma was that of a whole with its parts. A part has no reality apart from the whole of which it is a part, but it is not identical with the whole. Again, the whole is not real, away from the parts. They have a common existence, a common essence, and are yet distinguishable from each other. Between Brahma and the world of things and selves, the relation is the same. It is a case of identity in difference. But what is important in the argumentation is that this Brahma was identical with Vishṇu; he was a god and a person, who could be an object of devotion and love, to whom prayers could be addressed and who could show mercy and compassion when these were needed.

(ii) *Madhva* (thirteenth century A.D.)

Another Vaishṇava theist who wrote on the Vedānta was Madhva. His philosophy was pure dualism. There were two categories of reality, according to him; Brahma and that which was other than Brahma. This second category included the world of plurality of things and the plurality of finite individual souls. The two categories were totally different from each other, have been so from eternity, and will continue to be so. Things are different from one another; so are the finite souls from one another and from things and Brahma. The knowledge of these differences is the

way to escape from the bondage of life. The talk of one reality, therefore, is meaningless according to Madhva. But the most important of his conclusions is that, as in other Vaishṇava writers, the Brahma of Vedānta is not an impersonal being but is only another name for *Hari* or Vishṇu. He is the one object of worship and devotion.

(iii) *Vallabha*

With Madhva and his school, the reaction against Śaṅkara's monism seems to be complete. Monism led to qualified monism; this was followed by a theory of monism in dualism; then came pure dualism. But a reaction to this reaction set in, and the wheel went full circle in Vallabha. Vallabha's philosophy was Śaṅkara's monism minus the doctrine of illusion (or *māyā*). The world and the finite souls were all real. They were not an illusion. But they were not different from Brahma either. All things are Brahma. There is absolute identity among them. In Vallabha we have an identification of Brahma, not with Vishṇu as such, but with his incarnation, Kṛishṇa of Gokula. This is an advance towards later Vaishṇavism. Vallabha is thus Śaṅkara revived with a little popular crudeness and without Śaṅkara's argumentative subtlety.

But Vallabha is usually assigned to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.[144] In speaking of him here, before A.D. 1300, we are thus guilty of a slight anachronism. We mention him just to show how the movement of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis was in full swing in Vedānta circles; how one proposition powerfully advocated led to a counter-proposition, and the conflict of these two to a third.

We may add that this movement of theism was not confined to the centuries in which the above writers appeared, nor to the provinces to which they belonged. The influence of Nimbārka and Madhva, specially of Madhva, for instance, travelled beyond their time and place, and in the sixteenth century A.D. started the famous Chaitanya movement in Bengal. Under Chaitanya's influence, a new philosophical school arose headed by Jīva Gosvāmī, and another elaborate exposition of Vedānta was attempted by Baladeva, just to adapt it to the requirements of the new religious cult.

IV. NON-VAISHṆAVA VEDĀNTISTS

It was not the worshippers of Vishṇu alone who fell back upon the Vedānta for a philosophical sanction of their religious cult. Followers of other religions also did the same. So far as pure philosophy is concerned, the contributions of these writers were

not of very great importance. Their chief concern was to suggest an identification of Brahma of Vedānta with the god of their worship. This is not done by any irrefutable logic, but only by citing the various names of the deity along with that of Brahma and treating them as a string of synonyms. Thus Śrīkaṇṭha, a Śaiva commentator of the *Vedānta-sūtras,* under the very first *sūtra,* uses several names of Śiva as implying the same thing as the word 'Brahma' used in the *sūtra.* All this only shows the great prestige which the Vedas and the Vedānta, the professed philosophy of the Vedas, had earned under the powerful advocacy of Śaṅkara.

One peculiarity of all these theistic interpreters of Vedānta is that they emphasise devotion to God (*bhakti*) as more important and as the true means of man's salvation. Knowledge is, after all, an aid to the production of this spirit of devotion and self-surrender to God.

V. THE OTHER SYSTEMS

Among the orthodox systems, the Yoga treated man as a psycho-physical composite, and by prescribing a series of physico-mental exercises, it sought to make man's body and mind suitable for liberation; and on its way to that goal, man might acquire many extraordinary and supra-human powers. Instead of being a means to an end, these powers may become ends in themselves, and so the Yoga captivates the fancy of many men even now. Besides, the psychology of the Yoga, though not cast in a modern mould, has still a profundity of its own. But, in spite of all this, the Yoga soon degenerated into a study of postures and the dispositions of the limbs in these postures by which the body could be made hardy and disciplined; and also the practice of certain intellectual exercises by which occult powers were believed to be attainable. Whatever the value of these things may be—and admitting that they have great value—they were not philosophy. This form of *Yoga* is usually given the name of *Haṭha-yoga* to distinguish it from the higher and philosophical *Yoga.*

Sāṅkhya, on the whole, produced very little literature as compared with the other systems. It continues to be studied even today. But it has not diversified itself into schools like the Vedānta, and cannot claim even half the number of commentators as the Vedānta. During the period we are reviewing, no writer on Sāṅkhya appears to have risen to fame. Except Vijñānabhikshu who, in the sixteenth century A.D. or thereabout, attempted to give it a new orientation, it has had more or less an even tenor of life. Its conception of the eternal feminine (*prakṛiti*) and eternal masculine *(purusha)* may have suggested metaphors to poets; and it might

also have been at the root of certain conceptions of the *Tantras* and other forms of religious rites or worship. Besides, its theory of *guṇas* (qualities) might have affected subsequent thought in general and medical science in particular. Charaka, one of the founders of medical science in India, appears to have used some of the concepts of Sāṅkhya; and others have also followed him. But it is difficult to say whether Charaka, who probably flourished in the first century A.D., borrowed from Sāṅkhya, or from a common fund of ideas on which Sāṅkhya also drew. The theory of *guṇa,* for instance, though elaborated and emphasised by the Sāṅkhya, is found in other spheres of thought also, philosophical as well as non-philosophical.

The Sāṅkhya conception of male and female principles may have influenced dualistic Vaishṇavism, specially the cult of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā. We hear of such influence from some of the writers of the Bengal School of Vaishṇavism. And the cult of Hara and Gaurī—the concept of God as half masculine and half feminine, each half holding the other in eternal embrace—may also have received an impetus from Sāṅkhya. But this influence is rather vague, and no historical account of it is possible; one can only point out parallels. These, however, may also point to the existence of an earlier common stock of ideas, from which all borrowed.

Except in its theory of particularity or individuality (*viśesha*), the Vaiśeshika did not differ much from the Nyāya. But it continued to maintain its separate, though rather subordinate, existence, right up to the seventeenth century A.D., when joint treatises on the two systems were written by scholars like Viśvanātha, Annambhaṭṭa and others. From that time onward the Vaiśeshika has been practically merged in the Nyāya system; and the two systems move like twin stars across the sky of Indian thought. Śivāditya is perhaps the only important writer on Vaiśeshika during the period under review.

We have, however, a different story to tell about the Nyāya. As an organ of debate it created a position for itself from which even the Vedānta could not dislodge it. In wrestling with Jain and Buddhist logic, it had gained strength. While its metaphysics or its theory of the world had been disposed of in the *Vedānta-sūtras,* its usefulness as a weapon of argument remained. And under the leadership of Gaṅgeśa in Mithilā, about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., it started a new career as a '*novum organum*'—as a new logic (*navya nyāya*), which continued to flourish right up to the days of Chaitanya, about which time its centre of activity was shifted to Navadvīpa in Bengal. This new logic which was concerned more with the sources of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) than with metaphysics, has produced an extensive literature expressed in an unusually stiff

language. The weakest link in this chain of literature is that it argues and argues about many questions of epistemology, but gives us no stable metaphysical conclusions. For this reason, it has often been derided as a waste of man's brain-power, and discussing nothing better than whether the pot contains the oil or the oil the pot.

The Pūrva Mīmāṁsā also continued to hold a position of influence. This was due to the fact that it was more directly and more intimately connected with the Vedas than any other system. Its philosophical importance was not very great, except for a few conceptions, such as *karma,* which were common to other philosophies. With the gradual disappearance of Vedic sacrifices, the influence of Mīmāṁsā also began to decline. Its chief importance in subsequent times lay in the fact that it supplied the basic principles and rules of interpretation which were equally applicable to canonical as well as legal writings such as the Smṛitis. These rules have been utilised in expounding Hindu law even in British Courts of justice.

This system, like the Sāṅkhya and the Vaiśeshika, continued to be studied through the centuries we are reviewing; but there was little progressive development in them to call for a historical narration.[145]

VI. LATER SYNCRETISM

Even those who quarrel among themselves unite in presence of a common enemy. Towards the end of the period we have traversed, we find a spirit of syncretism prevailing among the philosophies of the land. About and after A.D. 1000, India was receiving hard blows from the north-west. Islam came as an invader but remained to rule. Hinduism felt the difference and tried to close up its ranks as a measure of self-preservation. In philosophy this tendency is reflected in the attempt to syncretise all the warring systems of thought. If all roads in the Roman Empire led to Rome, did not all the orthodox philosophies have but one goal to achieve? They constituted a graded hierarchy and not battling enemies. Each of them was suited to man at a particular stage of spiritual and intellectual growth, and all together, step by step, led him to his final destination, *viz. moksha* or liberation. This view gradually asserted itself in the writings of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (in his *Prasthānabheda*) and others. Only the orthodox philosophies—those, that is to say, which owed allegiance to the Vedas—were thus regarded as parts of a larger whole. The heterodox philosophies had no place in this scheme. They only lead men astray and must, therefore, be eschewed.

Vijñānabhikshu, another famous author, possibly belonging to the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D., made a similar attempt at syncretism. He wrote both on the Sāṅkhya as well as on the Vedānta, and tried to show that the two systems differed more in terminology than in essence. His contention was that the *prakṛiti* of Sāṅkhya was the creative power of Brahma—an attribute of Brahma, and that the theory that Sāṅkhya denied god or a creative personal being, was a misunderstanding. When we remember the persistent attack that the *Vedānta-sūtras* make on the Sāṅkhya conception of unconscious *prakṛiti,* Vijñānabhikshu's attempt at reconciliation between the two systems must be regarded as an attempt to bring the poles together. Yet the attempt was made.[146] The development of this spirit of reconciliation and syncretism, however, belongs to a later period.

The tone of pessimism that pervades the entire range of Indian philosophy has often been adversely commented upon by western critics. It cannot be denied that there is pessimism everywhere,—more in some, less in other systems. It was perhaps most acute in Buddhism, and may have spread from there to infect the other systems. But the Indian mind was not always pessimistic. In the Vedas, the gods appear in nature with humane feelings, and joy is not always absent. The early Greek mind looked upon the world as full of joy and laughter. The world was a poem and life was a joyful drama. To the Vedic mind also, a similar attitude is not unknown. But when we come to the period of philosophy, life has become as dull as a twice-told tale, and the world is anything but a glowing poem. It may be due to the political vicissitudes through which the country had passed or to other causes. Whatever the causes may have been, the fact was that life was considered a bondage, and philosophy, the means of escape.

Thus the keynote of Indian philosophy is a dominant desire of the individual to save his soul and to escape from the evils of life in this world. What is markedly absent is the desire 'to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them,' to make a better world here, to establish an ideal state and an ideal society, to banish disease and poverty from society, and to bring the amenities of life to every door;—in one word, to make this life livable and this world habitable. It is a limitation of Indian thought that it never paid equal attention to social and political problems, and had no social and political philosophy of a high order. This is accounted for by its presupposition that life is not worth living.

G. ISLAM

The Arab conquest of Sindh did not materially affect the religious outlook of either the Arabs themselves or the people with whom they came into contact, except, of course, those who were converted to the new faith. There was very little religious activity among the Muslims in India, as distinct and apart from that in the main Islamic centres in Arabia and other Muslim countries.

It was not till three centuries later, after the Ghaznavid conquest of the Punjāb, that we find an important development among the Muslim community in India. This was the appearance of Sūfī saints, the first of whom was Shaikh Ismā'īl of Lahore.[147] He was followed by Shaikh 'Alī bin 'Usmān al-Hujwairī, better known under his sobriquet of Data Ganj Bakhsh, who died in A.D. 1072 and whose tomb at Lahore is one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Punjāb. He was the author of several works, the best known of which is the *Kashf al-Mahjūb,* and might be described as the founder of the Sūfī cult in India which gained much popularity among the Muslim masses and has profoundly influenced their entire moral and religious outlook. His greatness was recognised by Khvāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn of Ajmer, the greatest Sūfī saint of India, who underwent a course of spiritual purification *(chilla)* at his tomb soon after his arrival in India. Another saint of the Ghaznavid period who enjoys great fame even today, and still has a large number of followers, known as Sultānīs, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, was Sayyid Ahmad Sultān Sakhī Sarwar, popularly known at Lakhi Data. He died at Shāhkot, a place near Multān, in 577 A.H. (=A.D. 1181). His followers are scattered all over the Punjāb and are specially numerous in the Jālandhar District.[148] One can easily form a good idea of the firm hold which these two saints have retained through the long centuries over the popular mind, from the large number of devotional songs, extolling their spiritual merits, which the beggars and the wandering minstrels of the Punjāb go about singing to the accompaniment of their crude stringed instruments.

As has just been mentioned above, the greatest of the Sūfī saints, who founded a long line of spiritual descendants that has endured even up to the present time, was Khvāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn, a disciple of the Persian saint Khvāja 'Usmān Hārwanī of Chisht. He came to Lahore from Ghaznī in 556 A.H. (=A.D. 1161), and having visited Multān and Delhi, finally settled down at Ajmer where he lies buried now, while his disciple Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtyār Kāki, a native of Ūsh, took up his residence at Delhi. About the same time

another saint, Bahā-ud-dīn Zakariyā, who was born in Multān and had met the famous mystic Shihāb-ud-dīn Suhrawardī during the course of his journeys to Bukhārā, Baghdād and Jerusalem, founded another branch of Sūfī saints in his native town. The renowned Persian poet, 'Irāqi, visited him at Multān and became his disciple, while his descendants, Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn and Abu'l Fath Rukn-ud-dīn, carried on the work of spiritual salvation after his demise in 661 A.H. (=A.D. 1263). His disciples became known by the surname of Suhrāwardīs, as distinct from the Chishtīs who were devoted to Khvāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn and his successors. It was one of his disciples, Makhdūm Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar, who carried his teachings to Sindh, and who, like another saint of that province, Maggar Pīr, is revered even today by numerous Hindus who know him by the name of Rājā Bharātrī.[149] Their tombs have become popular places of pilgrimage for both the communities. Another saint of this period in Sindh was Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī who came to Uchch in 642 A.H. (=A.D. 1244), and one of whose grandsons acquired great celebrity under the sobriquet of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht.

Gujarāt was another important centre of activity for the mystic saints,—Patan, Broach, Rander, Khambāyat, etc. each having some local saint or another, the best known of whom was Sayyid Muhammad Barahman of Patan. It was also noted for the missionaries of some schismatic sects, notably the Ismā'iliya. The Carmathians (Qaramita), a particular branch of this sect, were, as a matter of fact, very active about this time, and remained so till a much later period, so that 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had to take stern measures to suppress them. Once during the reign of Sultānā Raziyya they actually threatened Delhi itself, and were driven back with great difficulty. But, whereas the Carmathians, true to their old traditions, indulged in excesses of all kinds and often adopted a bellicose attitude towards the authorities, the Fātimid branch, with its centre in Yemen, was busy carrying on its propaganda silently and peacefully, and was successful in converting numerous local inhabitants to its own creed. When a split occurred in its ranks on the question of succession to the headship of the community, the followers of one of the two rival claimants moved their headquarters to India. Yet another branch, the Assassins, also ensconced themselves on the west coast of India and the north-west provinces. One of their agents, Shaikh Sadr-ud-dīn,[150] evolved a syncretic creed whereby Hindu gods of the triumvirate,—Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva,—were not only recognised as prophets, but also identified with the Prophet of Islam, 'Alī, and Adam respectively[151]—a clever device by which he could win over a large number of adherents among the Hindus. The Āghā Khān is the present head of the larger and more influential of the

two groups into which the followers of this creed became divided in later times[152], and of which the adherents are now found, not only in India, but in some parts of Africa also, where the Indians have migrated in recent times.

Nor were the activities of the Muslim mystics and agents of the Bātiniya sects confined to the north. The Deccan and the southern provinces also provided a fruitful and favourable field. Among the well-known southern saints we may mention the names of Sayyid Mazhar Walī of Trichinopoli,[153] Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shahīd, Bābā Fakhr-ud-dīn, Shaikh Muntakhab-ud-dīn,[154] Zari-Zarbakhsh, and Muhammad al-Husainī, known as Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz of Gulbarga, perhaps the greatest of them. In Bengal a pupil of Shaikh Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī, Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Tabrīzī, acquired considerable celebrity. Thus by the time the Mamlūk Dynasty came to an end, Sūfī monasteries were already scattered far and wide throughout the country, and there was a definite spiritual liaison between them, although there is no evidence to show that they worked on any co-ordinated basis. The Chishtiya school, with its liberal and tolerant outlook, and its recognition of music as a lawful means for the attainment of spiritual ecstasy, was now supreme and counted the largest number of the common people among its adherents.

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1. This point has been further elaborated in Chapter XVII, in the section 'Hindu-Muslim Relations'.
2. The Iranians substituted *'h'* for *'s'* (cf. Hapta-Hindu for Sapta-Sindhu) and used the form Hindu. The Greeks and Romans dropped the initial *'h'* and obtained various forms, like Indoi, from which is derived the modern European form 'India'.
3. Dhoyī, *Pavanadūtam*, v. 28.
4. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 35 (v. 30).
5. R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 261.
6. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 162, 187, 203; Vol. II, pp. 432-5.
7. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 97.
8. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 412.
9. Vol. IV, pp. 17, 18 (fn. 26); Vol. III, p. 454.

9a. Vol. IV, p. 259.

10. It consists in the knowledge of the essencelessness of the world or of all that appear,—the knowledge of the nature of things as pure void, or of the void-nature of the self or individual *(pudgala)* and the *dharmas, i.e.* entities, or objects, or the elements that constitute the universe. Cf. *Mahābodhi*, July-August, 1942, p. 254.
11. For the view that in Hīnayāna, too, an Arhat who has attained Supreme Enlightenment *(Nirvāṇa)* does not cease to be after death, cf. "The concept of Khanda in Buddhism", by C. D. Chatterjee, in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Pt. I, pp. 161 ff.
12. S. B. Dasgupta, *Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p. 116.
13. For an elaborate discussion on *Nirvāṇa*, see B.C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 76 ff.
14. S. B. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.
17. This account of Tāntrik Buddhism including Vajra-yāna and Kālachakra-yāna is mainly based on Dr. S. B. Dasgupta's two valuable books, *viz.*, *Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism* and *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*, and also my *History of Buddhism in Bengal* (in Bengali).

18. *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 86.
19. For details regarding Sahajayāna, cf. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature*, pp. 39-128. Also see P. C. Bagchi, *Bauddha-Dharma-o-Sāhitya* (in Bengali), pp. 71-79.
20. See above, p. 24.
21. See above, p. 28.
22. For the site of Vikramaśīla-*vihāra*, see S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, p. 151 and fn. 5; *JBRS*, XXXIV, 1948, pp. 83-86.
23. Vol. III, pp. 580 f.
24. Phanindra Nath Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 36; Schiefner's *Tāranātha: Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 218.
25. Vol. IV, pp. 49, 272 ff.
26. *Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par P. Cordier. Vol. II. p. 299.
27. *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle*, 1920-21, p. 35; *ASI*, 1922, p. 116.
28. *EI.*, XXI, pp. 97 ff.
29. *IC.*, I, p. 232.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
31. *Ibid.*
32. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
33. Cordier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 299.
34. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
35. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*. Ed. S. C. Das, Pt. I, Intr., p. xcvii.
36. Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 282.
37. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
38. Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 281.
39. For his traditional life-history, see S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 50-76; also Waddell's *Lamaism;* see Phanindra Nath Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-79; N. N. Das Gupta, *Bāṅglāya Bauddhadharma* (in Bengali), pp. 168-178; *Vaṅgīya Mahākosha* (in Bengali), Vol. II, pp. 369-72. Cf. also above, Vol. IV, pp. 447-8.
40. For Abhayākaragupta, see *IC*, III, pp. 86-89.
41. For Vibhūtichandra, see *Vichitrā* (Bengali Journal) 1345 B.S., pp. 293-96; *Bāṅglāya Bauddhadharma*, pp. 180-86; *IC*, V, pp. 215-17; Phanindra Nath Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-150.
42. Phanindra Nath Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-54.
43. *Bāṅglāya Bauddhadharma*, pp. 192-194.
44. Cordier, *op. cit.*, *III*, p. 285.
45. Cf. Ch. XX.
46. Vol. IV, p. 447.
47. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ed. H. Yule, Vol. I, p. 168.
48. *Mānasī-o-Marmavāṇī* (Bengali Journal), 1329 B.S., pp. 481-82, with reference to M. Chavannes' Les Inscriptions Chinoisos de Bodh Gaya in the *Revue de L'histoire des Religions*, 1889. Cf. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 56.
49. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. Stein, Book IV, p. 142, v. 200, and p. 167, v. 507.
50. *Ibid.*, Book III, p. 103, v. 355.
51. *Ibid.*, Book VII, p. 353, vv. 1097-98.
52. Cordier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12.
53. *Ibid.*, III, p. 452.
54. *EI*, IX, pp. 300-02.
55. Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 291, 297, 302, 303, 304, 452, 456.
56. *Ibid.*, II, p. 220; III, pp. 291, 294, 297, 302, 303, 304, 374, 412, 437, 447, 452, 453, 456, etc.
57. *Ibid.*, III, p. 175.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 442, 452.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 443, 449, 453; S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-44.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 442.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
63. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-39.
64. *Bib. Ind.*, ed. by S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūshaṇa, Calcutta, 1888.
65. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. v.
66. Cf. Keith, *HSL*, p. 159.
67. *HTB*, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 4, 13, 14, 31, 45; etc.

68. See p. 25.
69. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 70-75; B. M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, Pt. I, pp. 199-201.
70. *MASB*, V, p. 75.
71. *JASB*, N.S., IV, pp. 106-07.
72. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 694.
73. *JASB*, 1930, p. 139.
74. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 128 ff.
75. *IA*, XVII, p. 61 f; *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 176; also cf. *JPASB*, XXI, pp. 103 ff. and *THK*, p. 309.
76. *HTB*, II, p. 4.
77. B. Majumdar, *Guide to Sarnath*, 2nd ed., p. 22.
78. *EI*, IX, pp. 319 ff.
79. *Guide to Sarnath*, pp. 28 and 36.
80. *EI*, XI, pp. 24-26.
81. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 321.
82. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 118-19.
83. *IHQ*, V, 1929, pp. 14-29.
84. Cordier, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 130, 218, 220-223, 227, and III, pp. 129, 218, etc.
85. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 368, 284, and 358.
86. *Ibid.*, III, p. 120; for his works see II, pp. 212, 213, 216-17, 230, 294, 358, 368, 385; III, pp. 83, 120, etc.
87. *ASI*, 1929-30, pp. 166-67.
88. *EI*, XIX, pp. 295 ff; also cf. *Bh. List* Nos. 1251 and 2033.
89. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 73-74.
90. *EI*, XXII, p. 75; H. D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 233; also cf. *AR*, p. 309.
91. *JASB*, N.S., IV, p. 105.
92. Cordier, *op. cit.*, III, p. 126.
93. See Vol. IV, p. 256 f. Also cf. *IA*, 1911, pp. 209 ff.
94. See Vol. IV, p. 247.
95. *EI*, VI, pp. 146 ff., and p. 196; *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras Govt.*, 1914, 141 of 1914, pp. 16-17 and 104-105; *Inss. of the Madras Presidency*, ed. V. Rangacharya, Vol. II, Gt. 135, p. 763; Gt. 136, p. 763.
96. *EC*, ed. Rice, VII, p. 197 SK. 169; p. 198, SK. 170; pp. 124-27, SK. 100; G. M. Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, p. 256; *IA*, XVIII, pp. 270-73; *EI*, XV, pp. 348 ff.; *IA*, X, pp. 185 ff.; *AR*, pp. 273-74.
97. *EI*, XXIV, p. 239 f.
98. *JBORS*, XV, pp. 87-91; XVI, pp. 469 ff.; XVII, pp. 196-97; *Bh. List* No. 2043; Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 203.
99. *ASI*, 1930-34, Pt. I, p. 237, and Pl. CXX, b.; Cordier *op. cit.*, II, p. 32; *EI*, XI, pp. 24-26. We learn from an inscription recently discovered in Korea that an Indian monk named Dhyānabhadra visited Kāñchīpura where he listened to a discourse on an Avataṁsaka-sūtra in the fourteenth century A.D. (Arthur Waley, *New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India* quoted in *2500 years of Buddhism* published by the Government of India, 1956, p. 8).
100. Cordier *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28, 60-61, 220; III, 213, 236; Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II, Pt. I, p. 545.
101. N. Vasu, *Arch. Surv. Mayurbhanja*, I, Pls. 39 (2), 40, 44, 45, 46, 48 (4); 49; 50; 51, etc.
102. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Bib. Ind. ed., tr. Raverty, pp. 551-52.
103. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang.*, Pt. I, Intr, p. CXXI. P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, p. 144.
104. This explains the discovery in Nepāl of a number of Buddhist MSS. of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, written in proto-Bengali script, that was then prevalent both in Bengal and Magadha.
105. *HBR*, I. 422 ff.; *B. C. Law Vol. I*, pp. 75 ff., 669 ff.
106. *IHQ*, IX. 282. *HBR*, I. 257.
107. *HBR*, I. 228.
108. *IA*, X. pp. 241 ff., Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 79-80; Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*, I, pp. 201-05; etc. *EI*, XII. 29-30.
109. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*. I. 210 ff.; II. 72, *IHQ*, VI. 28.
110. H. P. Sastri, *Des. Cat. Sans. MSS. ASB*, I. 21; *Cat. of Buddhist Sans. MSS. in the Uni. Lib. Cambridge*, C. Bendall, Intr. p. IV, and pp. 69-70; *IA*, 1875, IV. p. 367; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 134; Charles Eliot, *Hinduism*

and Buddhism, II, p. 113; L. A. Wadell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 2nd ed., p. 16; etc.; *Ann. Rep. South Ind. Epi.* No. 113 of 1904, p. 44; *Ibid.*, for 1920, p. 38, No. 607 of 1919;*Mahābodhi*, 1942, p. 166; H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, pp. 285-86; *ASI*, 1926-27, p. 205; 1929-30, pp. 178-9; *EI*, XIX. 261-17; N. Vasu, *Arch. Surv. Mayurbhanja*, Introd., pp. CXVI ff., *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang.*, Ed. by S. C. Das, Introd. p. XC.

111. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. Jarrett, III, 1894, p. 212. Cf. V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, 2nd ed., p. 162 and fn. 1.
112. *JASB*, 1895, p. 57.
113. e.g. Siddha Santagupta, Jogin Dinakara, Guru Gambhīramati, etc.
114. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library*, Nepal, II, pp. 51, 59, 78, etc.; also Cecil Bendall, *Cat. of Sanskrit-Buddhist MSS. in the Cambridge University Library.*
115. For Pāṇḍubhūmi-*vihāra*, its celebrities and their works, see Cordier, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13, 15, 16, 67, 100, 114, 196; III, pp. 386, 419, 435-36, 437, 483-84, etc.
116. *Ibid.*, II. p. 31; III, p. 237.
117. *Ibid.*, III. p. 276.
118. *Ibid.*, III. p. 99.
119. *Ibid.*, III. pp. 248-49 and p. 250.
120. *Ibid.*, II. pp. 121, 127; III. pp. 99, 116, 125, 249, 250, etc.
121. For Vanaratna's works, see *Ibid.*, II. pp. 13, 45, 77, 78, 121, 127; III. pp. 99, 112, 116, 117, 121, 125, 163, 177, 235-236, 248-49, 250.
122. *Ibid.*, III. p. 99; also see II. p. 45; III. p. 112.
123. *Ibid.*, III. pp. 250-51.
124. Keith and Thomas, *Cat. Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, II, Pt. II, pp. 1411-12, No. 7769.
125. See above, pp. 61, 66f.
126. For a description of the temple, cf. Ch. XX.
127. *IA*, XI. 248.
128. Bairadeva temple Stone Ins. *EC*, V. 149, p. 190.
129. *MAR*, 1911, p. 43.
130. Pārśvanātha Basti Ins. *EC*, V. 124, p. 83.
131. Bhandara Basti Ins. of A.D. 1159, *EC*, II. 349, p. 153.
132. *MAR*, 1931, p. 198.
133. *EC*, VII. 116, p. 38.
134. *MAR*, 1925, p. 95; *EC*, IV. 26, p. 56.
135. *EC*, II (*Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola*), Revised Ed., Intr., p. 23, Inscr. No. 254 (text, p. 121, tr., p. 109).
136. For Hemachandra and his works, see above, pp. 301, 308, 318, 323, 326, 345.
137. Winternitz places him in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., but others refer him to the twelfth century.
137a. For the antiquity of Rādhā cult, cf *ABORI*, XXXVI. 231-257.
137b. Above, Vol. IV, p. 311.
138. The traditional date of Rāmānuja's birth is Śaka 938 corresponding to A.D. 1016 or 1017 and that of his death, 120 years later, in A.D. 1137. R. G. Bhandarkar accepts the traditional date of his birth, but says nothing of the date of his death (*VS* §76). K. A. N. Sastri accepts both the dates (*History of South India*, pp. 341-2). A life of 120 years is not, of course, impossible, but appears to be doubtful. As epigraphic evidence supports the traditional date of Rāmānuja's death, it has been suggested by some "that he must have been born some time about 1037 and died about 1137". (*The Cultural Heritage of India*, 1st Edition, Vol. II, p. 86).
138a. See above, pp. 229, 242, 402, 404.
138b. PP. 368 ff.
138c. P. 365.
139. II. 25.
140. The account of these two sects is based on Bhandarkar, R. G.—*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects*, §96.
141. *Ibid.*, §97.
142. See above, Vol. III, pp. 450-459.
143. Some scholars hold the view that the theism of South India, and even monism of Śaṅkara, were due to a large extent to the teachings of Islam (Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*). This extreme view is hardly supported by the known facts of Muslim settlement in India, noted above (Vol. III, pp. 450-57).

144. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*. Bhandarkar places the date of his birth at A.D. 1479.
145. Buddhism did not produce any noteworthy writer during this period. Jain philosophy has been discussed in connection with that religion.
146. *Indian Philosophical Quarterly*, October, 1930, and January, 1931.
147. Cf. M. Ikram, *Chashma-i-Kauthar*, pp. 69 ff.
148. *Ibid.*, pp. 81 ff.
149. The Maggar Pīr is known by the Hindu name of Lāla Jas Rāj. Another saint, Khvāja Khizr is called Zinda Pīr by the Hindus.
150. He was a contemporary of Sayyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Surkhposh who died in 698 A.H. (= A.D. 1299).
151. This is clearly stated in one of the sacred books of the Khojas named *Das Avatar*.
152. The minor group still lingers in North Punjāb and Chitral.
153. He died in 622 A.H. (= A.D. 1226).
154. He died about 700 A.H. (= A.D. 1301).

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL CONDITION

1. SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The essential features of the Indian social system, as preserved in the Smṛiti tradition of the preceding centuries, are faithfully reflected in the commentaries and digests of this period, which deal with the rights and duties as well as the status of the four *varṇas* on the lines laid down in the Smṛitis.

We find, however, some novel views regarding the immunity of the Brāhmaṇa's person. Explaining the general law on this point Vijñāneśvara[1] says that the Brāhmaṇa is not exempt from punishment, and dismisses the sweeping statement of *Gautama-Dharmaśāstra*[2] (namely, that the king is master of all with the exception of the Brāhmaṇas) as a mere eulogy. Quoting another text of Gautama[3] (which requires the king to grant a sixfold immunity to the Brāhmaṇas), Vijñāneśvara observes that this is not applicable to any and every Brāhmaṇa, but only to a very learned Brāhmaṇa, as defined by the author immediately before. Further qualifying the above explanation, Haradatta[4] explains that the sixfold immunity is to be granted by the king when the very learned Brāhmaṇa (as defined by the author) has committed an offence without premeditation. The above texts clearly enunciate the principle, so very honourable to our authors, that the Brāhmaṇa enjoys no complete immunity from punishment. In other passages our authors specifically define the limits within which corporal punishment is permissible for Brāhmaṇas. On the vexed question of immunity of a Brāhmaṇa desperado (*ātatāyī*) our authors seek to reconcile two fundamental Smṛiti principles, namely, those of the Brāhmaṇa's complete exemption from the death penalty and the individual's right of self-defence. The general view is that one incurs no blame by killing a Brāhmaṇa who becomes an *ātatāyī*, but this holds good only when it is impossible to save one's self by flight, by striking him with a stick or with weapons, and so forth, and not otherwise. Less consistent is the attitude of *Smṛiti-chandrikā*, for while the author in one place[5] includes killing Brāhmaṇas in righteous fight in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali Age, he elsewhere[6] permits an *ātatāyī* Brāhmaṇa to be killed with impunity in self-defence.

The high standard of life and conduct prescribed by the Smṛiti

law was not always followed in actual practice. The commentaries and digests contain references to unworthy Brāhmaṇas who not only failed to reach this standard, but were of low morals or neglected their ordinary duties and obligations. References to degraded Brāhmaṇas are also found in the contemporary lexicons. The commentaries and digests, following the authority of the Smṛitis, repeatedly place the degraded Brāhmaṇas under a social ban.

The description of Śūdra's occupation and status in the commentaries and digests of this period follows the old Smṛiti lines. The views of our authors about the Śūdra's religious, legal and social disabilities in general do not indicate any fresh development. It is, however, an index of the increased rigidity of caste differences that the saving clause allowing a Brāhmaṇa householder to take food from four types of Śūdras (namely, his slave, his cowherd, his family-friend, and his tenant-cultivator) is applied by our authors to times of distress[7] or to times of great distress,[8] or lastly is altogether disallowed as one of the forbidden practices in the Kali Age.[9] In the same list of forbidden practices is included[10] the act of employing Śūdras for cooking food and so forth in the households of the Brāhmaṇas and the like. This increasingly narrow attitude towards Śūdras is seen at its worst in a few texts quoted or paraphrased by our authors, which brand them with the stigma of untouchability. One should, we read, purify himself by bathing with clothes on after touching a Śūdra,[11] or a Śūdra of the inferior type.[12] Again we are told[13] that one should fast as a penance after touching a Śūdra.

As regards the group of mixed castes Yājñavalkya's enumeration[14] of those formed in the proper order (*anuloma*) by hypergamous unions of upper caste males with lower caste females, and those formed in the inverse order (*pratiloma*) as well as those of a miscellaneous character is paraphrased by the commentators. It is reproduced almost *verbatim* with slight additions in *Smṛityarthasāra*, 13. We are, however, warned by Vijñāneśvara[15] that the list is merely illustrative as the number of miscellaneous mixed castes is endless and incapable of enumeration. The longest list is given in *Vaijayantī*[16] which makes out a total of 64 *jātis* consisting of sons born to the four *varṇas*, the 12 *anuloma* and *pratiloma* sons and their 48 offshoots. There is complete unanimity about the relative status of these groups. The *anuloma* castes, we read,[17] are twice-born and hence entitled to sacraments like investiture with the sacred thread, but the *pratiloma* castes are impure and as such ineligible for the duties of the twice-born castes.

A different enumeration of the mixed castes and statement of

their status occur in *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa.*[18] The list is said to comprise 36 *jātis,* but actually it comes up to 41. It consists of three grades distinguished as high (20 *jātis*), intermediate (12 *jātis*) and low (9 *jātis*). In contrast with the status assigned to the *anuloma* castes in the commentaries and digests, the *Bṛihaddharma Purāṇa* declares all the 36 castes to have the status of Śūdras. The only difference is that while the first group is entitled to the services of Śrotriya Brāhmaṇas as priests, the priests of the two other groups are degraded Brāhmaṇas and sink to the level of their ministrants.

It remains to consider the views of the commentaries and digests about the lowest castes (*antyas* or *antyajātis*) of whom the Chaṇḍālas are the most important representatives. The *antyajātis,* according to the enumeration of *Vaijayantī,*[19] are seven in number, namely, washermen, leather-workers, Veṇas, Burūlas, fishermen (Kaivarttas), Medas, and Bhillas. In this list the third, fourth, sixth and seventh names are evidently those of aboriginal tribes, while the rest are occupational groups of the lowest order. The distinctive feature of the status of the Chaṇḍālas, according to the Smṛiti law of this as of the earlier period, was that they were placed under a rigorous ban of untouchability. Not only is their touch included in a list of acts requiring purification of the body, but according to the extreme views quoted or followed by these authors such penances are prescribed for their approach within a certain distance, for the sight of or conversing with them, for witnessing their shows, for crossing their shadows, and for touching them in the second, third or fourth degrees.[20] It is to be noted that our authors in the same context quote or follow the extreme texts extending the ban of untouchability to a number of heretical sects. The list consists of Buddhists, Jains, materialists *(lokāyatika),* atheists *(nāstika),* followers of Kapila, Śaivas and Śāktas outside the Vedic pale (according to *Smṛityarthasāra*), or Śāktas of the left-hand sect (according to Aparārka).[21]

The historical records of this period, imperfect and fragmentary as they are, occasionally throw interesting light upon the ways of life of the Indian castes. Learned Brāhmaṇas, who adhered for the most part to the strict discipline enjoined upon them by their scriptures, are referred to in the royal and other land-grants, as well as in the general literature. We have, however, a number of historical instances of individual Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇa families normally following the occupations of Kshatriyas.[22] In so far as the Śūdras are concerned there is no reason to doubt that they for the most part conformed to the rules and regulations laid down for them by the Brāhmaṇa canonists. On the other hand there are a

few instances, where Śūdras, in the teeth of the canonical rule forbidding the lower *varṇas* to take up the functions of the higher ones, assumed the Kshatriya's occupations of ruling and fighting.[23]

The ruling families (afterwards called Rājputs) of Northern India, such as the Guhilaputras (Guhilots), Pratīhāras (Gurjaras), Chāpas and Chāhamānas, and those of the Deccan such as the Chālukyas, had entered the stage of history from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards.[24] Other families like the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chandellas, the Paramāras, the Kachchhapaghātas and the Gāhaḍavālas appeared on the scene in later times. It has been held[25] that four of the principal Rājput clans, namely, the Paramāras, the Chaulukyas, the Chāhamānas and the Pratīhāras were descended from Hinduised foreigners (Hūṇas and Gurjaras), while others like the Chandellas and the Gāhaḍavālas were Hinduised aborigines (Gonds and Bhars). This theory, however, is not supported by the data of physical anthropology.[26] Support for the above theory has been sought to be found in the legend of origin of the four clans above mentioned from the sacrificial fire kindled on Mt. Abu by the sage Vasishṭha for replenishing the Kshatriya-stock after its extermination by the sage Paraśurāma. But the legend has been shown to be a very late one.[27] The truth is that the Rājputs were of different and sometimes of indeterminate origins. In this and the immediately preceding periods legends of origin of the Rājput clans were invented with a view to their affiliation to the two great Kshatriya stocks of Epic and Puranic tradition, namely, the Solar and the Lunar races.[28]

We have seen elsewhere[29] that the Kāyasthas as a caste (as distinguished from the profession called by that name) can be traced back with the help of literary and epigraphic records to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. In the eleventh and the following centuries individuals of this caste rose to the highest public offices in different tracts. Simultaneously with the rise of the Kāyasthas to power there arose different legends to account for their origin. In the inscriptions of this period we have three different versions tracing the descent of the Kāyasthas from as many *varṇas*. In the first version[30] the Kāyastha family in question derived its descent from the sage Kaśyapa through his son Kuśa. In the second version[31] we are told that after the creation of the Kshatra-*varṇa* by Brahmā, the Kshatriyas were heart-broken by the destructive act of Paraśurāma, and that those who were not so discouraged were called Kāyasthas. With this agrees the fact that the Kāyastha-family in a record above quoted[32] styles itself as Kshatriya. The third version[33] tells us that the great sage Kāchara, deriving his origin

from God Brahmā and having his residence in the town of Kulāñcha, was gratified with the services of a Śūdra and granted him the boon of having a son who became the ancestor of the caste of Kāyasthas.

The origin of the division of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of South India other than the Malayalam into the right hand (*Valaṅgai*) and the left hand (*Iḍaṅgai*) classes is lost in obscurity. We have, however, a few inscriptions of the eleventh century showing how this division had fixed itself in the civil and military life of our people by that time.

The ancient institution of slavery was a well-known feature of Indian social life during this period. The law of slavery in the commentaries and digests,[34] however, indicates little or no development in comparison with that of the later Smṛitis.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives us frequent sketches[35] of the aboriginal tribes indifferently called Bhillas, Pulindas and Śavaras who lived in the Vindhya hills and forests. These tribes, we learn, lived by hunting and they used likewise to plunder caravans passing through their forests. The men were dressed in tiger-skins and adorned their bodies with peacocks' feathers and elephants' teeth, while the women were dressed in peacocks' feathers and wore necklaces of strings of the *guñjā* fruit. They lived on the flesh of deer and drank spirits distilled from wine. Their chieftains lived in residences covered with elephants' tusks and adorned with tiger-skins and they possessed stores of camels, musk, and "pearls" (obtained from the brains of slain elephants). They observed their old custom of offering human victims before their goddess.[36] But at the same time they were capable of the most loyal service to their benefactors and suzerains from the civilised tracts.

2. MARRIAGE

The Smṛiti law relating to inter-caste marriage was generally in vogue. But we find that *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[37] and *Smṛityarthasāra* include marriages of males of twice-born classes with females of other castes *(asavarṇā)* in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali Age. In the body of rules relating to marriage, however, *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[38] expounds the law on this point in the following way. Firstly, marriages with girls of different castes are permissible among the twice-born classes after their marriages with girls of the same caste (*savarṇā*). Secondly, *savarṇa* marriages are necessary for the performance of religious rites, while *asavarṇa* marriages are of an inferior type as being dictated by desire. Thirdly, what is meant by the Smṛiti texts condemning marriages of Brāhmaṇas with Śūdra women is not the prohibition of such marriages, but their

prior performance before marriages in superior castes. The same qualified support of *asavarṇa* marriages (including marriages with Śūdras) among the three upper classes is given by Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka.[39]

The old Smṛiti rules relating to prohibited degrees of marriage are repeated and amplified in the commentaries and digests. The late Smṛiti view relating to the compulsory marriage of girls at an early age is followed by our authors without question.

While giving a qualified support to the revocation of marriage before all the religious ceremonies were completed, our authors develop the old Smṛiti law so as expressly to forbid the re-marriage of widows.[40]

As regards royal marriages *Vaijayantī*[41] gives a two-fold classification of the king's wives and concubines. The king's married wives comprise, firstly, the chief queen *(mahishī* or *mahādevī)* who has been consecrated; secondly, the queen *(devī)* born of a royal family; thirdly, the honoured lady *(parivṛiktī);* fourthly, the dearly beloved lady *(vāvātā);* fifthly, the lady who is not the daughter of a king *(svāminī);* and sixthly, a lady who has been won in war (*phālākalī*). The king's female favourites who, though not married to him, are versed in different fine arts *(kalā)* are called *gaṇikā* and are divided into different classes. According to *Mānasollāsa*[42] the king should select as his queen a girl of Kshatriya lineage, young and beautiful, having good manners, bearing auspicious marks on her person and belonging to one or other of the best groups after the classification of the *Kāmaśāstra.* To the above the author adds[43] that the king should select as his secondary wives *(avarodha-vadhū),* "for purpose of enjoyment", young and beautiful women of Vaiśya and Śūdra castes, and he should further engage wanton women *(vilāsinī)* having the same physical charms and gratify them with various gifts and personal attentions.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* repeatedly refers to the current ideas and practices of marriage. The traditional Smṛiti standpoint regarding the guardians' obligation of suitably disposing of their girls in marriage at the proper time is repeated in such passages as XXIV.23f. The further Smṛiti doctrine that the guardianship of the girl belongs to the father and not to the mother is mentioned in another place.[44] Very often, however, the marriages in the stories, to judge by the Smṛiti standards, are irregular, if not unlawful. We find Brāhmaṇas marrying Kshatriya maidens, sometimes by gift of the parents, but more often by mutual choice followed by elopements of the girls with their lovers, such acts finding favour with kings and princes and winning the praise of the narrator. More unorthodox is the

marriage of a Brāhmaṇa[45] with a merchant's wife won over by his heroic exploit in saving her life when deserted by her husband.

In another story a Kshatriya maiden, being given by her father under a threat and against her will to an ugly Brāhmaṇa, deserts him, and when she is abandoned by three successive Kshatriyas for fear of her husband's persecution, she seeks and obtains the queen's protection after she is vindicated against the Brāhmaṇa by a heavenly voice. Other marriages in the stories are altogether unlawful from the Smṛiti standpoint; such are the marriages of a Brāhmaṇa with the daughter of a Śavara chieftain,[46] of a courtesan with a fisherman,[48] and the marriage of a Kshatriya prince with a Chaṇḍāla maiden.[49] Such, again, are the marriages of a Chaṇḍāla youth with a princess and of a young fisherman with another princess.[50] Point is given to this protest against the authoritative Smṛiti rules by an incident in one of the stories above named.[51] Here the father of a Chaṇḍāla girl, giving her to a prince of Ujjayinī, exacts from his father the condition that 18000 Brāhmaṇas living in his city should eat in his house. In most of the above stories reconciliation is sought to be effected with the Smṛiti standards by means of a *deus ex machina* in the shape of a heavenly declaration to the effect that the low caste persons are really *vidyādharas* or *gandharvas* fallen to the earth under a curse. But at other times such excuses are altogether wanting and the marriages are duly solemnised in the *gāndharva* form by mutual choice.

Reference may be made to some historical evidence regarding marriage. Al-Bīrūnī, with his experience in North-Western India in the first part of the eleventh century A.D., corroborates many well-known clauses of the Smṛiti law. Thus he says that marriages are forbidden within certain degrees of relationship; that husband and wife can only be separated by death, divorce not being allowed; and that inter-caste marriages of Brāhmaṇas in the *anuloma* order, though permitted by the Smṛitis, had long gone out of use in his time. On the other hand he seems to show that the punishment of the wife for adultery was more strict than that provided in the Smṛiti law, for he says[52] that the adulteress is driven out of the husband's house and is banished.

The polygamous habit of Indian kings is proved by contemporary inscriptions. It is likewise testified to (though with much evident exaggeration) by Marco Polo, who speaks[53] of "the 500 wives" of the king of Ma'bar and "the 300 wives" of the king of Cail, both these territories being included in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The elaborate ceremony of self-choice *(svayaṁvara)* of Kshatriya princesses referred to in the Epics and the *Kāvya* literature, for which there

is no precise warrant in the Smṛitis, is illustrated by the historical example of the marriage of the West Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI with "the Vidyādhara" (Śilāhāra) Princess Chandaladevī.[54] An altogether irregular marriage by the Smṛiti standards was that of the Kalachuri king Lakshmīkarṇa with Āvalladevī, a lady of the Hūṇa stock, the issue of this marriage, Yaśaḥkarṇa, succeeding his father on the throne in due course.

3. THE POSITION OF WOMEN

As regards the position of the wife, the Smṛiti commentaries and digests of this period follow more or less the line laid down in the Smṛitis. The husband and other male relations, to begin with, must so arrange things that the wife never becomes independent. The wife must also be guarded not only against physical but also against mental unchastity for the sake of her offspring. This is best done in other ways than by keeping the wife in seclusion by force. The wife, for instance, should have her mind so occupied with the agreeable and compulsory duties of her household that she would not have leisure for thinking of other men, and so forth. The husband should honour his wife with gifts of clothes, ornaments and good food, while the other male relations should do so on festive occasions: when the husband goes abroad he must provide for her maintenance till his return.

The laws relating to the supersession and abandonment of the wife are repeated in the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* after the fashion of the old Smṛitis with a strong tendency to emphasise some points in her favour. The wife, we are told,[55] may be superseded on a number of specified grounds. Nevertheless the husband in some cases (as when the wife is suffering from a chronic disease but is devoted to her husband's welfare) has to ask her permission, and in other cases (as when she is barren or produces dead children or female children alone) he has to wait for shorter or longer periods of time. Even if the superseded wife angrily leaves her husband and is accordingly made over to her relatives, she must be maintained by him. The superseded wife, the author explains, must be given a sum equal to what is spent on the second marriage or is given to the second wife, if no separate property (*strīdhana*) had been assigned to her, and half this sum along with the *strīdhana* in the contrary case.

If the rules in the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* thus ensure the wife's right to maintenance in case of her supersession, they provide for her residence in her husband's house as well as her maintenance even in the event of her committing adultery. When the wife is guilty

of slight adultery, she must be maintained, though deprived of conjugal rights, till her performance of a penance.[56] Even when she commits grave adultery, she must be maintained till her performance of the prescribed penance, but with bad food and so forth. When she is guilty of the grossest adultery she should have her hair shaved and made to lie on a low bed and do dirty work, but still she should be maintained with bad food and clothes and made to live under restraint in a portion of the husband's house. The wanton wife, concludes the author, may be abandoned, but not so the wife guilty of gross adultery, because it is possible to fit her for conjugal relations by means of penances.

Reverting to the topic of the wicked and unchaste wife, the author says in a later context,[57] that when the wife is a wanton she may be abandoned, but she must not suffer mutilation or death. The wife may likewise be abandoned when she is guilty of acts, not expiable by penance, such as conception by a Śūdra male and drinking. In this case the wife should be deprived of conjugal relations, conversation, personal contact, and sharing in the performance of religious rites, but still she must be maintained with bad food and so forth, and made to live in a room near the house. Only in extreme cases, as when the wife is guilty of causing abortion and attempting to kill her husband, she may be driven out of the house.

Finally the author[58] repeats with the older canonists the penalties of a husband for wrongfully deserting his good wife. When the husband, we read, abandons his wife on grounds other than those laid down by the canon, he places himself beyond expiation and should be punished by the king like a thief. When he abandons his virtuous wife, he should be made by the king, under (threat of) heavy punishment, to restore her to her old position. In default, he should be compelled by the king to give her one-third of his property, and if he is poor, to give her a sufficient sum for her maintenance.

The commentaries and the digests repeat the old rules relating to the religious and social inferiority of women. As regards Hārīta's classification of women into two classes, namely, those who are students of the sacred lore *(brahmavādinī)* and those who marry straight away *(sadyovadhū)* of whom the former are entitled to the investiture of the sacred thread, offering sticks to the sacred fire, Vedic study and begging within the household), it belongs, says the *Smṛiti-chandrikā*,[59] to a different time-cycle *(kalpa)*. After this it would appear that the reference to female teachers *(Upādhyāyā, upādhyāyī* and *āchāryā*) found in the contemporary lexi-

cons,[60] which is indeed as old as *Kāśikā*,[61] is no more than a historical anachronism. The commentaries and the digests repeat the Smṛiti laws making it compulsory for the guardians of a girl to give her away in marriage before the attainment of puberty, prohibiting social intercourse with abducted women even after their performance of a penance as prescribed by the scriptures, and declaring women to be unfit to give evidence in judicial trials because of their proneness to untruth.

On the other hand our authors indicate a strong tendency not only to maintain, but also to increase women's rights to property. Women are exempt from the operation of the law declaring adverse possession of land and money for twenty and ten years respectively to entail loss of ownership[62] because, as Vijñāneśvara observes, of their ignorance and timidity. The woman's right to inherit the property of her male relations is emphatically maintained by our authors, *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[63] explaining away a Vedic text[64] which was held to disqualify a woman for inheritance. The widow, it is emphatically maintained,[65] is entitled to succeed to the whole estate of her sonless deceased husband provided she is chaste and the property was divided at the time of his death. The contrary view (Vyāsa and Śrīkara) that the widow succeeds to her husband's property when it is small, is rejected by Vijñāneśvara, just as the view (Dhāreśvara) that the widow succeeds if she is prepared to raise issue to her deceased husband according to the dictates of her superiors is rejected both by Vijñāneśvara and the author of the *Smṛti-chandrikā*. The Smṛiti text giving the widow only a maintenance, it is explained,[66] refers to the case of remarried and wanton women. Our authors[67] similarly uphold the daughter's right to succeed after the widow. This is based upon rejection of the contrary and authoritative view (Viśvarūpa, Dhāreśvara, Devasvāmin and Devarāta) that the daughter enjoys this right only when she is appointed to raise male issue for a father without sons *(putrikā)*. Above all, our authors,[68] while quoting the divergent views of the older texts about the connotation of the woman's separate property *(strīdhana)*, agree as to the extent of her dominion over the same and the special rule of succession applying to it among her heirs.

The historical references to the position of women, though meagre, help us to correct at some points the views of the Brāhmaṇa canonists above mentioned. Thus we have a number of instances showing how queens and princesses, in the face of the Smṛiti doctrine of the perpetual dependence of women, sometimes exercised a commanding influence upon the administration of state. In Kāshmir, Sūryamatī, queen of Ananta, rose to be the *de facto* ruler of the

kingdom and ended by persuading the king against the judgment of his wisest counsellors to abdicate in favour of their unworthy son. The political influence of royal ladies can be traced during this period especially in the records of the Deccan and South India. We have seen elsewhere[69] how princesses became governors of provinces and held minor administrative charges under the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. To the instances there given we may add a few more, namely, those of queens of Someśvara I and Vikramāditya VI and of two queens of a Chālukya feudatory.[70] In the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. queen Ballamahādevī of the Ālupa dynasty (in South Canara District) ruled for at least fourteen years (Śaka 1201-14) with the masculine titles of *Mahārājādhirāja, Parabalasādhaka*, and so forth.[71] As noted above, queen Rudrāmbā, bearing the male name of Rudradevamahārāja, ruled the Kākatīya kingdom for nearly forty years, and her conspicuous success won the admiration of the contemporary Venetian traveller Marco Polo.[72] In the light of such evidence of the political influence of women in the Deccan and South India, it is interesting to observe that the advent of the Sena dynasty of Kannaḍa origin into Bengal brought with it a significant change in the formula of the royal land-grants so as to include the queen in the list of the king's informants.

4. FOOD AND DRINK

The commentaries and digests develop with almost pedantic thoroughness the old Smṛiti rules relating to prohibited food. In this connexion Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka[73] repeat Medhātithi's list[74] of occasions on which meat is lawful food. On the other hand Bhavadeva[75] of Bengal, reflecting no doubt the regional sentiment on this point, adopts a very liberal attitude towards eating meat and fish. "When lawful meat and fish are eaten," says he, no penance is necessary. The penances prescribed by the texts for eating meat contrary to the injunctions, and for intentionally eating fish, it is explained, have reference only to the prohibited days; and the prohibition of Brāhmaṇas to take meat has reference to uncooked meat. From the above the author draws the remarkable conclusion that one incurs no blame by partaking of fish and meat. The commentaries and digests of the period faithfully follow the views of Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa[76] on the admissibility of drinking wine according to caste divisions. Drinking is forbidden to women of all the three upper classes. But the Śūdras are exempt from all the rules relating to forbidden drinks.

The references in the general literature partly confirm and partly correct or supplement the data of the Brāhmaṇical canons re-

lating to food and drink. The synonym "food of barbarians" *(mlechchhabhojya)* given to wheat in *Vaijayantī*[77] shows that it was not as yet an article of dietary among the Indians. On the other hand *Vaijayantī*[78] gives us synonyms for various milk-preparations which were no doubt in use among the people. From a story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[79] we learn that rice (or powdered barley), ghee, meat-curry, and milk (or wine) constituted the normal dietary of affluent merchants. From other stories it appears that on festive occasions like marriages the attendants drank themselves to intoxication. How the women in a king's train, notwithstanding the Smṛiti injunction to the contrary, freely indulged in drinks, is illustrated by an incident in the career of king Vikramāditya VI.[80] We also read in the *Mānasollāsa*[81] that the king should entertain his wives with wines and spirits on the happy occasions of marriages. From the stories in *Kathāsaritsāgara* it appears that the kings freely indulged in drinking wine in the company of their ministers or even of the ladies of the seraglio. Drinking parties were held on festive occasions such as family reunions and marriages.[82] The *Mānasollāsa* describes the king's dietary in two separate sections called "the enjoyment of food"[83] and "the enjoyment of drink."[84] The king's dietary comprises[85] both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The former consists of preparations of rice, pulse and so forth, and the latter of those of the meat of the boar, the spotted and other deer, the hare, the sheep and the goat, fish, birds, and various other good meat. The author describes in this connexion the method of removing the pig's hair preparatory to cooking the meat as well as the process of cooking the meat of deer, sheep, birds, fish, tortoises, crabs and even the rats living in the fields near the banks of rivers.

The observations of foreign writers about the food and drink of the people, while agreeing with the canonical rules in some respects, differ from them on other points. Al-Bīrūnī[86] gives us a list of lawful and forbidden meat of the Indians which is evidently derived from the Smṛitis. The king of the Choḷa dominion, according to Chau Ju-Kua,[87] did not drink wine but took meat and flour-cakes. The people of the Pāṇḍya ("Ma'bar") kingdom, according to Marco Polo,[88] would not eat beef on any account, though they took the meat of other animals that were killed for them by Arab and other butchers. In the Kākatīya kingdom ("Mutfili"), according to the same author,[89] the people lived on meat, rice and milk. Turning to the Malabar coast, we are told,[90] that the people of Quilon lived on rice and drank wine from palm-sugar (wine from molasses in the Smṛiti list?). By contrast we read[91] that the very abstemious merchants from Gujarāt (?) living in the Kannaḍa tract ate no flesh and drank no wine.

5. DRESS AND TOILETTE

The minute Smṛiti regulations relating to the daily observance of the rules of personal hygiene by the Vedic students and the householders are repeated and paraphrased by the commentators,[92] and they are arranged under convenient headings in the course of a separate section of the digests called *āhnika* (daily rites and observances).[93] Among these rules those relating to bathing take an important place.[94] Bathing is compulsory for all castes at least once a day; the Vedic student being required to bathe once, the householder twice, and the ascetic thrice a day. *Vaijayantī*[95] gives us synonyms for embellishment of the body as well as those for bathing of different kinds (with fragrant *āmalaka,* with the juice of all medicinal plants, with muddy water, and so forth). The lexicons[96] again give us synonyms for different types of coiffure such as curled hair on the forehead in bee-shape, thin hair, bound and unbound hair, braided hair, clean and unentangled hair and so forth.

To Kalhaṇa[97] we owe the interesting information that the people of Kāshmir before Harsha's time, with the single exception of the king, wore their hair loose and had no head-dress or ear-rings, that a former commander-in-chief having braided his hair and a former chief minister having worn a short coat incurred the king's displeasure, and that Harsha introduced into the kingdom a general dress befitting a king. In the sculptures of Bhuvaneśvara temples the male figures are usually clad in the typical *dhoti* and the female figures in *sāḍīs* without any other clothing, while they are adorned with ear-ornaments of different kinds, bracelets, armlets, and ornaments for the legs and the feet.[98] The variety of fashions in wearing apparel is indicated in the sculptures of the Vaital *deul* temple, such as stripes set off with zigzag lines, with triple lines, with oblique as well as horizontal double wavy lines with flowers and a scroll border.[99] Still more varied are the types of coiffure of the human figures.[100] Reference to the distinctive toilette of the court-ladies of Kuntala, Draviḍa, Mahārāshṭra, Andhra and Gurjara is found in the description of the king's court-scenes in *Mānasollāsa.*[101] Among the foreign writers Chau Ju-Kua[102] observes that the people of Nan-p'i and Ku-lin (Malabar) wrap their hair in silken turbans at the time of battle. Of the people of Hu-ch'a-la (Gujarāt) the same writer says[103] that both men and women have double ear-rings and wear close fitting clothes, with hoods on their heads, as well as red leather shoes on their feet. Equally valuable is the testimony of Marco Polo. In Malabar, we are told,[104] men and women, rich and poor, wear only a loin-cloth, the king being no exception, and the profession of the

tailor was completely unknown. Loin-cloth was also the dress of men and women in Quilon.[105] Similarly, according to Friar John of Monte Corvino (A.D. 1292-93), men in Malabar went bare-footed and naked with only a loin-cloth on, while boys and girls up to their eighth year wore no clothes at all.

But though their clothes were scanty these kings of Southern India were fond of jewellery. According to Chau Ju-Kua[106] the king of Nan-p'i (Malabar) was dressed in cotton loin-cloth and was bare-footed like his subjects, but when going out on an elephant in procession he wore a golden hat ornamented with pearls and gems as well as golden armlets and anklets. The pomp of the Malabar kings was outdone by the rulers of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. From Marco Polo[107] we learn that the king of Malabar was dressed only in a loin-cloth like his subjects. But he wore a necklace entirely of precious stones (rubies, sapphires and emeralds and the like), a neck-string of 104 (108 ?) great pearls and rubies, three golden bracelets thickly set with valuable pearls, pearl-anklets and rings on his toes. "What this king wears between gold and gems and pearls", we are told, "is worth more than a city's ransom". Of the king of Kayal, we are told[108] more briefly that he had upon his person a great store of rich jewels.

6. STANDARD OF LIVING

The high standard of living, which appears to have prevailed at least among the upper classes in the preceding period, was well maintained during these centuries. The extraordinary affluence of the rich merchants of Gujarāt in the first part of the thirteenth century is illustrated by an incident in Act III of the drama *Moharāja-parājaya* of the poet Yaśaḥpāla (twelfth century A.D.), describing the visit of king Kumārapāla to the mansion of a millionaire (*koṭīśvara*) merchant of his capital-city. The main building was approached by a flight of steps of crystal. Ascending these steps the visitor reached the temple with crystal-floor and with walls painted with sacred pictures, which enshrined an image of the deity in emerald. The mansion contained such huge stores of gold, silver, and jewels as to rouse the wonder even of the royal visitor. Of the immense riches of courtesans during the eleventh century we have an illustration in the description (matching that of Vasantasenā in *Mṛichchhakaṭika* Act IV) of the palatial mansion of Madanamālā at Pratishṭhāna in *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[109] The mansion, we read, contained seven enclosures with a train of horses and elephants, with stores of weapons and jewels, with numbers of

attendants and bards, and with players of vocal and instrumental music.

While it appears from the above that the standard of living prevailing among the upper classes was fairly high, it reached a level of exceptional magnificence among kings. The *Mānasollāsa* gives us a wonderfully vivid account of the luxurious dress and toilette of the king. Describing the king's banquets the author says[110] that he should cause the governors of provinces and so forth to be served from gold and silver vessels, while he himself should be served from a large golden vessel. When the king takes his seat on the lion-throne in the hall of audience with its white paved floor, with its pillars of gold, with jewels displayed in their proper places, with its coloured walls and its canopy of different colours, he is fanned by beautiful women. The king then issues through his door-keeper a general summons for attending the assembly. Then come in palanquins the royal ladies adorned with various ornaments (head-ornaments, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, waist-ornaments and leg-ornaments) and dressed in gorgeous robes, and they take their seats in front to the king's right and left. Other ladies variously adorned with ornaments and wearing garlands follow on the back of horses and mares or on foot and take their proper seats. Also seated in their proper places are the princes adorned with ornaments, the *purohita* wearing a white dress and jewelled ear-rings, the ministers, the provincial governors, the feudatory princes and the various departmental officers, wearing jackets (*aṅgikā*) with long sleeves, turbans and gold ornaments. Then comes a miscellaneous group consisting of poets, astrologers, plaintiffs and so forth. At the king's command the door-keeper next allows entrance to the subordinate kings desiring his protection. The king dismisses the assembled subordinate kings, princes, ministers and others by bestowing upon them various favours.[111]

Many different types of royal palaces with their distinctive characters are described in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*[112] and *Mānasollāsa*.[113] Describing the plan and construction of the king's residence the author of *Mānasollāsa*[114] observes that it should be from one to nine stories high, it should be whitewashed, it should have latticed passages in some parts and dark passages illuminated by jewelled lamps in other parts, it should have an ivory fencing and pillars of gold or of sandal-wood as well as floor of glass or crystal and walls of crystal mirror-like slabs. In the same context we are told that the king should change his residence according to the seasons.

The royal processions, as described by the contemporary foreign writers, were marked by equal gorgeousness. When the king of Malabar went out riding on elephant in state, says Chau Ju-Kua,[115] he was preceded by his officers, carried in litters with gold-and silver-plated poles, and a section of his large bodyguard of foreign women, while another section followed him on horseback. These last had their hair done up while their bodies were adorned with pearl-necklaces and gold anklets and perfumed with camphor, musk and other drugs, and they were protected from the sun by umbrellas of peacock-feathers.

We are in a position to verify the above literary accounts of the king's high standard of living to some extent from the extant archaeological evidence. The panels of sculptures of the Liṅgarāja and the Konārak temples in Orissa, the Kandarya Mahādeo temple at Khajurāho in Bundelkhand and the Keśava temple at Belur in Mysore, as well as the paintings of the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore, to mention a few instances, contain vivid representations of royal court-scenes and scenes of royal processions of the time.

7. POPULAR AND ROYAL AMUSEMENTS

The popular amusements of this period were more or less similar to those described in the preceding volume. The lexicons[116] give us synonyms for dolls made of wood or cloth or ivory as well as for those made of clay. Playing with balls was a favourite pastime for children and for girls,[117] and the "swing" was enjoyed by young married women[118] both at home and in the highways (*rathyā*) and so forth.[119]

Dancing, music and dramatic performances were also very popular. Mention is made of musical instruments of different kinds such as wind instruments, stringed instruments, the lute, drums and musical horns with the accompaniment of technical terms.[120] In the sculptures of the Bhuvaneśvara temples of this period we have representations of the vīṇā, the drum, the flute and the trumpet.[121] The old Indian game of gambling was evidently well known. From the allegorical drama called *Moharāja-parājaya* of the poet Yaśaḥpāla we learn that gambling was very popular among all classes and sections of the people in Gujarāt in his time. The author mentions[122] five varieties of this game with appropriate titles including one which was constantly played by kings dressed only in a loin-cloth in courtyards, another by merchants' sons who were millionaires, and a third which was played with cowries by small boys. Even those belonging to royal families, we

are further told,[123] were reduced to the position of physical wrecks by indulgence in this game. Another favourite amusement was wrestling. Reference is made in one place[124] to a wrestling contest held at Banaras on the occasion of a religious festival (*devayātrā*) in which a champion wrestler from the Deccan having defeated all the local wrestlers was beaten by a young Brāhmaṇa who was summoned by the king.

While the amusements of the common people were so varied in character those of the kings reached a level of exceptional variety and magnificence.

The plan of a king's palace in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*[125] includes the construction of a music-hall, a theatre, a gymnasium, a dancing hall, and a picture-gallery. This shows how enjoyment of the fine arts as well as physical exercise was regarded as the normal routine of a king's diversions. The seasonal variations of the king's recreations are described by Bilhaṇa in the course of his description of the career of his hero, king Vikramāditya VI. In the summer season the king with his women sheltered themselves from the mid-day heat in the crystal-floored bathing chambers (*dhārāgṛiha*) which were completely protected from the Sun's rays and which emitted jets of water through the interstices. Then he enjoyed water-sports in their company in a large tank.[126] In the cold season the king, accompanied by the ladies of his household, started on his hunting excursion. He was preceded by his courtesans on horseback while the inmates of his seraglio followed him in the rear.

The fullest and the most original account of a king's recreations occurs in the *Mānasollāsa*.[127] We may classify them under the following heads:—

I. Military exercises. The king summoned experts in the art of wielding weapons. Then having selected his opponent he exhibits his skill in using different weapons, namely, the short dagger, the sword, the bow, the discus, the spear and the mace.[128]

II. Literary exercises. The king asks the poets to recite their poems and himself decides their merits and defects.

III. Elephant sports and the Indian polo. He first arranges a race between runners and elephants and then a fight between elephants, and ends by giving prizes. The author's description of the king's horse-sport has a general resemblance to the modern polo, but differs in detail. The king divides the horsemen into two opposing teams of eight each. Then riding a splendid horse of Kāmboja breed he starts the play. There are two goal-posts on

each side separated by a prescribed distance. The sticks are made of cane with a curved end and are encased in red leather while the ball is made of wood and similarly covered with leather. The party which succeeds in driving the ball through the two goal-posts on each side is adjudged as the victor. At the end of the game the king having mounted a separate charger exhibits his skill in the management of horses.[129]

IV. Combatants' duels. Referring to a peculiar custom of his country, namely, that of a certain type of combatants (technically called *aṅka*) fighting duels with each other, the author classifies the men under eight heads according to the occasion of the duel. The duel is allowed by the king only when he has failed to persuade the men to desist from the same. The king arranges matters so that combatants of the same category fight with each other. At the signal given by the king the combatants rush forth in pairs to fight fiercely with each other. When their limbs are covered with blood and their hands and feet are severed the king stops the fight with his signal. The victors are given handsome rewards, while the relations of those who are killed are given by him suitable grants.[130]

V. Wrestlers' contests. As regards the wrestling contests the author tells us how wrestlers of young age-groups are fed on special diet at the king's expense and are given a severe course of preparatory training in various exercises under the guidance of teachers. After the completion of their training the wrestlers with their leader approach the king and request him to arrange for an exhibition of their skill. The king selects for the contest those who are similar in appearance, age and strength. If at the end two wrestlers are both found to be extremely exhausted, the king proclaims them to be equals. If one is not so exhausted and specially if he has broken a limb of his opponent, he is adjudged the victor. The king then dismisses the victors with gift of clothes, ornaments and so forth.[131]

VI. Fights of birds and beasts and pigeon-flights. Under this head the author mentions in great detail the exhibitions of fights between carefully selected, nourished and trained cocks, quails, rams and buffaloes on grounds specially prepared for the purpose, for the king's amusement.[132] Pigeons of the best breed which are found in the Sindhu country are selected and nourished on proper diet at the king's palace. They are kept in pairs in gold, silver and wooden cages. When sufficiently trained the male pigeon is taken in cage to a distance and let loose with a letter attached to his neck. He can thus cover a distance of thirty *yojanas* to meet his mate.[133]

VII. Hunting, hawking and angling. The author describes in detail the methods of hunting a boar or a hare with the help of trained dogs.[134] Hawks, carefully trained, are taken to a place abounding in grass and sheltering many birds. When the grass is beaten up and the birds are in flight, the hawk seizes birds on the wing at a height invisible to the naked eye.[135] The king amuses himself by catching carefully fed fish with a rod and line prepared according to specification.[136]

We have similar but much shorter accounts of royal amusements in other geographical regions of our land during the same period. Nayachandra Sūri, author of the *Hammīra-mahākāvya,* in the course of his description of the Chāhamāna kings of Raṇastambhapura, tells us how one of them (Prahlādana) was engaged in a hunting expedition with a company of footmen dressed in blue clothes hanging down to their knees and of fleet hunting dogs with golden necklaces,[137] how another king (Jaitrasiṁha) indulged in water sports,[138] and how the last king (Hammīra), during the siege of his capital by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, sought recreation with his courtiers for a while in an entertainment attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing by a reputed female *artiste* of the town.[139] Of the Choḷa kings we are told by a foreign writer[140] that at their State banquets the whole company broke out into song, music and dancing.

8. POPULAR BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The old beliefs in omens and portents, in astrology, in the significance of dreams and so forth continued to have its firm hold on the people. The stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* show how widespread was the popular belief in omens and portents, in auspicious and inauspicious times, as well as in charms and spells for witchcraft. The references in *Mānasollāsa* show how such beliefs were held even in royal and aristocratic circles. Speaking of the king's marching against his enemy, the author[141] gives elaborate descriptions of the auspicious and inauspicious times for its start as well as favourable and unfavourable omens (indicated by the behaviour of dogs, jackals, lizards and crows).

Testimony to the superstitious beliefs of the Indian people is borne by contemporary foreign observers. Among the people of Ma'bar, according to Marco Polo,[142] there were experts who discerned a man's character and qualities by his look, and who knew the meaning of a man's meeting with a particular bird or beast. The people recorded the date and hour of a child's birth immediately after that event, and they did all their acts with reference to astrology and with the advice of diviners skilled in sorcery and magic.

Illustrating the extraordinary beliefs of "the Abraiman" of "the Lar province" (the merchants of Gujarāt), Marco Polo observes[143] that they made their purchases when their shadow was of the required length, and undertook their journeys when the direction of the swallows' flight was favourable.

The strong hold which the veneration for cows had acquired over the minds of the people in the preceding period was maintained during these centuries. The commentaries and digests[144] paraphrase the penances prescribed by the Smṛitis for killing and maiming cows. Killing of cows even at the honey-mixture *(madhuparka)* ceremony in honour of guests and the sacrifice called *gosava* is included in the list of forbidden practices in the Kali Age. The popular belief in the sanctity of domestic cattle is corroborated by the evidence of foreign writers. Idrīsī[145] refers to the great veneration of oxen among the Indians. Speaking particularly of the people of Ma'bar, Marco Polo says[146] that they on no account kill oxen or partake of beef and that many of them worship the ox.

The complete ban against sea-voyage imposed by some of the canonical authorities of the earlier centuries was repeated during this period. Social intercourse with a man of the three upper *varṇas* undertaking a sea-voyage, even though he has performed the necessary penance, is included in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age in *Smṛiti-chandrikā,*[147] while *Smṛityarthasāra*[148] includes sea-voyage as such in this list. And yet we have the historical fact that the great Choḷa Emperor Rājendra Choḷa I sent a naval expedition (*c.* A.D. 1025) for the successful conquest of the Śailendra empire of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and that his successors succeeded in retaining this possession for nearly half a century afterwards.[149] Equally authenticated is the fact, mentioned in another chapter, that Indian merchants, as late as the thirteenth century, extended their maritime enterprises as far as the Persian Gulf and Madagascar on one side and South China on the other. Indirect testimony to the overseas enterprises of the Indians is also furnished by the stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

9. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

We learn from the testimony of Megasthenes that the custom of employment of large numbers of female attendants in the king's service is as old as the time of Chandragupta Maurya. In the literature of the present period we have repeated references to this custom. The observations of foreign writers corroborate the prevalence of the above custom. According to Chou Ku-Fei[150] the Choḷa king employed fully "a myriad dancing girls for his table and escort".

The king of Malabar, according to Chau Ju-Kua,[151] was attended by a body-guard of 500 picked foreign women in his processions.

A custom prevailing in South India for some time before this period was that of self-immolation of selected nobles on the funeral pyres of their kings. Abu Zaid,[152] writing a little before our time, describes a particular rite observed by some of the Indian kings after their accession to the throne. The rite (which according to Nainar's suggestion was identical with the *Māmakham* or *Mahāmakham,* the great sacrifice of the kings of Malabar) consisted in three hundred or four hundred "king's companions" volunteering to partake of a portion of the cooked rice eaten by himself. It is incumbent upon all those who partake of this to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain. Coming to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find references to this custom in inscriptions of the later Choḷa kings belonging to the Tamil and Kannaḍa areas. These inscriptions[153] record the vows taken by a class of persons called *Velaikkāris* (personal body-guards of a king or chieftain) to die with their master. Referring to a similar custom in the Pāṇḍya kingdom, Marco Polo[154] says that the king has a number of Barons called "the king's Trusty Lieges" who are in constant attendance upon him and that they burn themselves with their master's body after his death.

We have observed in the preceding volumes how the Smṛiti law of later times recommended for widows the alternatives of living a celibate life *(brahmacharya)* and burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, with a decided preference in favour of the latter. The commentators and the digests of this period have a twofold attitude on this point. On the one hand Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, as well as the author of the *Smṛityarthasāra,* express themselves more or less strongly in favour of the widows' self-immolation. On the other hand *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[155] is equally emphatic in its condemnation of this cruel and horrible rite. The historical records frequently refer to widowed queens, princesses and others performing acts of charity and piety. We, however, come across instances of ladies of royal and official families burning themselves after the deaths of their husbands, and several such instances are recorded in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*[156] According to Al-Bīrūnī, the widow had to choose between one of two alternatives, namely, remaining a widow for the rest of her life, and burning herself; and she preferred the latter alternative as she was likely to be ill-treated as long as she lived. To this the author adds that the wives of kings were burnt whether they wished it or not. It would appear from the above that the *satī*-rite was more widely prevalent at this time than was warranted by the Smṛiti authorities of this period. Evid-

ence to the same effect is borne by the epigraphical and other records. The numbers of the *satī* memorial stones *(mastikal* and *satikal)* in the Kannaḍa tract testify to the wide prevalence of this rite in mediaeval as well as modern times. Marco Polo in his description of the kingdom of Ma'bar tells us[157] that many women burnt themselves with the bodies of their husbands and that they were highly praised by all.

A custom which seems to be peculiar to the Deccan and South India at this period, but was destined to be continued down at least to the time of the Vijayanagara kings, was that of duel fights. In a story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[158] we are told how when a door-keeper of a king of Kāñchī falsely charged a foreign merchant before the king with the abduction of his wife, the merchant proposed a duel deciding the issue, how after obtaining the king's approval they both entered the list on horseback and fought in the king's presence, and how when the door-keeper was felled down from his horse five times in succession, the king honoured the victor as he deserved, and deprived the door-keeper of his office and his wealth.[159] Marco Polo observes[160] about the people of 'Cail' (Kayal in the Pāṇḍya kingdom), that when a man wishing to offer gross insult to another spits out a mouthful of betel-leaf upon his face, the latter seeks and obtains the king's permission to fight the offender. They fight in public with sword and target until one of them is killed.

A custom mentioned by foreign writers as an illustration of the high moral character of the Indians is concerned with the process of a creditor's recovery of his debt. Illustrating the Indians' love of truth and horror of vice, Idrīsī says[161] that a creditor meeting his debtor has only to draw a circle upon the ground and make him enter it which he never fails to do. The debtor then cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining remission of the debt. The same custom is mentioned by Marco Polo in his description of the kingdom of Ma'bar. Reference is also made to the above custom in a story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[162]

The custom of dedicating women (Skt. *Devadāsīs*, Tamil *devarāḍiyār*) to the service of temples, which has been traced by us elsewhere[163] to the preceding centuries, was generally prevalent during this period. Indeed literary records and inscriptions give us the impression that they were regarded as a part of the normal establishment of temples. The number of these girls in the temples often reached high proportions. The temple of Somanātha at the time of its destruction by Sultān Mahmūd is stated to have been served by three hundred and fifty dancing girls. According to Chau Ju-Kua[164] Gujarāt contained 4000 temples in which lived over 20,000

dancing girls whose function was to sing twice daily while offering food to the deities and while presenting flowers. We have the valuable testimony of Al-Bīrūnī to the effect that the kings maintained this institution for the benefit of their revenues in the teeth of the opposition of the Brāhmaṇa priests. But for the kings, he says,[165] no Brāhmaṇa or priest would allow in their temples women who sing, dance and play. The kings, however, make them a source of attraction to their subjects so that they may meet the expenditure of their armies out of the revenues derived therefrom.

10. GENERAL ESTIMATE OF CHARACTER

Some light has been thrown upon the general characteristics of the Indian people by our descriptions of their social institutions as well as their beliefs and practices given above. As regards the institution of caste, it has been shown that the immunities and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas are held by the exponents of the Sacred Law to rest still more than before upon a moral basis, in other words upon the principle *noblesse oblige*. On the other hand it is impossible to ignore the studied degradation to which important sections of the population (the so-called *antyajātis* and even in extreme cases the Śūdras) were condemned by them after the older authorities. As regards the status of women it was not made worse in this period as compared with the preceding one except in the matter of stricter insistence upon the practice of self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. On the other hand a distinct improvement of their status is observable in respect of their rights of property.

Of the large-hearted tolerance of the Indians towards foreign faiths evidence is furnished by the generous treatment accorded by the Chaulukya and Vāghela kings of Gujarāt and the Pāṇḍya kings of Southern India towards the Muslim settlers in their lands. The same attitude is indicated by the complete freedom enjoyed by the communities of Syrian Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, settled in Southern and Western India, in the exercise of their religion.

The contemporary foreign observers on the whole agree in giving a favourable estimate of the general character of the Indians. We may quote in the first place the sober judgment of the great Muslim scholar Al-Bīrūnī[166] who has made a striking reference to the deep-rooted tendency of the Indian mind towards self-conceit and depreciation of everything foreign. "The Hindus", he says, "believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolish, vain, self-conceited and stolid.

They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge of science whatsoever." The author concludes by tracing the root of this evil to its source in the changed habits of the Indians about foreign travel. "If they travelled and mixed with other nations", he says, "they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as is the present generation." In another place[167] the author, while introducing his account of the Indian law of punishments and expiations, pays handsome tribute to the gentle manners of the people. "The manners and customs of the Hindus", he says, "like those of the Christians, are based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as never to kill under any circumstance whatever, to bless your enemy, and pray for him. Nevertheless in the case of Hinduism, as of Christianity, punishments became inevitable, since most people are ignorant and erring and they cannot be kept on to the straight path except by the sword and the whip". In contrast with the above a wholly favourable estimate of the Indian character, recalling the similar views of Megasthenes and Hiuen-tsang centuries before, is given by the learned Muslim author Idrīsī in the latter part of the twelfth century. The Indians, he says,[168] are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so renowned for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side.

Lastly we may quote the views of Marco Polo. The people of Ma'bar, he says,[169] are very strict in executing justice upon criminals and in abstaining from wine, but they do not look upon lechery as a sin. Of the "Abraiman of Lar" (Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt?) living in the Kannaḍa tract, he observes[170] that they are the best and the most truthful merchants in the world and live a life of great chastity and temperance, but at the same time they are more prone to superstitious beliefs in omens and portents than any other people. He illustrates these statements by concrete descriptions of the beliefs and practices of this class.

11. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

It will appear from the political history sketched above that towards the close of the period under review the Muslim Turks had permanently settled in large parts of Northern India and formed an important community. Their number was as yet very small, as

compared with the Hindus, but this was compensated to a large extent by the power and prestige they enjoyed as conquerors of the land.

The advent of Islam constituted the first great rift in the solidarity of Indian community since the incorporation of the aboriginal peoples into the Aryan society. Henceforth there were two communities in India—Hindu and Muslim—who formed two entirely separate entities, so far at least as religious and social ideas and political and civil rights were concerned. There was, however, one significant difference between the two. The Muslim community kept its doors wide open, and not only freely admitted everybody, but even pushed people inside it. The result was that the Hindus entered into the fold of Muslims in gradually increasing numbers. But the case was different with the Hindu society. Though at the beginning we hear of reconversion of Hindus who had embraced Islamic faith, gradually it adopted a more restrictive attitude and practically closed its doors against admission from outside, even for those who once strayed out of it, by force, choice, or accident. The inevitable consequence followed. The Muslims grew in number by the conversion of the Hindus, while the Hindu rank was gradually thinned. The immigration of fresh bands of Muslims from beyond the frontiers of India also swelled their number; but as years rolled by, they numerically formed a very insignificant element in the growing population of the Muslims, a great majority of whom were converted Hindus.

We do not possess sufficient data to form an accurate idea of the means or methods of conversion on such a large scale. The ultra-democratic principles of Islam, restricted to its own community, served as a great inducement to conversion in two ways. In the first place, as the rigours of the caste system weighed heavily upon the lower classes among the Hindus, they would naturally be attracted by the position of absolute religious and social equality which Islam offered to every Hindu, irrespective of class or caste, who embraced the new faith. Secondly, even though for a long time political equality was not conceded by the conquering Turks to Indian Muslims, the latter were undoubtedly in a far better position in this respect than the unconverted Hindus. Offers were openly made to ruling chiefs and high officials that they could continue in their present position only if they adopted the Muslim faith. The lower officers in civil government, and the majority of military ranks, to start with, were naturally recruited, as far as possible, from the Muslims. Such temptations must have been too great for ordinary men.

The denial of civil rights to the Hindus also operated as a great factor in their conversion. As mentioned above,[171] the Muslim rulers, from the very beginning, imposed civil disabilities upon the Hindus, and Muhammad ibn Qāsim is said to have enunciated the following principle:—

"He who received the honour of Islam and became a convert was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (*jizya*)".

Galling as these distinctions were to any sensitive mind and noble spirit, the situation was often rendered much worse by the denial of the right of public worship to the Hindus and deliberate indignities and humilities inflicted upon them as a general policy adopted by some Muslim rulers. All this will be dealt with in detail elsewhere. It will suffice here to state that the position of the Hindus under the Muslim rule, at least during the first two or three centuries, was most unenviable, and the temptation to secure liberty, privilege and higher status by a change of creed proved irresistible to many.

Peaceful missionary propaganda by the Muslim divines must have also played a large part in the conversion. Their religious doctrines, enforced by the considerations mentioned above, of which they must have taken full advantage, could not fail to produce the desired 'effect' upon a section of the Hindus. The saintly character of some of the Muslim preachers must also have appealed to the religious minded Hindus. But while these normal means of conversion played their part, we cannot ignore the fact that force or violence was one of the most fruitful sources of conversion of the Hindus *en masse,* at least in the earlier period.

We possess a brief account of the Indian expeditions of Sultān Mahmūd by Al-'Utbī, his Secretary, who "enjoyed excellent opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with the operations of that conqueror."[172] He very frankly says that "Islam or death was the alternative that Mahmūd placed before the people," and his detailed account gives many practical illustrations of it.[173] The usual consequence of Mahmūd's victory is thus described by 'Utbī: "The victors slew the vanquished wherever they were found, in jungles, passes, plains and hills." Elsewhere he says: "The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it."[174]

The word 'infidel' in the above extract is significant,—for the only way to escape this cruel massacre was to embrace Islam. It was thus that Hardat, the ruler of Baran, and his ten thousand followers,

as well as the Shah of Qirat and its people saved their lives. There must have been many other mass conversions of this type.[175]

'Utbī's account is full of stories of indiscriminate massacre of all those Hindus who fell into the hands of Mahmūd after the capture of a town or fort and disdained to save their lives by change of religion. We also hear of a large number of such unfortunate Hindus being carried away as slaves. Referring to Mahmūd's victory over Nidar Bhim, 'Utbī remarks that "slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap."[176] His detailed account clearly shows that these slaves were converted to Muslim faith.

The policy of Mahmūd was followed by some later Muslim conquerors also. Referring to the Muslim victory in Gujarāt in A.D. 1197, a contemporary Muslim writer says:

"Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword..... More than twenty thousand slaves fell into the hands of the victors."[177] After the capture of the fort of Kālinjar, according to the same authority, "fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery."[178]

It was a common practice of the Turkish rulers of India to take as prisoners the wives, sons and dependants of the vanquished Hindu rulers.[179]

The method of temptation was also not wanting. Even the Chandella king and Pṛithvīrāja were offered immunity from invasion on condition of embracing Islam. The deliberate policy of demolishing Hindu temples and raising mosques in their places, initiated by Muhammad ibn Qāsim, was followed with zeal and alacrity by the Turkish invaders, and the stamping out of idolatry from the places conquered by Muslim arms is frequently referred to in glowing terms by Muslim chroniclers.

It can hardly be doubted that all these acts of terrorism and violence facilitated the conversion of the hapless Hindus to Islam in large numbers. It had the added effect of completely alienating the Hindus from the Muslims. Apart from religious ideas and social usages which operated in the same direction, the deliberate demolition of temples, the destruction of images, and the wholesale massacre and enslavement of Hindus by the Muslim conquerors must have completely estranged the Hindus from the Muslims. The inevitable result was that the Hindus and Muslims formed two distinct and hostile communities throughout the period under review.

The shrewd observer Al-Bīrūnī[180] clearly perceived the great gulf that normally separated the Hindus from the Muslims. "The Hindus," he observes, "entirely differ from us in every respect."

After mentioning the difference in language, he continues: "Secondly, they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and *vice versa*..... In the third place, in all manners and usages, they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper". Summing up the general attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims Al-Bīrūnī remarks: "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mlechchha* i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner..... They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."

Al-Bīrūnī was one of the few Mussalmans of that period who had a genuine sympathy for the Hindus, and we must admit the fairness and truth of his denunciation of the Hindu attitude. It is also difficult to deny that this attitude, in all its essential aspects, persisted throughout the ages, though somewhat modified, in minor details, as a result of greater familiarity in course of time.

Al-Bīrūnī had the candour to admit that "the repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country". "Mahmūd", he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and ..... the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions .... Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims".

While the Hindus bore the 'most inveterate aversion' towards the Muslims, the latter also reciprocated the feeling. Their implacable hatred towards idolatry made the Hindus an object of utter contempt to them. This feeling animated all the Muslim conquerors and is echoed in all the Muslim chronicles. It was as strong in the days of Muhammad ibn Qāsim as in those of Sultān Mahmūd and the later Turkish conquerors. Amīr Khusrav was not a bigoted Muslim divine, nor a holy crusader for that faith. He is regarded as a poet of liberal and enlightened views, and the seven hundredth anniversary of his birth was recently celebrated all over India by Hindus

and Muslims alike. Here is a passage from his description of Hindusthān:

"The whole country, by means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword, and the vapours of infidelity (*i.e.* Hinduism) have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islam is triumphant, idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished."[181]

If this was the view of a liberal Muslim who lived towards the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., we may easily conjecture what must have been the general attitude of the Muslims towards their Hindu subjects during the period under review. If, along with it, we bear in mind Al-Bīrūnī's view of the Hindus, mentioned above, we need not cherish any illusion as to the relation between Hindus and Muslims throughout this period, nor feel surprised that the Hindus should strive by all means to keep aloof from the Muslims as far as possible. A spirit of uncompromising animosity prevailed between the two great sections of the Indian community, embittered by arrogant contempt on the part of the victors, and proud disdain and deep, though vain, resentment on the part of the vanquished.

The Hindus have left no account describing the state of their feelings at this supreme crisis in their life. But one or two casual references in contemporary epigraphic records give us an insight into their attitude towards the Muslims. Thus in describing the successful military campaign of the Hindu king Vijayachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty against the Muslims, the poet suggests that "the flow of tears from the eyes of the widows of Muslim heroes (killed in battle) quenched the heat (of torment or oppression) of the world (caused by the Muslims)."[182] Vīsaladeva, the Chāhamāna king, proudly declares that "he once more made Āryāvarta (Northern India) what its name signifies (abode of the Āryas i.e. Hindus) by repeatedly exterminating the Mlechchhas (Muslims, who had rendered the name meaningless by their occupation of the country)."[183] These expressions reflect the injured pride of the Hindus and their deep resentment against the alien conquerors who had trodden under feet their religion and culture.

12. MUSLIM SOCIETY IN INDIA

The Arab conquest of Sindh did not effectively alter the social condition of either the Arabs themselves or the Indians with whom they came into contact, except, of course, in so far as a large number of the latter, converted to the new faith, gradually adopted the manners and customs of the former to a considerable extent.

Things, however, became very different after the annexation of the Punjāb by Sultān Mahmūd. It has been related above how the Ghaznavids established a more or less stable political hegemony in the Punjāb, which became a regular province of their far-flung empire. A free and uninterrupted intercourse was thus established between India and the Muslim countries in the north and north-west. Religious divines, scholars, and poets moved to and fro across the Hindu Kush mountains, and many Muslim families from Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Afghānistān and Persia came and settled down in various parts of the Punjāb, bringing with them the rich cultural traditions of these lands. The capital of the new province, Lahore, which, after the fall of Ghaznī, actually became the capital of the kingdom, soon turned into an important seat of learning and culture, rivalling Ghaznī itself; and the large number of poets and scholars, who flocked to this city, found in it a ready and brisk market for their literary products. Among them the most outstanding personalities were Mas'ūd bin Sa'd bin Salmān, born at Lahore,[184] who is said to have left behind a *dīwān* of Hindi poetry, besides two others in Arabic and Persian, and Abu'l Faraj Rūyanī, his friend and rival, who was a native of Rūyan, a village near Lahore.[185] A famous scholar Shaikh Hasan Saghānī[186] of Lahore, is also mentioned in several historical and biographical works.

After the final extinction of the Ghaznavid rule in India, and the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi, the new capital soon became a rendezvous of numerous poets, scholars and divines. Their immigration from the north and north-west swelled to gigantic proportions, on account of the rise of the Mongols under Chingīz Khān and the havoc caused by them in the Muslim countries, during the reign of Sultān Iltutmish of the Mamlūk Dynasty. The new arrivals were eagerly and generously welcomed by that monarch, conscious of the great addition to the splendour of his court by the presence of such a galaxy of literary luminaries. We have a long list of the poets and scholars who adorned the court of Iltutmish and that of his rival, Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha, ruler of Sindh. Among these we may mention Minhāj-ud-dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Nizām-ud-dīn Hasan Nizāmi Nishāpuri,[187] who wrote the history of the reigns of Aibak and Iltutmish, entitled the *Tāj-ul-*

Ma'āsir, Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shah, called Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the writer of *Silsilat-ul-Ansāb* and a work on military tactics entitled *Ādāb al-Harb*; the poets Bahā-ud-dīn Ūshī, Tāj-ud-dīn, Rīza, Shihāb-i-Muhmira, and Amir Rūhānī, all attached to the Delhi court. Qabācha's court could also boast of a famous scholar al-'Aufī, the author of a well-known work of biography, *Lubāb al-Albāb*. At a later period there lived the great scholar and statesman, Shams-ud-dīn Dabīr, and the Amīr Fakhr-ud-dīn 'Amīd Sunnāmī,[188] both of whom were also great patrons of poets and savants. Shāh Sultān, foster-sister to princess Mah Malik, the daughter of Muhammad Ghūrī, also distinguished herself by her poetic talents during this period.[189]

Another notable development under the Mamlūk kings was the foundation, for the first time, of several *madrassas* run under state supervision. Following the general practice in Muslim countries, the Muslims in India did not at first have any regular schools or colleges. The mosque was the most popular centre of early education where the 'pīsh-imam,' usually a learned man, presided over the elementary studies of the children belonging to the locality in which the mosque happened to be situated. The usual curriculum consisted of the reading of the *Qurān*, practice in calligraphy, and the rudiments of the Arabic and Persian languages. For higher studies, comprising traditions (*hadīth*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*), logic and philosophy, literature (*adab*), epistolography (*inshā'*), prosody, etc. the students used to attend the lectures of distinguished scholars at different centres. No examinations were held and no diplomas (*sanads*) given, but a student could often get a certificate (*shahāda*) from the teacher whose lectures he had attended. Iltutmish built two state-sponsored colleges at Delhi known as the Mu'izziya and the Nāsiriya. Following his example, the provincial ruler Bakhtyār Khaljī built a similar college at Rangpura in Bihār, and there is good reason to believe that several other similar institutions arose in other parts of the country. These colleges, in course of time, helped in establishing a firm tradition of Islamic learning in India, and produced a number of scholars who could hold their own against the foreign scholars coming from Arabia, Persia, and Khurāsān. These scholars now formed a distinct group of the Muslim aristocratic society, as many of them were given high state offices and were generally well looked after by their royal patrons. Their co-operation with the rulers was of invaluable help to the latter for maintaining discipline and gaining the allegiance of the masses.

1. On *Yāj*, II. 4.
2. XI. 1.
3. VIII. 12-13.
4. On *Gautama, loc. cit.*
5. I. 30.
6. III. 26-32.
7. Aparārka on *Yāj*, I. 168.
8. Haradatta on *Gautama*, XVII. 6.
9. Quotation in *SC*, I. 31.
10. *SC, loc. cit.*
11. Quotations in Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, III. 30; Apar. on *Yāj*, III. 292; *SC*, II. 311.
12. *Smṛityarthasāra*, 78.
13. *Smṛityarthasāra*, 141.
14. I. 91-95.
15. I. 95.
16. 81, 108-11.
17. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*. I. 92, 95; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 13.
18. II. 13-14.
19. 82, 121.
20. Apar on *Yāj*, III. 292; *SC*, II. 304-08; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 76-78; *Prāyaśchittaprakaraṇa*, 111-14.
21. Apar on *Yāj*, III. 30; *SC*, II. 310-11; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 77; *Prāyaśchittaprakaraṇa*, 110.
22. *KRT*, VII. 204-05; VIII. 258; *EI*, IX. 107 f.; XXVII. 280 f.; I. 207 f.; XV. 27 f.; *ARSIE*, 341 of 1932-33.
23. *EI*, VI. 269; XXII. 143 f.; III. 61 f.; XI. 319 f.; etc.
24. See above, Vol. III, p. 590.
25. Smith, *EHI.*[4] pp. 340-41, 427-31.
26. Cf. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, 113-14.
27. Cf. Ojha, *Rājputānekā Itihāsa*, 2nd Ed. 72-76; Ray, *DHNI*, II. s.v.
28. Cf. the accounts of the different dynasties given above.
29. Above Vol. IV, p. 373.
30. *EI*, XXVIII. 100 f.
31. *EI*, XXV. 276 f.
32. *ARSIE*, 229 of 1935-36.
33. *EI*, XXIV. 110 f.
34. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, II. 182-83; *SC*, III. 460-69.
35. XIII. 39 f.; XX. 62 f.; XXXII. 57 f.; LV. 219 f.; LVI. 22 f.; LXI. 142 f.; LXXI. 4 f.; LXXII. 3 f.; CI. 283 f.; CII. 37 f.
36. Identified in *KSS*, X. 141 and 190, XX. 62, etc. with Chaṇḍikā or Durgā.
37. I. 30 (after *Ādipurāṇa*).
38. I. 205-09.
39. On *Yāj*, I. 56-57.
40. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, I. 66; *SC*, I. 30, 202-03, 220-21; Vij. on *Yāj*, II. 5; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 2.
41. 106. 31-34.
42. III. 1808-10.
43. III. 1810-16.
44. CXII. 211.
45. *Ibid.*, XXVII. 163 f.
46. *Ibid.*, X. 144 f.
47. *Ibid.*, XII. 78 f.
48. *Ibid.*, XXVI. 150 f.
49. *Ibid.*, CXII. 62 f.
50. *Ibid.*, CXII. 88 f.
51. CXII. 62 f.
52. II. 162.
53. II. 339, 371.
54. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, IX.
55. *SC*, III. 572-75.
56. *Ibid.*, 568-70.
57. *Ibid.*, 576-80.
58. Ibid., 575-76.
59. *SC*, I. 60-63.
60. *Vaij*, 174. 22-23: *Abh*, 214. 187-88.
61. II. 3.21; IV. 1.59.

62. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, II. 25.
63. III. 681.
64. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI. 5.82.
65. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, II. 135-36; *SC*, III. 673-75; *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, 748-49.
66. Vij. and Apar. *loc. cit.*
67. Vij. and Apar. *loc. cit; SC*, III. 682-85; *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, 750.
68. *SC*, III. 651-57; Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, II. 143-49; *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, 683-95.
69. See above, pp. 280 f.
70. *EI*, III. 306 f; *ARSIE* 672 of 1922; *EI*, XXII. 189 f.
71. *ARSIE* 577, 584, 587 of 1929-30; 241, 247, 336, 341, 342, 343 of 1931-32.
72. III. 19.
73. On *Yāj*, I. 178-79.
74. Vol. IV, p. 386.
75. *Prāyaśchittaprakaraṇa*, 65-68.
76. Above, Vol. IV, p. 387.
77. 127.53.
78. 134.138 f.
79. LIV. 170 f.
80. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, XI. 44-68.
81. III. 1329.
82. XXXVI. 67; XXXIX. 207; XL. 2; XLIII. 64; XXXIV. 93; CIII. 200; CX. 124-30; CXI. 18.
83. III. 1342-1601.
84. *Ibid*, 1601-29.
85. *Ibid*, 1345 f.
86. II. 151.
87. *Chü-fan-chī* (Ed. Hirth and Rockhill), 95.
88. II. 341-42.
89. *Ibid*, 360.
90. *Ibid.*, 376.
91. *Ibid*, 360.
92. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, I. 16-17, 98, 100, etc.
93. *SC*, II; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 18 f.
94. *SC*, II, 289-350, 482-92; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 25-32.
95. 168.112-14.
96. *Vaij*, 181. 98-102; *Abh*, 231. 231 f.
97. *KRT*, VII. 922-24.
98. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Pl. XXII, Nos. 76a-78; XXVII-XXVIII, Nos. 118-41.
99. *Ibid*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 67-74.
100. *Ibid*, Pl. XXV-XXVI, Nos. 95-117.
101. III. 1185-87.
102. *Op. cit.* 88-89.
103. *Ibid*, 92.
104. II. 338.
105. II. 376.
106. *Op. cit.* 87.
107. II. 338.
108. II. 370.
109. XXXVIII. 19 f.
110. III. 1585-89.
111. *Ibid*, 1161-1244.
112. XXX.
113. III. 28-66.
114. *Ibid*, 123-29.
115. *Op. cit.* 87.
116. *Vaij*, 137. 11-14; *Abh*, 404-80.
117. *Vaij*, 171.161-62; *Abh*, 277.352-53.
118. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, VII. 15-19.
119. *SC*, III. 593.
120. *Vaij*, 145-47. 114-41; *Abh*, 117.6 f.
121. Mitra, *op. cit.* I, Pl. XXX, Nos. 167-74.
122. *Moharājaparājaya*, Act IV, p. 86.
123. *Ibid*, p. 87.
124. *KSS*, XXV. 119 f.
125. XV. 18 f.
126. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, XII. 50-78.

127. III-IV.
128. IV. 3-196.
129. *Ibid,* 661-827.
130. *Ibid,* 829-78.
131. *Ibid,* 879-996.
132. *Ibid,* 997-1226.
133. *Ibid,* 1277-97.
134. *Ibid,* 1298-1328.
135. *Ibid,* 1329-80.
136. *Ibid,* 1381-1432.
137. IV. 48 f.
138. VI-VII.
139. XIII. 1-26.
140. Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit.* 95.
141. II. 354 f.
142. II. 343-44.
143. II. 364-65.
144. Vij. Apar. on *Yaj,* III.264-65; *Prāyaśchittaprakaraṇa,* 28-33.
145. Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India,* 106.
146. II. 341.
147. I. 30 (after quotation from an unnamed authority).
148. p. 2.
149. Majumdar, R. C., *Suvarṇadvīpa,* I. 170-89.
150. Quoted by Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit,* 95.
151. *Op. cit.,* 87.
152. Nainar, *op. cit,* 106-07.
153. *ARSIE,* 267-69 of 1929-30; 122-25 and 202-03 of 1934-35.
154. II. 339.
155. III. 594-97.
156. VII. 103, 478-80; VIII, 367-69, 445, 1440-44.
157. II. 341.
158. XLIII. 160 f.
159. See above p. 491; also *Mānasollāsa,* IV. 829-78.
160. II. 371.
161. Nainar, *op. cit.* 97.
162. LV. 2 f.
163. Above, Vol. IV, p. 379.
164. *Op. cit.* 92.
165. II. 157.
166. I. 19-23.
167. II. 161.
168. Nainar, *op. cit.* 97.
169. II. 342-43.
170. *Ibid,* 363-64.
171. Vol. III. 450.
172. *HIED,* II. 14.
173. S. R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History,* pp. 57, 61, 29.
174. *HIED,* II. 34, 40.
175. *Ibid,* 43, 222. Also see above, p. 13, and Sharma, *op. cit.* 29.
176. *Ibid,* 39.
177. *Ibid,* 230.
178. *Ibid,* 231.
179. *Ibid,* 348.
180. For the quotations that follow, Cf. Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* I. 17-22.
181. *HIED,* III. 546.
182. *EI,* IV. 119.
183. *IA,* XIX. 219.
184. He says: "My birth-place is Lahore and I am far from Lahore. Alas, Oh Lahore! what joy can there be without you."
185. Great later masters like Anwarī and 'Urfī have acknowledged his excellence as a qasīda writer.
186. For him and other scholars, see Zubaid Ahmad, *India's Contribution to Arabic Literature.*
187. He was the son of the famous scholar Nizāmī 'Arūdī of Samarqand, the author of *Chahār Maqāla.*
188. Of Sunnam, an old fortified town in the Patiāla State (PEPSU).
189. Cf. M. Ikram, *Chashma-i-Kauthar,* p. 120.

CHAPTER XVIII

EDUCATION

In the present chapter we propose to describe in general outline the methods and principles of education that prevailed before the Muslim conquest.

I. PRIMARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The records of our period are almost completely silent about the methods of primary education. It seems likely that the familiar institution of the village school-master, plying his occupation amid humble surroundings and receiving his modest pay from the contributions of the villagers, was at work during these centuries.

As regards mass education in the broader sense of the term it was provided by the agency of one of our traditional institutions, namely the public recitation of the Epics, the Purāṇas and other religious works which, according to the Smṛiti law, are accessible even to the lowest caste. The inscriptions of this period refer from time to time to endowments made by pious donors with this object. Among the works forming the subject of popular expositions the records of South India mention sectarian scriptures as well as devotional hymns in the vernacular.

The elaborate scheme of higher education prescribed in the Smṛitis for the students of the three upper classes after their investiture with the sacred thread is repeated in the commentaries and digests[1] with some supplementary explanations. As regards periods of study, studentship for long terms is included in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali Age in *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[2] after a quotation from the *Ādi Purāṇa* and in *Smṛityarthasāra*. And yet the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* elsewhere[3] quotes from the older texts the directions about the duties of the life-long student (*naishṭhika-brahmachārī*), who is distinguished from the student who passes on to the state of householder after expiration of the period of his training.

Among the duties of the student daily begging for food occupies an important place. The student must beg every morning and evening except when he is in 'distress'. Begging is not an impermanent injunction since its non-performance entails a penance. The alms sought for should be sufficient for one's meals and no more. According to the strict interpretation of the *Smṛityarthasāra*

a student should beg from the household of a blameless Brāhmaṇa. In the opinion of the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* he should beg first from his caste-fellows and, in default, from the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas, but not from the Śūdras. According to Vijñāneśvara the student may beg from the three upper classes and, in times of distress, from all the four classes. Among other duties of the Vedic student, we are told that he shall avoid honey, meat, unguents for the body and collyrium for the eyes except, as the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* says, when he is required to use them during his illness by the physician. The student shall refrain from reviling his teacher or even mentioning him by name. He shall also avoid conveyances, shoes and umbrellas, singing and dancing, harsh and coarse speech, and so forth. He shall not touch or look at women where there is the risk of his falling into sin.

As regards relations between the teacher and the student the commentaries and digests explain the circumstances permitting the teacher's receipt of money from his pupils. Learning from a paid teacher and teaching for a fee are both admitted to be lesser sins *(upapātakas)*. This ban, however, as Vijñāneśvara[4] says, does not apply to a student who pays the fees without a prior agreement. As Aparārka[5] and the author of the *Smṛiti-chandrikā*[6] explain, what is forbidden is teaching by stipulation for payment of a fee, while teaching is itself prescribed in the Smṛitis as a means of livelihood. The teacher failing to correct an inattentive pupil by reprimand may, according to *Smṛiti-chandrikā*,[7] beat him. Similarly, according to Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka,[8] beating a pupil should be resorted to only for correction. The beating should be done with rope or a split bamboo, and not with the hand, and it should be applied not to the head but to the lower part of the body. The violation of this restriction by the teacher amounts to an offence punishable by the king. The teacher, according to *Smṛiti-chandrikā*,[9] failing to instruct his pupil (other than a Śūdra) incurs blame. But the student must always study under a Brāhmaṇa, learning from a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya being permitted only in times of distress.

The commentaries and digests, like the Smṛitis, are silent about a scheme of technical education of apprentices in trades and crafts. We have, however, some valuable hints on the system of apprenticeship in the Smṛiti section on Law entitled non-rendition of service,[10] which proves the continuance of the old system in its essential aspects.[11]

Reference may be made in this connection to Marco Polo's vivid description[12] of the very practical method of training tradesmen's apprentices in the Pāṇḍya region in his time. When the boys reach

the age of thirteen, we are told, the parents dismiss them from their homes with a small pocket allowance for earning their living by trade. "These urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling." During the season for pearl-fishing they run to the beach and purchase five or six pearls according to their ability and sell them to the merchants in their homes. In the same way they deal with many other articles. Thus they are trained to be very dexterous and keen traders. Testimony to the excellence of the craftsman's training at its highest levels is borne by the superb specimens of art and industry attested to by the literary records as well as the archaeological remains of this period.

We have an interesting glimpse into the methods and principles of princely education in vogue at this period in *Mānasollāsa.*[13] The author says that the princes should be instructed in the Vedas as well as military science. When the princes have completed their training and have become skilled in mounting horses and elephants and in managing chariots, the king shall test them one after another. The test applies to their skill in various branches of literature (the Vedas, logic, the Dharma-śāstras, *belles-lettres* and grammar), in the fine arts, in wielding the bow and other weapons, and in exhibiting their strength as well as steadiness of body and mind. The high standards of princes' training are illustrated at their best by the instances of the scholar-kings of this period. Such are the mysterious Aparārka (otherwise called Aparāditya), Someśvara III of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa, Ballālasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, and above all the illustrious Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā.

II. PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ENDOWMENTS FOR PROMOTION OF LEARNING

We have seen how the Smṛiti law contemplates the students of the upper classes as receiving their higher education at the residences of Brāhmaṇa teachers. The settlements of the Brāhmaṇas in villages and specially on lands *(agrahāra)* granted to them by royal and other donors, which are frequently referred to in the inscriptions of this period, evidently provided ample opportunity for such teaching. Side by side with this ancient and venerable institution of the Brāhmaṇa *guru* teaching his pupils at his residence, there grew up in India from early times larger or smaller establishments specifically endowed by kings and other donors for the promotion of education. The historical records of this period contain numerous instances of such educational establishments. In Eastern India the great Buddhist monastic University of Nālandā continued to flourish,

though probably with less splendour than before, while new monasteries like Vikramaśīla, Somapura, Jagaddala and Uddaṇḍapura rose into importance as centres of learning.[14] In the eleventh century A.D. the *maṭhas* of Kāshmir became so famous for their learning that they drew students, according to the testimony of Kshemendra, even from distant Gauḍa. In the regions of Madhyapradeśa a Śaiva temple with a *maṭha* and a hall of study was founded by the Queen-mother Alhaṇadevī, according to an inscription of A.D. 1155.[15] In the Deccan and the Kannaḍa country references are made to endowments of land by individual donors for the promotion of learning. A Brāhmaṇa in the time of Vikramāditya VI[16] appointed a body of 104 village-*mahājanas* as trustees for his gift of certain lands. Under the terms of the trust a certain portion of land with a house-site was assigned as maintenance *(bhaṭṭavṛitti)* to a teacher for teaching the grammatical work called *Nyāsa* and the *Mīmāṁsā* work of Prabhākara, while another portion with a house-site was made over to a teacher in Mathematics, Astronomy, Prosody and Grammar for his personal requirements as well as for teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day, and supplying them with cloth once a year. The inscriptions likewise refer to endowments of money for the same purpose. The chief Queen of Vikramāditya VI gave money in trust to the *mahājanas* of a village for maintenance of a commentator of the śāstras, a reader of the Purāṇas, and teachers of the *Ṛigveda* and *Yajurveda.*[17] In the same reign a general gave money in trust to a body of *mahājanas* for teaching different branches of learning. We also hear of the foundation of educational institutions by individual donors, as of a lecture-hall built by king Vikramāditya VI's Superintendent of religious affairs for teaching Prabhākara's doctrine of *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā,*[18] of a *maṭha* of the Śaiva sect which was at once a temple, a college, and an alms-house,[19] and of a *maṭha* founded by an astronomer for the study of Bhāskarāchārya in the time of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa in A.D. 1207.

In the Kākatīya kingdom a famous Śaiva teacher[20] allotted out of two villages assigned to him by Queen Rudrāmbādevī certain lands for maintenance of a Śaiva temple along with a college, a feeding house for Śaiva mendicants, and so forth. The college maintained a staff of three teachers of *Ṛigveda, Yajurveda,* and *Sāmaveda* respectively, and five teachers of logic, literature, and the āgamas. Allotment of land was made likewise to a physician for attending upon the resident-teachers, students, and attendants. The largest number of records of endowments for learning that have come down to us for this period are those of the Imperial Choḷas. In the reign of Rājarāja I a certain individual[21] endowed gold coins for payment out of their interest to one who recited the

Sāmaveda on a fixed day in the year. In the reign of Rājendra Choḷa I a village assembly created an endowment[22] for maintenance, at fixed rates of paddy per day, of 270 junior pupils studying the four Vedas, the Kalpasūtras, and Grammar (according to the work called *Rūpāvatāra*), of 70 senior students studying Grammar and Mīmāṁsā according to the Prabhākara school, and of the teachers in these subjects. Reference is made[23] to a college near the temple at Kāñchīpuram in an inscription of the reign of Rājendra Choḷa I. A village assembly in the reign of Rājādhirāja I purchased lands[24] for maintenance on similar terms of 12 teachers of different branches of Vedic literature, 7 other teachers of Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, *Rūpāvatāra, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Manuśāstra* and *Vaikhānasa-śāstra,* of 190 students of these branches of learning, and of 70 other students of Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa and the *Rūpāvatāra.* According to another and more important record[25] king Vīra Rājendra created an endowment in land and money in favour of a temple of Vishṇu as well as the college, the hostel, and the hospital attached to it. The college provided for 60 students of whom 10 each studied the *Ṛigveda* and the *Yajurveda,* 20 studied Vyākaraṇa with the *Rūpāvatāra,* and the rest comprised Mahāpañcharātras, the Śaiva-Brāhmaṇas, and the Vaikhānasas studying their respective scriptures. The teaching staff included one teacher of the *Ṛigveda,* one teacher of the *Yajurveda,* and a Bhaṭṭa for expounding Vyākaraṇa. The students were to receive daily food according to a fixed schedule, sleeping mats, and oil for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year. The teachers were to be paid in kind and in cash at fixed rates. The cooks and maidservants of the establishment were to receive wages at fixed rates. The hospital was provided with 15 beds. The physician-in-charge was paid at a fixed rate for prescribing medicines to the teachers, the students and their attendants. Provision was also made for one surgeon, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs, two nurses and one barber who were likewise to be paid at fixed rates. In the reign of king Vikrama Choḷa, one of the king's officers[26] endowed lands for maintenance of a feeding house for those studying medicine, Grammar, and the *Rūpāvatāra,* as well as for Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, and so forth. A donor in the reign of Rājarāja II assigned[27] certain lands for maintenance of Brāhmaṇa students of the Vedānta coming from the Malayalam country in the *maṭha* established by himself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the sins and follies of student life by Kshemendra's satiric picture[28] on the life of foreign (specially Gauḍīya) students in contemporary Kāshmir. Characteristically enough the student figures in a typical list of cheats and rogues satirized by the poet in this work. The poet first refers to the

student's exceptional physical weakness at his arrival (he is shunned by the people from a distance for fear of touching a skeleton) and his quick gain of strength (he changes at it were into a new body by partaking of food and using unguents at sacrifices for which he procures his invitation by ostentatious display of his piety and his ceremonial purity). Reference is next made to his ignorance and self-conceit (though knowing with difficulty the syllable 'Om', he engages in learned contests with a view to defeating veteran Kāshmirian scholars and though ignorant of the alphabet he pretends to study the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, Logic, and the Mīmāṁsā work of Prabhākara). He is foppish in dress and toilette (he has his nails painted with lac-juice, he wears variegated dress and fashionable shoes, he decorates his waist with a red sash, and he makes graceful gestures with his eyebrows). He is a man of loose morals (he frequents houses of prostitutes and carries on intrigues with other men's wives, he looks like Kubera in the morning with the dangling golden ear-rings and his large finger-rings, but he has the look of a demon in the evening after his defeat at dice-play). The five spoilers of the Gauḍa libertine are the gambler, the bawd, the prostitute, the leather-worker, and the barber. The student is a man of violent habits (he drives out workmen with blows of sticks, demolishes students' residence with stick in hand and with his clothes stuck to his body and his matted hair tied up for the strife). He plays the bully at sacrifices, at bathing places, at students' hostels and in his dealings with merchants and physicians. He blazes forth with anger without any provocation on the occasion of bathing, making gifts, performing vows and giving offerings to the manes.

In all ages and countries the satirist draws upon the rare and unusual traits and embellishes them from his own imagination in order to provide for cheap merriment. The account of Kshemendra, therefore, need not be taken as typical of student life, even in Gauḍa. But it should serve as a corrective to those who fondly believe that everything in ancient India was good and glorious.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the effect of Muslim invasion on education. The destructive fury of the early Muslim conquerors gave an irreparable blow to indigenous learning in the territories brought within their sway. This is indicated by the statement of the great Muslim scholar Al-Bīrūnī about the disastrous consequences of the invasions of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī. "Hindu sciences", he says,[29] "have retired far away from those parts of the country that have been conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kāshmir, Banaras and other places".

1. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*, I. 10-50; *SC*, I. 67-179; *Smṛityarthasāra*, 6-11.
2. I. 29.
3. I. 167-72.
4. On *Yāj*, I. 28.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. I. 140.
7. I. 142.
8. On *Yāj*, I. 155.
9. I. 143.
10. Cf. Apar. on *Yāj*, II. 184; *SC*. III, 955-6.
11. Above, Vol. II, p. 587.
12. II. 344.
13. III. 1283-1304.
14. *HBR*. I, s.v.
15. *EI*. II. 7 f.
16. *EI*, XX. 67 f.
17. *ARSIE*, 518 of 1915.
18. *EI*, XV. 350 f.
19. *EI*, V. 221-22.
20. *ARSIE*, 94 of 1917.
21. *ARSIE*, 76 of 1914.
22. *ARSIE*, 333 of 1917.
23. *ARSIE*, 240 of 1930-31.
24. *ARSIE*, 176 of 1917.
25. *EI*, XXI. 230 f.
26. *ARSIE*, 159 of 1925.
27. *ARSIE*, 276 of 1925.
28. *Deśopadeśa*, VI.
29. Sachau's tr., I. 22.

CHAPTER XIX

ECONOMIC CONDITION

I. THE VILLAGE AND THE CITY

The rural economy of the Indian people has for centuries been centered on what may be called in general terms communities of peasant-proprietors, who paid revenues to government under various specified heads, but were otherwise, as a rule, left free in the possession of their holdings. It is true that this system was overlaid from an early period by the royal grants and assignments of lands for various purposes. Such grants and assignments must have led to the creation of larger or smaller estates comprising numbers of villages. Nevertheless the royal grants and assignments involved as a rule no more than transfer of the king's dues and rights in favour of the donees. In the South, especially, the village communities maintained their corporate organisation at this period with full vigour. For the contemporary inscriptions frequently record the gift or sale of lands by these bodies and their appointment as trustees by pious and charitable donors. While the village thus remained, as before, the backbone of the Indian economy, there was, as in the earlier period, a vigorous growth of city-life. We have, to begin with, an impressive list of cities (including great internal marts and sea-ports) furnished by the contemporary Indian and foreign evidence. The descriptions of these cities are as a rule given in such general terms as to preclude a reconstruction of their economic life. The records of the South Indian dynasties, however, give us occasional glimpses of the extensive commercial activities of the cities, the value of this evidence being enhanced by its incidental character. In a twelfth century inscription of the reign of the Western Chālukya Taila II[1] belonging to the Telugu area we read how the *deśī* merchants of a city, speaking four different dialects, joined with others in making a pious endowment. This consisted of tolls imposed upon their articles of trade, namely pack-horses, musk, saffron, yak-tail, cotton and cotton-thread, beads, tiger-skins, women's clothes, lead, and tin. An inscription of A.D. 1204[2] relating to the city of Belgaum (in Dhārwār District) mentions a pious endowment by "an assembly of itinerant traders and all the traders of Lāṭa (Gujarāt) and the Malayalam country and all the other traders of the locality headed by the gold-workers and others and the oil-merchants". An inscription of king Gaṇapati of the Kāka-

tīya dynasty of Warangal,[3] belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., states that the king, renouncing the earlier practice of confiscating all cargoes of vessels driven to the port of Moṭupalle by bad weather, granted a charter for levying customs duties upon a few selected articles only (evidently because of their high level). The articles consisted of sandal-wood, camphor, pearls, rose-water, copper, zinc, lead, silk-thread, corals, perfumes, pepper, and areca-nuts. We have a remarkable instance of the inhabitants of a city and a territorial sub-division regulating the economic life of the community in a record[4] belonging to the time of Kulottuṅga III. Here we are told that a certain *nāḍu* and *nagara* assembled together in a temple and made an agreement for converting a village granted by them into a mercantile town.

II. AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Agriculture, which has been through the centuries the principal occupation of the Indian people, was well cared for during our period. A large variety of cereals as well as edible vegetables and plants, with their sub-divisions, is mentioned in the lexicons.[5] In the description of the king's dietary in *Mānasollāsa*[6] reference is made to eight varieties of the rice distinguished by their colour, odour, size, and period of growth, and seven different kinds of beans. It further appears from the records that scientific agriculture was practised as before in the present period. The cereals were classified[7] under three heads, namely those grown in pods (*śamīdhānya*), the awned grains (*śukadhānya*), and rice of different varieties. The fields were classified[8] according to their qualities, namely, those which were fertile, those unfit for cultivation, those under cultivation, those lying fallow, and those with a saline soil. They were also classified[9] according to the crops grown on them, the quality of seeds sown on them, and the number of times they were ploughed.[10]

Traditions attribute to the Choḷa kings of this period the construction of the famous anicuts across the Kāverī river in Tanjore District, which were renovated in much later times by the British Government. The most famous of these public works is the Great Anicut below the island of Śrīraṅgam which consists of a massive dam of unhewn stone, 1080 ft. long and from 40 to 60 ft. broad.[11]

The descriptions of our authors, both indigenous and foreign, help us to identify some of the principal agricultural regions of these times. As for cereals Magadha is mentioned for its richness in rice,[12] while the rice of the Kaliṅga country is included in the list of its varieties suitable for the king's dietary.[13] As regards fruits and fruit-trees, grapes are mentioned by Kalhaṇa[14] with patriotic pride as

one of the ordinary products of Kāshmir. From the Muslim writer Idrīsī we learn that date-trees and cocoanut-trees grow at Sandān (Sindhudurga in Ratnāgiri District) and that cocoanut-trees grow in abundance at Saymūr (Śirur in South Canara).[15] As for other edible economic products, ginger and cinnamon were produced in large quantities in the Pāṇḍya kingdom according to Marco Polo,[16] while camphor grew on the mountain-slopes between Quilon and Madura according to Yāqūt.[17] Marco Polo,[18] writing evidently on second-hand information, observes that "Bengala" (Bengal) produced spikenard and other spices, ginger, sugar, and other articles. According to Idrīsī[19] cardamum grew on the hill-slopes at Fandarīna (Pandalayani in Malabar for which see below) in such abundance as to be exported to different lands. Malabar, according to Ibn Sa'īd,[20] was the country of pepper. In particular it is stated to have been grown at Sandān, as well as at Fandarīna, Jurbatan and Quilon (all in Malabar), according to Idrīsī, Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.[21] Similarly, according to Marco Polo,[22] Malabar produced large quantities of pepper. As for non-edible economic products bamboo and its varieties grew at Kūlī (in the Gulf of Cambay), Tānā (Thānā in Salsette island), Sandān and Saymūr according to Idrīsī, and at Quilon according to Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.[23] Sandal-wood was a product of the Malaya hill (the southern part of the Western Ghats),[24] while Kāshmir produced yellow sandal which was used as an unguent by kings in the rainy season.[25] Saffron is mentioned by Kalhaṇa[26] as one of the two ordinary products of Kāshmir. Cotton trees of a very great height and of a longevity of twenty years grew in Gujarāt.[27] Less authenticated is Marco Polo's statement[28] that cotton grew in Bengal and formed the subject of a great trade. Indigo was produced in great quantities in Gujarāt (including Cambay), and that of a very fine quality as well as in great abundance at Quilon.[29] Incense of the inferior brown variety was found at Tāna.[30] "Brazil wood" (*sappan*) of very fine quality as well as teak grew at Kūlam (Quilon).[31]

As regards animal products the preparation of silk from the cocoons of the silkworm and of wool from the hair of the hilly ram was of course widely known. Equally familiar was the use of the bushy tail of the Himālayan *chamara*-deer for preparing flywhisks and of musk from the Himālayan musk-deer. Elephant's tusks (or ivory) are mentioned by Chau Ju-Kua[32] among the products of the Choḷa kingdom. The manufacture of leather, which is a very old Indian industry going back to Vedic times, was greatly developed in some regions during this period. From Marco Polo[33] we learn that Tāna had a great export trade in leather of various excellent kinds. Likewise Cambay[34] had a great trade in very well-dressed hides.

Gujarāt, above all,[35] produced large numbers of dressed skins of different kinds (those of goats, of domestic and wild oxen, of buffaloes and so forth) as well as "beautiful mats in red and blue leather, exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire". It also produced other cushions (apparently of leather) embroidered with gold. These articles were in high demand in Western lands; the "sleeping mats", which were "marvellously beautiful things", and the cushions being sold for ten and six silver marks apiece respectively. A more valuable industry dating from ancient times was that of the pearl-fisheries and the preparation of pearls for ornaments. The pearl-fisheries at Sūbāra (Suparem or Supara in the north of Bombay) and Fūfal (Bekal, thirty-four miles south-south-east from Mangalore), which are referred to by Yāqūt,[36] were evidently of slight or no importance. Chau Ju-Kua[37] includes pearls among the native products in the Choḷa kingdom, but he gives no other information on this point. The great seat of the pearl-fisheries in this as in other periods was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Marco Polo, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, observes[38] that pearls were fished in great quantities in the kingdom of Malabar which in fact was the place from which they were spread all over the world. The pearl-shells, he says, were found in the gulf between India and Ceylon during the season from the beginning of April to the middle of May every year and, at an undefined place "some three hundred miles distant", during September and the first half of October. The author gives in this connection a vivid description of the fishing operations conducted by the pearl-fishers. They engaged the services of fish-charmers as well as a large number of divers for the whole season, and had to pay the high royalty of 10% of their finds to the king.

The manufacture of textiles, which is a very old Indian industry, appears to have been carried on with conspicuous success during this period. We can locate some of the advanced centres of textile manufacture from the contemporary evidence. The *Mānasollāsa*[39] gives us a long list of fabrics for the king's use after their places of origin. The definitely Indian names in this list are Nāgapaṭṭana (Negapatam), the Choḷa country, Aṇilāvāda (Aṇahillapāṭaka in Gujarāt), Mūlasthāna (Multān), Kaliṅga and Vaṅga. According to Chau Ju-Kua[40] Gujarāt produced for export to Arabian lands large quantities of "foreign cotton stuffs of every colour" (chintzes). Marco Polo[41] similarly observes that much fine "buckram" (cotton stuffs) was produced in the kingdom of Cambay. In Mālwā, according to Chau Ju-Kua,[42] cotton cloths were such a very common product as to form the subject of a considerable export trade. The native products of Malabar, according to the same author,[43] included

"foreign cotton stuffs of all colours" (chintzes) and (white) cotton cloth. This is corroborated by Marco Polo who speaks[44] of the manufacture of "very beautiful and delicate buckrams" in Malabar. Coming to the Coromandel Coast we find Ibn Sa'īd[45] testifying that Ma'bar was proverbial for its arts of washing and dyeing, and that it exported *"lainas"* (coloured silk or cotton cloth). Again Chau Ju-Kua includes[46] "cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads" and other such stuffs among the products of the Choḷa dominion. Finally, as regards the Telugu country, the finest cotton fabrics were produced, according to Marco Polo,[47] in the kingdom of "Mutfili" (Warangal). From the enthusiastic account of the traveller we learn that this kingdom produced the most delicate and costly 'buckrams' which looked like tissues of the spiders' web and which were fit for any king or queen in the world.

Stone-cutting, including stone-polishing, is an Indian industry going back to the prehistoric culture of the Sindhu valley. The vast scale and superb quality of the stone sculpture and architecture of this period are illustrated by the numerous examples of stone-images and temples scattered all over the country. Reference should also be made to the superb stone-terraces around the sacred tanks which drew the enthusiastic admiration of so gifted a critic as Al-Bīrūnī.[48]

The art of working metals which, like the manufacture of textiles, goes back to Vedic times, was pursued with great success during this period. The most fascinating remains of the skill of the ironsmiths of this period are the iron-beams, all of unwrought iron, in the temples of Bhuvaneśvara, Purī and Konārak, and, above all, the celebrated iron-pillar at Dhār, the capital of the Paramāra kings of Mālwā. The number of the beams in one of the Purī temples ('the Garden Temple') alone has been counted as 239, while they reach the size of 17′ in length and 6″ x 4″ or 5″ x 6″ in section. In the Konārak temple the beams, though smaller in number, reach even a larger size, namely 35′ in length and 7″ or 7½″ square in section. The iron-pillar at Dhār, now unfortunately broken into three pieces, has been estimated to have originally reached a height of 50′, being the highest pillar of its kind in the world.[49]

As regards gold and silver work the *Mānasollāsa,* in the course of its enumeration of the king's seats, mentions the golden lion-throne.[50] Again, while enumerating the king's bed-steads, it mentions those inlaid with gold.[51] The inscriptions frequently record the acts of pious donors in decorating temples with gold and in presenting vessels and ornaments of gold and silver to the deities, whose images were also sometimes made of gold and silver. Reference has

been made above to these and other articles of gold and silver in connection with the plunder of Sultān Mahmūd.[52]

The art of the jeweller was maintained at its old level of excellence during this period. The list of jewels in the lexicons[53] includes crystal, sun-stone, moon-stone, emerald, ruby, coral, diamond, sapphire, beryl (or lapis lazuli), and pearls. We have a full description (evidently derived from the old works on *ratnaparīkshā*) of the sources and characteristics of various gems in the *Mānasollāsa*.[54] The list comprises diamond, pearl, ruby, sapphire, emerald, crystal, topaz, lapis lazuli, the *gomeda* gem, and coral. From the testimony of Marco Polo[55] also we learn that diamonds were found abundantly and in large size in the kingdom of "Mutfili" (Warangal), although his story of the method of their collection is purely legendary.

The overland routes connecting India with Western Asia go back to the centuries before the Christian era, while those linking her with Central Asia and China came into use some time later. With the gradual advance of the arms of Islam from India's border lands to her heart in the Gaṅgā valley, the control of these routes must have passed entirely into the hands of the Muslim rulers.

The extent and direction of India's maritime trade are known principally from the detailed accounts of the foreign writers. It appears from these accounts that Ma'bar was a sort of clearing-house for the goods of the East and West. As Wassaf says,[56] the products of China, India *(sic)* and Sindh laden on huge ships constantly arrive at Ma'bar. To this he adds that the wealth of the isles of the Persian Gulf and the beauty and adornment of other countries from Irāq and Khurāsān as far as Rum and Europe are derived from Ma'bar which is so situated as to be the key of Hind. Wassaf's testimony is borne out in part by Marco Polo. Speaking of "Cail" (Kayal on the Tāmraparṇī river) he describes it[57] as a great and noble city which was visited by ships from the Persian Gulf and the Arabian coast with goods laden for sale. The ports of Malabar likewise ranked as international centres of trade. Thus Idrīsī mentions Fandarīna as a port of call for ships from India and Sindh. According to Abu Dulaf (quoted by Yāqūt), Kawlam (Quilon) was a port of embarkation for 'Umān (in Arabia).[58] From Chou K'u-feï[59] we learn that Quilon was a port of transhipment of traders from the smaller boats of the Arabian sea to the larger vessels of the Chinese seas. Chau Ju-Kua[60] observes that Quilon was a port of call for ships coming from San-fo-ts'i[61] and its dependencies. Of the land of "Nan-p'i" (Malabar) he similarly says[62] that its products were carried to Ki-lo Ta-nung (Perak) and San-fo-ts'i. Marco

Polo also observes[63] that ships with their goods came to Malabar both from South China and the West, the former preponderating over the latter in the proportion of 10 to 1. In particular we are told[64] that merchants from South China and from Arabia and the Levant came to Quilon with their ships and their merchandise and derived great profit from the import as well as the export trade. We further learn[65] that Eli, in spite of its want of harbours, was visited by ships from South China and other lands in summer, the Chinese ships braving the visit the most because of their huge wooden all-weather anchors.[66]

Important also for international trade was the Gujarāt coast. Idrīsī tells us that Barūṣ (Broach) was a port of call for vessels coming from China and from Sindh. Cambay, according to Marco Polo,[67] was visited by merchants with many ships and cargoes. The same author observes[68] that the products of Gujarāt were loaded in ships every year for trade with Arabia and other lands. There are references to other ports which were evidently of less importance, *viz.* Bullīn (probably an island near Saymūr, Shirur in the South Canara District), Subara (= Supara on the Konkan coast), Tāna (=Thānā) Jurbatan (=Srikandapuram), Sandān (=Sindhudurga in the Ratnāgiri District), and Sindābūr (=Sadāśivagaḍ near Kārwār, which was a commercial town with fine buildings and rich bazaars), where ships cast anchor.[69]

Inscriptions in Upper Burma and Sumatra[70] still commemorate the operations of the great Indian trading corporation of this period, known as the Nānādeśīs, in those lands. To the foreign observers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we are indebted for fuller and more direct evidence of Indian maritime and commercial enterprises in the lands of South-Eastern as well as Western Asia during this period. From Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who started on his travels to the greater part of the then known world in A.D. 1159, we learn[71] that Indian merchants brought their commodities for sale to the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf, one of the great international marts of Western Asia at that time. At the close of the thirteenth century A.D., Marco Polo[72] similarly noticed that the merchants of India visited Hormos (Hormuz in the Persian Gulf) in ships loaded with products of their land for sale to the merchants of Western Asia. We are further told[73] that the great city of Calatu on the Persian Gulf was visited by numerous ships with goods from India. It was not, however, to the Persian Gulf alone that the maritime activities of the Indian merchants in the West were confined at this period. We learn from Marco Polo[74] that the ships of Ma'bar visited the islands of Madagascar

and Zanzibar, arriving there in twenty days, while taking more than three months for the return voyage because of the strong southern current. In the East, according to the same authority,[75] Zayton (Chwan-Chau or Chinchew in Fu-Kien), the great sea-port of mediaeval China, was visited by all the ships of India with spices and other kinds of costly wares.

We possess a fair idea of the articles of India's maritime trade with the West and the East. As regards imports, we may first refer to the synonym, *turushka,* given in *Vaijayantī,*[76] for incense. This evidently refers to the frankincense of the coast of Hadharamaut in South Arabia which has been famous from classical times and is particularly noticed by Marco Polo.[77] Among other agricultural products cloves, spikenard, and other fine spices were brought into Malabar by ships from the East.[78] As these articles are specifically mentioned among the native products of Java and Sumatra,[79] they must have come to India from these islands. Metals formed another important article of India's import across the seas. We learn[80] that merchants in their ships brought gold, silver and copper to Java and Cambay. More definitely we are told [81] that ships coming from the East to Malabar brought copper in ballast as well as gold and silver. As Sumatra has long been famous for its production of gold and since it is credited by Marco Polo himself[82] with a great abundance of treasure, the gold brought to Malabar from the East most probably came from that island. This inference is supported by the epithet "the product of Suvarṇadvīpa" applied to gold in *Vaijayantī.*[83] We may recall in this connection the foreign synonyms given in *Vaijayantī*[84] for various other metals, such as *Mlechchha* for copper, *Yavaneshṭa* for lead, *Chīnapaṭṭa* and *Siṁhala* for tin, and *Chīna* for iron. As for textiles we have the valuable testimony of Marco Polo[85] to the effect that ships from the East brought clothes of silk and gold as well as "sendals" (a silk texture). As some of the great cities of China like Si-ngan fu, Ho-kien fu, Pao-ying-Hien, Ngan-king, Chin-kiang fu, and Su-chau (to give them their modern names) are specifically stated by Marco Polo[86] to be famous for these products, they must have reached India from these cities. These stuffs no doubt are to be identified with the fabrics of Great China (*mahāchīnabhava*) mentioned in the *Mānasollāsa*[87] among the varieties of the king's wardrobe. The reference to the textiles of Ceylonese origin (*Siṁhaladvīpaja*) in the same context[88] indicates that other fine stuffs were imported from the neighbouring island.

It remains to mention the most costly and wasteful of India's imports at this period. In the preceding volume we have seen how

Arab and Persian merchants drove a profitable trade in horses with the ports of western and southern India. This trade appears to have attained phenomenal proportions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The Indian authorities of this period,[89] like their predecessors, agree in assigning the first rank in their classified list of horses to the foreign breeds (specially those of "Vanāyu" or Arabia and Persia) and the lowest rank to the indigenous breeds, such as those of Trigartta, Gurjara, Avantī, Saurāshṭra and Pāriyātra. The great volume of India's import trade in Arab and Persian horses is indicated, beyond doubt, by the contemporary foreign writers.[89a] The figures for the imported horses and their prices indicate the extensive drain suffered by the Indian revenues from this trade. Wassaf[90] refers to an agreement made by a Pāṇḍya king with an Arab merchant to the effect that he would embark as many horses as he could procure from the islands of the Persian Gulf and land them in Ma'bar. According to the same author the price of each horse was fixed at 220 *dīnāras* of "red gold,"[91] while the number of horses exported from the Arabian and Persian ports to the Pāṇḍya kingdom, Cambay and so forth, reached the huge figure of 14,000 valued at 2,2000,000 *dīnāras*. Writing about the Pāṇḍya kingdom Marco Polo[92] similarly observes that each horse was sold at 500 *saggi* (=500 x 1/6 oz.) of gold, while 2000 horses were sought for purchase every year by each of the Pāṇḍya kings. In another place[93] Marco Polo, while describing the import of horses from the Persian Gulf into India, tells us that each horse was sold at 200 "livres" of Persian money.[94] The necessity for this extravagant demand of the Indians for the horses from the West is traced by the foreign observers chiefly to the Indians' ignorance of the art of managing the animals. According to Wassaf the Indians were so ignorant of training horses that even the best animals under their management were soon disabled for active work. Marco Polo,[95] while lamenting the waste of a great part of the wealth of the country in the purchase of horses, gives three reasons for the same. Firstly, no horses were bred in the country. Secondly, the Indians had no farriers, and the foreign merchants prevented any farrier from going to that country for fear of losing their highly profitable trade. Thirdly, and lastly, the Indians, in their ignorance of the treatment of horses, fed them with boiled rice and boiled meat and various other cooked food.

As regards India's exports to the neighbouring lands beyond the seas, we learn from Benjamin of Tudela[96] that Indian merchants carried great quantities of spices to the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf for exchange with the goods brought thereto by the merchants of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia. Marco Polo[97] similarly men-

tions that Indian merchants visited Hormuz in ships loaded with spices, precious stones, pearls, clothes of silk and gold, elephants' tusks, and so forth which they sold to the local merchants. The further statements of the foreign writers enable us to specify the articles exported from different geographical areas. We learn from Chau Ju-Kua[98] that Gujarāt produced indigo, myrobolans, and coloured cotton stuffs in such abundance that they were exported to the lands of the Arabs. Again we learn from Marco Polo that most of the manufactures in Gujarāt, mentioned above[99], filled a number of ships every year for export to Arabia and other lands.

III. THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

We have seen in the preceding volume what a large part was played by the industrial and commercial guilds in the economic life of our country during the previous centuries. The same important role was played by these groups during the period under review.

The law relating to guilds and associated groups is treated in the commentaries and digests,[100] as in the Smṛitis, under a distinctive title called violation of compact (*saṁvid-vyatikrama*) otherwise called non-transgression of compact *(samayasyānapākarma)*. We learn from the *Smṛiti-chandrikā* that the *samūhas* (groups) had the authority of making compacts (*samaya*) for overcoming misfortunes like droughts and oppression of thieves and kings, and these compacts were binding not only upon themselves but also upon the king. Illustrating this statement the author says that the *naigamas* have many such rules as that those disregarding messengers in (the uniform of) a jacket are to be fined and that the *śreṇīs* have such rules as that a certain commodity is to be sold by a particular *śreṇī* and no other. These illustrations show how the craft-guilds and the merchant-guilds devised their own rules for maintaining their authority and for controlling the market. Explaining the constitution of *samūhas* after the *Smṛiti* pattern, the author observes that because of the differences of minds among their members and their unlimited numbers the *samūhas* are incapable of deciding unanimously on the merits and demerits of their business, and that, therefore, they should appoint boards of two, three or five "overseers of public business" *(kāryachintaka)*. Not only the overseers of the *samūhas*, but also those advisers for their good *(hitavādins)* who do not belong to this body, shall be obeyed by all the members. The *samūhas* themselves, in the first instance, have the authority to punish offenders against their regulations. This comprises fining one who is hostile to the advisers or denies a speaker his opportunity or makes an unreasonable speech, and banishing

from the place of the assembly one who betrays their secrets, or creates dissensions among themselves, or is guilty of such other offences. When the *samūhas* are incapable of dealing with their members in such matters as stopping the insolence of their chiefs *(mukhya),* the king shall interfere for the purpose of setting the offender on his proper path. When the *mukhya* cannot be made to do so even by the king, he shall be deprived of all his property and banished from the kingdom, for the king alone is competent to inflict such punishments. But the *samūha* alone shall exercise this disciplinary authority if it is but slightly competent to do so. Reverting to the penalties against offending members of the *samūha,* the author says that the *mukhya,* who cannot be set by the king on his proper path, shall be fined on a graduated scale according to the extent of his solvency, and he shall be banished in case of extreme urgency. When those guilty of violating the compacts are not *mukhyas,* they shall be fined according to the degree of their guilt, and when they are very near the level of the *mukhyas,* they shall be deprived of all their property and banished from the capital.

We find in epigraphic records frequent references to the activities of the mercantile and other guilds, which founded pious endowments by voluntarily imposing tolls upon various articles of their trade, trusting no doubt to the *Smṛiti* clause of law which made their agreements binding upon themselves.[101] A famous guild of horse-dealers (*kudiraicheṭṭis*), having their headquarters probably in Malai-*maṇḍalam* (modern Travancore), is commemorated in a large number of inscriptions of the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya kings of this period.[102] The great trading corporations mentioned in the preceding volume[103] and their compeers, the Añjuvaṇṇam and Vīra-Vanañjus, flourished in South India during these centuries. The *deśa-salaṭṭu-gaṇḍar* of the 18 districts are mentioned in a Mysore inscription of about A.D. 1200.[104]

The great trading corporation of *Nānādeśa-Tiśaiyāyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar* mentioned above[105] flourished considerably during this period. An inscription of *c.* A.D. 1050 from the Mysore tract,[106] while recording an endowment by this body (here called the Five hundred *svāmis* of Ayyavole), proudly recalls their high mythical ancestry, their long history, the vast scale of their commercial transactions, and their daring and enterprising spirit. They were born, we read, in the race of Vāsudeva, Khandali and Mūlabhadra; they obtained boon from the goddess Bhagavatī; they had 32 *velomā,* 18 cities, 64 *Yoga-pīṭhas,* and *āśramas* at the four points of the compass; they were born to wander over many countries since the beginning of the *Kṛita Yuga;* they visited Chera, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya,

Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurāshṭra, Dhānushṭra, Kurumbha, Kāmbhoja, Gaulla, Lāḷa, Barvvara, Pārasa, Nepāla and other lands; they penetrated by land- and sea-routes into the regions of the six continents; they traded in elephants and horses, sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies and other gems, cardamoms, cloves, bdellium, sandal, camphor and other perfumes and drugs; they sold their goods wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders; they carried their merchandise on asses and buffaloes adorned with red trappings. The above claim of the corporation's mythical ancestry is repeated in another record of eleventh century A.D.[107] which gives us additional information of its organisation. It consisted, we are told, of various sub-divisions coming from the 1,000 (districts) of the four quarters, the 18 towns, the 32 *velapuram* and the 64 *ghaṭikā-sthānas*. Another inscription of A.D. 1050[108] describes them as a *samaya* (meaning unexplained) and states that they were served by regiments of foot-soldiers and swordsmen.[109] That the claim of *nānādeśīs* to have wandered over different lands is based upon fact is proved by two striking references. They are mentioned in a fragmentary Tamil inscription of 1010 Śaka (A.D. 1088) from Lobu Tuwa in Sumatra. Again we learn from a thirteenth century inscription at Pagan[110] that a native of Cranganore made a donation in favour of a Vishṇu temple which had been founded by the *nānādeśīs* in that distant city of Upper Burma. An important aspect of the activities of the *nānādeśīs* is concerned with 500 charters (*vīraśāsanas*) which they are repeatedly said[111] to have acquired for themselves.

Next to the organisation of guilds described above, we may mention that of capitalists' and labourers' partnerships. The partnership, according to the *Smṛiti-chandrikā*, is of six classes, concerned with trade, agriculture, crafts, sacrifices, singing and "theft" ("at the king's instigation in the enemy's country"). As for the rights and duties of the partners *inter se*, we are told that the profit and loss as well as the expenditure and the work are to be borne by the partners according to the special agreement *thereanent*. A partner is to make good to all the other partners what has been lost through his negligence, when he has acted without their authority or against their instructions. On the other hand, if a partner saves partnership-property by his own exertions from thieves, fire, and flood, he shall get one-tenth of the property thus saved as his special share. Similar, but not identical, rules are applicable to partnership among cultivators and artisans.

The *Smṛiti-chandrikā* deals with the relation between capital and labour most systematically and thoroughly, and lays down in

great detail rules about wages, compensation and liabilities—"the labour laws" as they may be called,—which are marked by equity and justice.

IV. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

In the above pages we have furnished sufficient evidence of the developed condition of agriculture, industry and trade in India during this period. From this it is not unreasonable to infer that a high level of economic prosperity prevailed generally among the people concerned with those vocations. It is indeed quite natural to think that this level varied not only in different parts of the country but also among the different strata of the population. But in any event, the indications of the people's prosperity which have been preserved for us are sufficiently impressive. The opulence of the North-Indian cities and the exceptional magnificence of their temples in the first half of the eleventh century are proved by the accounts of the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, referred to above.[112]

If these accounts help us, though indirectly, to realise the wealth of certain geographical regions of northern India in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., other foreign notices[113] give us glimpses into the economic prosperity, by means of trade and commerce, of the coastal regions of Western and Southern India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Marco Polo[114] describes the land of Ma'bar as "the best of all the Indies" and "the finest and noblest province of the world". The immense gifts of gold and silver as well as jewellery made by kings, queens, princesses and others to the temples, such as are recorded repeatedly in the inscriptions of South India during this period, testify as much to the affluence as to the piety of the donors.

The above account refers to the economic condition of the people before the Muslim invasions began on a serious scale. The accounts of the Muslim chroniclers give vivid descriptions of the wholesale plunder and devastation of the country, as well as massacre and enslavement of its inhabitants that attended its conquest by the arms of Islam. These events could not but disrupt completely the economic life of the people who thus came under the foreign yoke.

1. *ARSIE*, 16 of 1917.
2. *EI*, XIII, 18 f.
3. *ARSIE*, 45 of 1910.
4. *ARSIE*, 521 of 1912.
5. *Vaij*, 125-28. 31-61; *Abh*, 471-81; 235 f.
6. III. 1346-48, 1358.
7. *Vaij*, 128. 62-63.
8. *Vaij*, 124. 17-18; *Abh*, 375.4 f.
9. *Vaij*, 124, 19-20; *Abh*, 375.4f.
10. *Vaij*, 124. 22-23; *Abh*, 375.45.
11. On the above, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, s.v. Cauvery, p. 306.
12. Apar. on *Yāj*, I. 212.
13. *Mānasollāsa*, III. 1347.
14. *KRT*, I.42.
15. Cf. Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, Ch. I, s.v. Sandān and Saymūr. For the identification of the above geographical names, see *Ibid.*
16. II. 389.
17. Nainar, *loc. cit.*
18. II. 115.
19. Nainar, *op. cit.;* Ch. I, s.v.
20. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et texts géographiques*, 340.
21. Nainar, *op. cit.;* Ch. I.
22. II. 389.
23. Nainar, *op. cit.;* Ch. I, s.v. For the identification of the geographical names, see *Ibid.*
24. *Vaij*, 132.112.
25. *Mānasollāsa*, III. 989.
26. I. 42.
27. Marco Polo, II. 393.
28. II. 115.
29. Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit.* 92; Marco Polo, II. 375, 393, 398.
30. Marco Polo, II. 395.
31. Yāqūt and Qazwīnī in Nainar, *op. cit*, Ch. IV, s.v.
32. *Op. cit.*, 96.
33. II. 395.
34. *Ibid*, 398.
35. *Ibid*, 393, 94.
36. Nainar, *op. cit.*, Ch. I., s.v.
37. *Op. cit.*, 96.
38. II, 331-32.
39. III, 1017-20.
40. *Op. cit.*, 92.
41. II, 398.
42. *Op. cit.*, 93.
43. *Op. cit.*, 88.
44. II, 389.
45. Quoted by Abul Fida in Nainar, *op. cit.*, 55-56.
46. *Op. cit.*, 96.
47. II, 361.
48. II, 144-45.
49. On the above, see Panchanan Niyogi, *Iron in Ancient India*, 21-30.
50. III, 1146-47.
51. III, 1685-86, 1691.
52. See above, pp. 14, 19 ff.; *HIED*, II. 35.
53. *Vaij*, 44, 37-41; *Abh*, 424-26, 129 f.
54. II. 403 f.
55. II. 360.
56. *HIED*, III. 32.
57. II. 370.
58. On the above, see Nainar, *op. cit.*, s.v.
59. Quoted in Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit.*, intr., 24 and 91 n.
60. *Op. cit.*, 89.
61. Palembang in Sumatra.
62. *Op. cit.*, 88.
63. II. 390.

64. II. 376.
65. II. 386.
66. Eli, the Mt. d'Eli of the Portuguese writers, modern Elimalai, lay in the territory of the kings of the Southern Mushaka dynasty, whose capital was Kolam or Pandalayani-Kollam (*ARSIE*, 1929-30, p. 86, summarising the data of the recently published Sanskrit work, the *Mushikavaṁśa*).
67. II. 398.
68. II. 393.
69. On Idrīsī's geographical notices with their identifications, see Nainar, *op. cit.*, ch. I, s.v.
70. *EI*, VII. 197-8.
71. R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, intr. xlv-l.
72. I. 107.
73. *Ibid*, II. 450.
74. II. 412.
75. II. 234.
76. 132.111.
77. II. 442, 445.
78. *Ibid*, 390.
79. *Ibid*, 272, 284.
80. *Ibid*, 395, 398.
81. *Ibid*, 390.
82. *Ibid*, 284.
83. 42.21.
84. 43.25-33.
85. II. 390.
86. *Ibid*, 24, 132, 152, 157, 176, 181.
87. III. 1019.
88. III. 1018.
89. *Vaij*, 111-12. 94-96; *Abh*, 499. 300; *Mānasollāsa*, IV. 669-75.
89a. Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit* 91 n; Marco Polo, I. 83; II. 340, 370, 395, 438, 444, 450.
90. *HIED*, II. 33-34.
91. Estimated by Yule at 550 "Western *dīnāras*" or *saggi* of Marco Polo, II. 349 n.
92. II. 340.
93. I. 83.
94. Estimated by Yule to be £ 193.
95. II. 340, 345, 450.
96. R. H. Major, *loc. cit.*
97. I. 107.
98. *Op. cit.*, 92.
99. See pp. 517 ff.
100. Vij. and Apar. on *Yāj*. II. 185-192; *SC*, III. 520-33.
101. Cf. *EI*, XVIII. 190 f, XIX. 21 f. for the reigns of the Western Chālukyas of Vātāpi and the Yādavas of Devagiri respectively.
102. *ARSIE*, 201 of 1905, 161 of 1907, 182 of 1926, 196 of 1928, 15 and 16 of 1935-36, 35 and 77 of 1936-37.
103. Vol. IV, p. 405.
104. *MAR*. 1930, No. 53.
105. Vol. IV, p. 405; K. A. N. Sastri, *Colas*, II. 1.419.
106. *EC*, VII, SK. 118.
107. *ARSIE*, 256 of 1912.
108. *ARSIE*, 342 of 1912.
109. K. A. N. Sastri's tr., *op. cit.*, 421.
110. *EI*, VII, 197-98.
111. *EC*, IV, Hg. No. 17; VII, SK. No. 118; *ARSIE*, 256 of 1912.
112. See pp. 19 f.
113. See above, pp. 516 ff.
114. II. 331.

CHAPTER XX

ART*

1. ARCHITECTURE

1. *Formation of the Traditional Temple Styles*

The Indian *Śilpaśāstras*[1] recognise three main styles of temples, known as the *Nāgara,* the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara.* The descriptions given of them are, however, vague and inadequate, and it is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge to equate the descriptions of the texts with any of the extant examples of Indian temple architecture. The term *Drāviḍa* indicates that the names were primarily geographical. Various texts also contain passages mentioning the respective regions in which the different styles were current, though some of the texts maintain that all the styles may be found in all the regions.[2] All the available texts are agreed on the point that the *Nāgara* style was prevalent in the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas.[3] The Draviḍa country is well known, and the texts rightly confine the *Drāviḍa* style to that part of the country lying between the river Kṛishṇā and cape Kanyākumārī.[4] As will be shown later, the temples erected in these two regions in the mediaeval period are sharply distinguished from each other, both as regards ground plan and elevation. The *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles can thus be explained with reference to Northern India and the Draviḍa country respectively, and the characteristic form and features of each easily determined. The term *Vesara,* however, is not free from vagueness. Some of the texts ascribe the *Vesara* style to the country between the Vindhyas and the river Kṛishṇā.[5] In this region, or more properly in the region for some time under the royal dynasty of the Chālukyas, a separate style of temple architecture may be recognised—a style known to the archaeologists as the "Chālukyan". This style, however, is a hybrid one, borrowing elements and features both from the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa* styles, and does not become clearly distinguished before the eleventh century A.D. Thus, having regard to the evidence of monuments, the three styles of the *Śilpa* texts can be resolved ultimately into two, *viz.* the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa.*

The *Śilpa* texts, as observed above, are of very little help to us in forming an idea of the characteristic form and features of these three styles. They are always distinguished in the texts by

* The words "Text Figure" in this chapter indicate diagrams appearing at the end of the chapter.

their shapes. As for example, all the texts lay down that a *Nāgara* temple is quadrangular all over,[6] *i.e.* from the base to the *stūpī*.[7] But this feature of the plan is so very general and common that it is difficult to consider it as a sure and distinctive cognisance of a particular style of temple. The octagonal and circular shapes, respectively, of the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara* styles are also too inadequate to be regarded as sure and distinguishing marks for the styles concerned. Under the circumstances, one has to depend on the evidence of extant monuments for a knowledge of the particular form and features of any one of the styles mentioned in the *Śilpaśāstras*.

A study of the temples of Northern India reveals two distinct features—one in planning and the other in elevation. In plan the temple is always a square with a number of graduated projections in the middle of each side. These projections give it a cruciform shape with a number of re-entrant angles on each side. In elevation it exhibits a tower (*śikhara*), gradually inclining inwards in a convex curve. The projections in the plan are also carried upwards to the top of the *śikhara*, and thus there is a strong emphasis on vertical lines in elevation. On account of this and the prominence of the vigorous and unbroken outline of the tower, it is also known as the *rekha śikhara*. Widely distributed over a greater part of India, the *Nāgara* style, as could be expected, exhibits distinct varieties and ramifications in different localities, conditioned by the different lines of evolution and elaboration that each locality chose for itself. The cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower are, however, common to every mediaeval temple of Northern India, wherever it is situated and whatever its local stamp might be. In spite of elaborations and modifications in different localities, these two fundamental features are always present in a North Indian temple, and may be considered as distinctive characteristics of the *Nāgara* style of temple architecture. Each of the projections on each face of the square plan leaves out a small portion at either corner, and thus are formed a number of projecting angles (*asras*) and facets (known as *rathakas* in Sanskrit and *rathas* in the canonical texts of Orissa). In this connection it should be observed that some of the texts describe a *Nāgara* temple both as *chaturasra* (quadrangular) and as *āyatāsra*.[8] The latter term has been interpreted as rectangular.[9] It appears, however, that *chaturasrāyatāsra* of the texts should better be taken to mean "square with angles projected" (*āyatāsra, i.e. asras* or angles made *āyata* or projected). This sense finds confirmation in the plan of the *Nāgara* temples which, on account of the projections on each face, may appropriately be described as a square with projecting angles (*chaturasrāyatāsra*).

The fundamental characteristics of a *Nāgara* temple are, as noted above, the cruciform plan and the curvilinear *śikhara;* and the simplest archetype of this style may be found in a group of shrines that were in existence in the sixth century A.D. The most representative examples of the group are the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (Uttar Pradesh) and the brick temple at Bhītargāon (Uttar Pradesh). Though belonging to the later phase of the Gupta period, they present a distinct deviation from the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines in having each a low and stunted *śikhara,* gradually diminishing towards the top, over the square sanctum. They may thus be classed with the later Northern Indian *śikhara* temples, of which they are surely the precursors. The Daśāvatāra temple presents again a novel feature, apart from the *śikhara,* in the arrangement of three sculptured niches on the three walls, each as a panel framed by two pilasters on either side. These niches, along with the projection of the door-frame in the front wall, appear to set off the wall in the middle of each face. Such an arrangement may be regarded as the beginning of a device that subsequently developed into the practice of setting forward the middle of each side of the square, characteristic of the ground plan of the *Nāgara* temple of later days. One such projection may already be recognised in the brick temple at Bhītargāon and also in the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā, the latter being slightly later in date (*c.* seventh century A.D.) than the Deogarh and the Bhītargāon temples. The *śikharas* of the two early monuments are badly damaged. The Deogarh tower probably shows the use of corner *āmalakas,* which further indicate a fairly big-sized *āmalaka* as the crowning member of the *śikhara*—also an inseparable component of the *Nāgara* temple. The projections on the body of the sanctum, whether by sculptured niches or by regular buttresses, have been carried up the body of the tower in each of the above two examples. These features constitute two other essential elements of a *Nāgara* temple, and the recessed frieze separating the walls of the sanctum cella from those of the tower may also be found in the early temples of the *Nāgara* style. The graceful and well-preserved Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā exhibits a slight convex curvature of the *śikhara* as it goes up, and offers the nearest approach to a temple of the *Nāgara* style in all its characteristic elements. The brick temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur (Madhya Pradesh), contemporary to, or only slightly later than, the Nāchnā Kuṭhārā monument, also exhibits a form of the tower which is not far removed from that of a *Nāgara* temple. With its origins and antecedents in the Gupta period[9a] the *Nāgara* style emerges in its typical form and characteristics by the eighth century A.D.

The *Drāviḍa* style was current in the south,[10] evidently in the Draviḍa country,[11] roughly the country between the river Kṛishṇā and Kanyākumārī[12] (Cape Comorin). The texts merely lay down that a *Drāviḍa prāsāda* should be octagonal (some say hexagonal) from the neck to the top,[13] or, as one or two texts would enjoin, from the base to the top.[14] But such descriptions are too vague and hardly fit the facts.[15]

The outstanding and common characteristic of the temples of the Draviḍa country is the pyramidal elevation of the tower (*vimāna*), which consists of a multiplication of storey after storey, each a replica of the sanctum cella and slightly reduced in extent than the one below, ending in a domical member, technically known as the *stūpī* or *stūpikā*, as the crowning element. This storeyed arrangement of the tower in gradually receding stages may, therefore, be regarded as a distinct individuality of the *Drāviḍa* style of temple, though in later phases of its history the stages become more and more compressed, so much so that they are almost hidden under a profusion of details which become characteristic of the subsequent evolution of the style. In plan the *Drāviḍa* temple presents an inner square chamber as the sanctum cella within a bigger square enclosure, covered and roofed over, serving as the *pradakshiṇa* (circumambulatory passage). The division of the external walls into niches by pilasters is also a characteristic element of South Indian temples. The convex roll cornice, with *chaitya*-window motifs, demarcating each of the stages, and the little pavilions around the upper storeys may also be regarded as peculiar features of the style. The pillared halls and corridors and the immense *gopurams* (gateways) are invariably associated with temples that are considerably late, and may be left out of the present discussion.

Many of the distinctive elements of what came to be known as the *Drāviḍa* temple style may be found in the second group of Gupta temples, mentioned above,[15a] which exhibits a building consisting of an inner sanctum with a covered *pradakshiṇa* forming a bigger square around. The roof is flat, and in several examples (the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā, the Lad Khan, the Kont Guḍi and the Meguti temples at Aihoḷe, etc.) we find an upper storey, which being placed above the inner sanctum cella is necessarily set back. These storeyed structures are in some respects analogous to the storeyed pavilions, shown in relief, on the Audumbara coins from the Kāngrā valley of about the first century A.D.[16] Structurally, however, such temples cannot be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D., and in the early structural buildings we find just the rudiments of accumulating storey after storey, in gradually reduced stages, that form the nucleus of the *Drāviḍa* style of

vimāna. The plan of the inner sanctum with a cloistered gallery around is a special characteristic common to this type of Gupta temples and a temple of the *Drāviḍa* style. Again, the scheme of the division of the walls of the *Drāviḍa* temple by pilasters and niches may have its origin in the peculiar device of enclosing the *pradakshiṇa* square with thin slabs of stone socketted to pilasters placed at intervals, as we have in the Lad Khan at Aihoḷe. In the Jain temple of Meguti such a decorative scheme of the exterior walls becomes clearly established. The Lad Khan as well as the Meguti further show the use of the roll cornice carved with well-shaped *chaitya* arches—an essential motif that came to be regarded as a distinguishing mark of the *Drāviḍa* style of temples. Already, then, in the Gupta period the distinctive characteristics of what came to be subsequently known as the *Drāviḍa* temple style may be recognised in a well-defined group or type of temples. All the early examples of the type, however, are found outside the limits of the Draviḍa country, and the association of the type with that country is an event that is still to come. But there can be no doubt that the *Drāviḍa* temple is an adaptation of the earlier storeyed form of the Gupta temple, enriched further by the addition of new elements in the matter of details, which may be said to be of local origin.

It should be remembered, however, that the regional definition of the two styles comes later, and is not clear as yet. The archetypes of what came to be known as the *Drāviḍa* style had originally nothing to do with the Draviḍa country, and appear first in the Deccan and Central India, occasionally also in Northern India. Even in the seventh century A.D. the *śikhara*, archetype of the *Nāgara* style, and the storeyed forms occur side by side at Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, and Bādāmi. The geographical delimitation of the two styles is thus yet to come.

2. *Nāgara Style*

The *Nāgara* style of temple architecture had a long and varied history. Temples, with distinctive characteristics of the style as mentioned above, are found to be widely distributed over the greater part of India. According to the *Śilpaśāstras* the geographical extent of the *Nāgara* style coincided with Northern India, *i.e.* the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, and Fergusson's nomenclature, the Āryāvarta style, is nearly approximate in this connection. Actually, however, the style transcends the canonical limit far to the south, and temples belonging to the style may be seen from the Himālayas in the north to the Bijāpur District

in the south, from the Punjāb in the west to Bengal in the east. With such a vast geographical extent it is natural that there are local variations and ramifications in the formal development of the style in the different regions, although such local developments do not alter materially its basic characteristics. Such variations are caused by local conditions, by different directions in development, as well as by assimilation of extraneous trends wherever these made themselves felt. On account of such wide distribution and varied developments, a consecutive historical treatment of the style is not possible, except on a regional basis. The different phases of the *Nāgara* style will, therefore, be dealt with geographically.

A. Orissa

Of all the regional developments of the *Nāgara* style that of Orissa is one of the most remarkable. From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. innumerable temples were erected in Orissa, and it has been truly observed that "there are perhaps more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindustān put together". The activity centred round the sacred city of Bhuvaneśvara (Bhuvaneswar), a temple town which alone contains hundreds of temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation. Along the coast the movement extends in the north-east and south-west, roughly covering the area of the modern State of Orissa. Circumscribed within this area, these temples form, to quote Fergusson, "one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India".[17] This prolific and sustained architectural activity was due in a large measure to the patronage of the different dynasties of kings, and the preservation of so many fine examples, to the comparative immunity of the country from Muslim inroads till a late period. The result is that there is more or less a continuous series of monuments which enables us to trace the history of this local development of the *Nāgara* style with a certain amount of exactness and precision. One other singular fact is that the Orissan temples, in spite of an unbroken history of several centuries, remain nearest to the original archetype, while other regional manifestations of the *Nāgara* style indicate great modifications and transformations in course of evolution. As such, the Orissan group may be said to represent, to some extent, a pure form of the original *Nāgara* style. Its graceful proportions, solemn and unbroken outline, and elegant design and decorative scheme enhance the beauty of the original archetype, but without any loss of balance, strength, or stability. Not only historically, but architectonically too, it is the most interesting and instructive series of all the temple

forms of the *Nāgara* style, and it is only natural and logical that a study of the development of the style should begin with Orissa.

The earliest temple in Orissa, like the older type of the Gupta period, is a single building consisting of a square sanctum, topped by a curvilinear tower, with one buttress-like projection in the middle of each face. The typical Orissan temple, however, has, in addition, the porch hall in front distinguished by a pyramidal roof (known locally as *mukha-maṇḍapa* or *jagamohana*). In the early temples the porch hall appears to have been absent. In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara (Fig. 3) there is a rectangular porch hall roofed over by two sloping tiers forming a clerestory; but this porch, too, appears to have been a later addition. In subsequent examples, however, the porch hall became a necessary concomitant of the Orissan temples. The sanctum with the curvilinear tower is known as the *rekha deul,* whereas the *jagamohana* with the pyramidal roof is called the *bhadra* or *piḍhā deul.* Each of these two components offers a counterplay in the design of the other.

Orissa had its own canons of architecture,—a set of literature which has been edited by a competent scholar who made a thorough study of it with the help of local craftsmen, supplementing it by personal field observations.[18] As a result of the study of the canons the building art in Orissa is found to have a separate and distinct nomenclature of its own. Each part and each section of the building had its particular name, and those describing the essential members may, with a certain amount of appropriateness, be used with reference to the other temple groups of the *Nāgara* style.

The sanctum and the *jagamohana* in Orissa may each be divided along the vertical axis into four distinct sections, namely the *pishṭa* (pedestal or the platform on which the temple stands), the *bāḍa* (the cube of the sanctum cella or of the porch hall), the *gaṇḍi* (or the *śikhara,* the tower), and the *mastaka* (or the crowning elements). The *pishṭa* does not appear to have been an essential element, as there are important examples where it has been found to be absent. The *bāḍa* rises perpendicularly straight up to a certain height and, in case of the *rekha deul,* merges into the *gaṇḍi* or the *śikhara,* which gradually inclines inwards in a convex curve. Usually there is a section, known as the *baraṇḍa,* demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi.* The *gaṇḍi* of the *rekha* is further subdivided into a number of sections, literally known as the *bhūmis* or planes, by ribbed elements at the corners. This ribbed element no doubt represents a sectional *amlā,* known as *bhūmi-amlā* for demarcating the *bhūmis,* and a substitute, in the body of the *gaṇḍi,*

of the enormous spheroid stone, *āmalaka-śilā,* that caps the tower. In the *bhadra deul* the *gaṇḍi* is composed of a number of *piḍhās* or horizontal platforms, compressed in height and piled up in the form of a pyramid, so that they decrease in size from the bottom upwards. The *piḍhās* may be arranged in two or more sections (*potala*). From the top of the *gaṇḍi* in either case (*rekha* and *bhadra*), rise the different crowning elements, which may be collectively termed as the *mastaka.* First, there is a recessed portion known as the *beki* or the neck (Sanskrit-*kaṇṭha*); above this is the *amlā* (Sanskrit *āmalaka-śilā* or *amalasāraka*), which is a flattened spheroid ribbed at the edges. In the full-fledged *bhadra deul* an enormous member, shaped like a bell and sometimes ribbed at the edges, intervenes between the *beki* and the *amlā.* Next to the *amlā* there is the *khapūrī* (literally the skull of the head), which is a flat domical member resembling an unfolded umbrella. Above it is placed the *kalasa* or water jar, an important auspicious object in Indian religion and ritual. The *bāḍa* as well as the *gaṇḍi* is square in cross section all through, but the crowning elements are circular, and above them all appears the *dhvaja* or *āyudha, i.e.* the emblem of the particular deity to whom the temple is consecrated.

In plan the sanctum as well as the *jagamohana* is plainly square inside, but on the exterior the walls exhibit several buttress-like projections in the middle of each face, on account of which the ground plan assumes what may be called a cruciform shape. Each such projection leaves out a portion at both the ends, and hence the plan is also one of projecting and re-entrant angles. Where there is only one such projection in the middle of each face, the wall is divided into three vertical sections (literally known as *rathas* or *rathakas*), and such a plan is hence known as *triratha* or composed of three *rathas,* the two on either side being on the same plane and the other being set forward a little. In a similar way there are *pañcharatha, saptaratha* and *navaratha* plans, according as there are two, three, or four such projections on each face of the cube of the *bāḍa.* The projections on the *bāḍa* run along the entire height of the *gaṇḍi,* and the corresponding sections on the body of the latter are known as the *pagas.* Usually there runs a narrow depression between the vertical sections, thus demarcating and accentuating the projections still more.

The description given above is more or less true of every temple of Orissa, early or late. The tendency in evolution is towards a greater elaboration, minuter details, and a pronounced accentuation of height. The oldest specimens of the extant temples in Orissa exhibit each a *triratha* plan, and the *bāḍa* is subdivided into three

segments, placed one above the other along the vertical axis, namely, the *pābhāga* (from *pāda-bhāga,* the portion of the foot, *i.e.* the plinth), the *jāṅgha* (shin, *i.e.* the perpendicular wall portion) and the *baraṇḍa, i.e.* the section that intervenes between the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi.* Several temples of this shape and form may still be found in Orissa.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara is usually regarded as the oldest among the temples of Orissa. Mr. Manomohan Ganguli observes that it is probably "dated in the 5th or 6th century A.D. at the latest".[19] This date is palpably wrong, and on the basis of a palaeographical analysis of the inscriptions on the Navagraha lintel over the doorway of the sanctum the late Mr. R. D. Banerji placed the temple in the eighth century A.D.,[20] a date that seems very probable from the stylistic considerations of the temple and its sculptures. Recently another scholar has tried to place the temple about the seventh century A.D. on the same palaeographical grounds.[21] The story of Orissan temples, however, goes further back and examples of a still earlier date may be found at Bhuvaneśvara in the Śatrughneśvara group of temples (Fig. 1), just in front of the Rāmeśvara. Though extremely damaged, a straight-edged contour of the *śikhara* may be recognised in each case, and this, together with a general appearance of bareness and simplicity, indicates an earlier date for these temples, perhaps not far removed from that of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh. Stylistically, again, the tiny shrine, once standing by the side of the Vindusarovara tank (Fig. 2), appears to have been slightly older than the Paraśurāmeśvara, though the two temples are so very alike that it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion on this point. The style of the carvings of this little temple, now lost, belongs very probably to an earlier date, and on this account an earlier date for the temple may very plausibly be postulated.

The small but exquisitely decorated Paraśurāmeśvara temple (Fig. 3) may, however, be regarded as a representative specimen among the early Orissan temples, and from it should properly begin the story of the development of Orissan temple architecture. The sanctum is *triratha* in plan, but on each face there are two subsidiary niches on either side of the central niche accommodated in the buttress projection in the middle. This mode may just be an anticipation of the subsequent *pañcharatha* plan. The *pābhāga* or the plinth consists of three simple mouldings. The *jāṅgha* is occupied by three niches on each face, each capped by a tiered superstructure. The *baraṇḍa* or the section demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi,* consists of a narrow recessed frieze of couples of

human figures alternating with chess-board patterned panels. The *gaṇḍi* is low and stunted, and begins to curve inward from the very bottom, thus resulting in a gradual curvilinear outline. The projection of the central niche is carried up and forms the *rāhā-paga* (*i.e.* the central *paga*), while two intermediate *pagas (anurāhā-pagas)* are formed on either side as a result of the continuation, though not in the same alignment, of the projections of the subsidiary niches on the two sides. At the outermost or the corner *pagas (koṇaka-pagas)* the *gaṇḍi* is divided into five planes or stages, literally *bhūmis,* by *bhūmi-amlās.* Above the fifth *bhūmi* there is a flat tier, known as the *bisama,* also called the *vedī* or altar. The *gaṇḍi* is throughout square in cross section, and the sharp edges at the corners as well as those of the *ratha-paga* projections are rigidly maintained. On account of the gradual inward inclination, the *gaṇḍi* or the tower ends with the *vedī* in a much smaller square, and next begins the circular section of the crowning elements, the enormous *āmalaka-śilā* having an appearance of being supported at each of the four corners on the figure of a seated lion with two hinder parts, technically known in Orissa as the *dopichhā siṁha.* Nothing now remains above the *āmalaka,* but it is possible that it was topped by a prism-shaped object, which is the usual finial in the early examples of the Orissan group. The height of the temple is approximately three times the inside length of the *garbha-gṛiha* or the sanctum, and in form and appearance, in plan and elevation, it has but very little difference with the earlier examples of the *śikhara* type noticed elsewhere. Another significant fact is that the *bisama, i.e.* the tier at which the *gaṇḍi* ends at the top, in conformity with the early *śikhara* temples, is square without the indentations of the *paga* projections on the body of the *gaṇḍi.*

The long and rectangular *jagamohana,* preceding the sanctum, was very probably a subsequent addition, and the joining between the two is a rather haphazard piece of work. The rectangular hall is topped by a sloping roof formed by flat stone slabs having in the centre a sort of clerestory supported on two rows of three pillars each in the interior. The Orissan temple is essentially astylar and the pillars have seldom a place in the composition of the Orissan temples. The pillars in the *jagamohana* accordingly disappear along with the evolution of the usual type of pyramidal *jagamohana* characteristic of Orissa. The porch hall is approached by three doorways, one each on the larger sides and the third in front, the last being subsequently closed up by a sculptured slab forming a grilled window. Besides, light is admitted into the interior of the hall by means of a latticed window of a chess-board pattern in one of the longer walls. The sculptured decorations of both the

jagamohana and the *garbha-gṛiha* are in elegant taste and, though widely separated in time, the Gupta flavour is not yet exinct.

The temple is not large, the *garbha-gṛiha* being only 20 feet at its base, the entire length with the *jagamohana,* 48 feet, and the height of the *śikhara* from the base to the top, only 44 feet. The method of construction is extremely simple, with stone masonry of large size set without mortar and kept in position by their weight and balance, strengthened further by a system of interlocking flanges. Simple though its construction is, the methods employed in this small shrine remained in vogue in Orissa, and were followed in the subsequent period even in raising up such enormous piles of structures, as the great Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara and the far-famed Sun temple at Konārak (Koṇārka).

The twin temples at Gandharadi in the old Baudh State may be mentioned as the next in point of date to the Paraśurāmeśvara, to which they are exactly similar in plan as well as in elevation. Though there is no clerestory, the roof of the *jagamohana* rises in two receding stages of sloping tiers. A *piḍhā* with three sloping tiers may be seen at Baramba (Cuttack District). In this arrangement may be recognised the beginning of the stupendous pyramidal form of the typical Orissan *jagamohanas.* Though the scheme of ornamentation is not more detailed and advanced than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara, the rounded corners and the bevelled edges of the *pagas* indicate that the tendency to refinement from harsh to softer contours is well under way.

The next temple that should be mentioned is the little shrine of Mukteśvara (Fig. 4), lying very close to the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara, at a place called Siddhāraṇya or the "forest of the Perfect". It is situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by a low wall with panelled sides and battlemented coping. The approach is through an elegant *toraṇa* (Fig. 5) or archway supported on two richly carved columns rising from a paved court. The columns are built in sections and consist each of a square base, a sixteen-sided shaft, and a capital consisting of an *āmalaka* with a spread out cruciform *vedikā* as a support for the arch. The last is semi-circular in shape, but built in transverse section with oversailing courses. The ends of the arch are shaped as *makara* heads and both the faces are elegantly carved with floral patterns, miniature niches with human heads peeping out, and a pair of female figures in recumbent attitude occupying the entire segment of the arch. This ornamental appendage to the Mukteśvara is unlike anything in Orissa, and the tradition that it was intended for purposes

of swinging the god on festive occasions may have some basis of truth.

The temple of Mukteśvara is closely similar in design to that of the Paraśurāmeśvara, and, like it, stands on a low plinth. The plan of the sanctum is, however, a regular *pañcharatha* and the *jagamohana* partakes more of the typical Orissan form of the *piḍhā deul*. The latter is surmounted by a pyramidal roof, consisting of gradually receding tiers, piled up one above the other, and ultimately crowned by the auspicious jar *(kalasa)* with the majestic figures of lions over the pediments of the projections on the three sides.

The corners of the sanctum tower are carefully rounded off, and the edges of the *ratha-paga* projections are bevelled to a certain extent, with the result that the harsh contours of the earlier examples give place to a really graceful and softened outline of the *śikhara*. In keeping with this, the exterior surface of the temple is very richly carved with a luxuriance of ornamental detail sculptured and finished with the greatest care and taste. Every scrap of carving is clean-cut and distinctive. Particularly interesting are the fine interlacings of a minute design, resembling the *chaitya*-window, which appear on the intermediate *ratha-paga* projections as well as on the upper section of the *rāhā-paga* on each face. Executed with the greatest skill the design takes the form of a very rich fretwork, singular in its appearance in Orissa but a rather common mode of ornamentation in the temples of Osia in Rājputāna. The bold design, consisting of a couple of rounded dwarfish figures on either side of a highly ornate *chaitya*-window device topped by a *kīrttimukha* (Fig. 6), that appears on each of the *rāhā-pagas*, is also superb and masterful in treatment and animation. Moreover, the floral bands, the scroll works, etc. lavishly display a remarkable excellence in design and a perfect delicacy of execution. The reliefs are bold and impressive; the statuettes jutting out, as it were, of the surface are vigorous and full of action, and exhibit charming forms.

The temple of Mukteśvara is one of the smallest of the Bhuvaneśvara group, being barely 35 feet high, and the sanctum only 7 feet 6 inches square on the inside. But the parts are so beautifully adjusted to one another that the disposition of the whole is elegant as well as effective. Further, the artist has adapted his ornaments to the scale of his monument in so clever a way that the eye fails to detect the smallness of the structure. Hence, in spite of its modest size the Mukteśvara may be regarded as the most brilliant of its class, and it is not without reason that it has been so enthusiastically praised by different critics. Fergusson, than whom there can be no better judge, describes it as the "gem of Orissan archi-

tecture",[22] while Rajendra Lala Mitra extols it as "the handsomest —a charming epitome of the perfection of Orissan architecture".[23] Both of them saw the temple in a dilapidated state and overgrown with jungle. But the decay and overgrowth of centuries, though they had furrowed its brow and wrought wrinkles on its glistening surface, could not entirely efface its pristine beauty and solemn grandeur.

The Mukteśvara marks an advance on the form presented by the Paraśurāmeśvara and represents the early phase of architectural activity in Orissa at its maturity. This advance, however, does not signify as yet any definite break with, or departure from, the traditions and form of the early prototype, and hence the interval between the dates of the two temples could not have been very long. Scholars are usually inclined to place the Mukteśvara temple about A.D. 950, *i.e.* nearly two centuries after the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara. This date, however, appears to be much too late, architectonically. The exquisite carvings of this pretty little shrine also tell the same tale. On these considerations the longest interval that separated the two temples does not seem to have been more than a century.

Temples almost similar in shape and design may be found at Bhuvaneśvara and at other places in Orissa. They range in date between the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., and casually this early form persists even up to the tenth. It has to be borne in mind that temples of this class, no doubt an early manifestation of the *Nāgara* style in Orissa, are found to be widely distributed over a greater part of India. This is not at all surprising, as each locality derived it from a common archetype, current and in vogue in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and none of them can be said to have developed as yet any local and regional characteristic.

But this plain and early form of the *Nāgara* temple in Orissa undergoes a distinct transformation, as a result of evolution, into a novel and elaborate type, which may be termed as peculiarly Orissan. The tendency in evolution is towards an elaboration and refinement of the simpler design of the earlier temple and also towards an accentuation of height. The elaboration is noticed not only in the greater variegation of the ground plan, obtained by adding to the number of projections, but also in that of elevation where the exterior facade is divided into a larger number of sections along the vertical axis. Beginning from the *triratha,* the plan is gradually elaborated into the *pañcharatha,* the *saptaratha* and even to the *navaratha.* Each of these *rathas* again is further subdivided into a number of smaller facets. From the standpoint of elevation the earlier

Orissan temple, in conformity with its archetype, always shows a threefold division of the *bāḍa*,—the *pābhāga*, the *jāṅgha* and the *baraṇḍa*. The later Orissan temple, however, invariably exhibits a five-fold division of the *bāḍa*, the *jāṅgha* itself being divided into two sections, the lower (*tala-jāṅgha*) and the upper (*upara-jāṅgha*), by a course of mouldings, known as the *bāndhanā* or the bond, about its middle height. Correspondingly, the mouldings of the *pābhāga* and those of the *baraṇḍa* increase in number, the former consisting of five and the latter of seven in almost every important Orissan temple of the later period. In the *gaṇḍi* the *bhūmis* also increase in number and in contour it takes a more perpendicular rise with an abrupt inward bend towards the top. The greater variegation in the elevation of the temple is no doubt necessitated by an urge for increased height.

Along with such minute demarcation of the different elements and sections, as mentioned above, there was correspondingly a greater variety of decorative detail, and the whole exterior of the *bāḍa* all around is not only covered with rich and elegant mouldings, but also with pilasters, niches and figures—human, animal and composite—each having its proper and appropriate place in the design. The accentuation of height is recognised in the multiplication of mouldings as well as in the general form and appearance of the *gaṇḍi* or the *śikhara*. In the early temples the ratio between the length of the sanctum and the total height of the temple is approximately 1:3, as we have in the Paraśurāmeśvara. But in the temples which, in plan (multiplication of *rathas*) as well as in elevation (five sections of the *bāḍa*, multiplication of the mouldings, greater details in decoration, etc.), exhibit late features in evolution, the ratio increases from 1:4 to 1:5, and in the magnificent Sun temple at Konārak the estimated ratio is approximately 1:7. A regular correspondence between elaboration and heightening may be observed all through the history of Orissan architecture.

Again, a refinement and delicacy of the outline may be noticed in the gradual rounding off of the edges at the corners as well as in the *ratha-paga* projections. But in such attempts at softening off, the architects took especial care not to break up the outline, and the unbroken contour of the tall tower, together with the accentuated verticalism of the *ratha-paga* projections, gave an impression of aspiring height and grandeur. In this rounding off of the corners and of the edges of the projections may be logically traced the origin of the practice of decorating the exterior with miniature replicas of *śikharas (aṅga-śikharas)* round the main one. The corner *pagas*, rounded off and with *bhūmi-amlās* at the different

stages, naturally take the shape of miniature *rekhas,* and soon these begin to appear on the surface of the *gaṇḍi* all around. Thus do the different stages of the spire simulate the main one by repeating themselves round the body of the *gaṇḍi* and quite in a logical course too. The temple of Rājārāṇī at Bhuvaneśvara exhibits a cluster of smaller towers round the body of the main *gaṇḍi* (Fig. 10). This may appear to be an exotic growth in Orissa, being rather very rare in that area. This novel arrangement may be explained as the natural outcome of a logical evolution following a process of elaboration, refinement and decoration as outlined above. The effect, however, did not prove to be happy, as the different miniatures round the body of the main tower broke up and dissolved the forceful outline of the temple, an outline that was more pleasing and architecturally more sound. It might be, that for this reason the process was not followed up in Orissa; but it had its full play in Central India, where the aspiring outline of the *rekha* tower was almost effaced by an exuberance of turrets clinging to the body of the main *śikhara,* and thus breaking up its contour. The Orissan architects knew where to stop, and as soon as it became apparent that the process of evolution, when carried to a logical culmination, would lead to a loss of architectural effect, they gave up the attempt and confined the miniature *rekhas* to the *anurāhā-pagas* only, and casually to the *rāhā-paga* of the front facade. They, however, took care that these miniature replicas were not obtrusive enough to break up the linear ascent of the main tower.

Thus the *śikhara* temple evolved a particular and individual form in Orissa of which the main features were the five-fold division of the *bāḍa* and the miniature replicas of the *rekha-śikhara* (*aṅga-śikhara)* on the *anurāhā-pagas* of the main *gaṇḍi.* The rampant figure of a lion on an elephant *(gaja-siṁha),* projecting from each face of the *gaṇḍi,* and caryatids, known usually as *deul-chāraṇis,* above the *bisama,* supporting or appearing to support the heavy *āmalaka-śilā,* also occur as invariable accompaniments of this characteristic Orissan type of temple, and may be recognised to have been among its distinctive features. The characteristic type of Orissan temple also exhibits an almost perpendicular ascent of the *rekha* up to a great height, taking a pronounced curve only quite near the top. The increase in the number of sections along the vertical axis is, no doubt, a necessary corollary to the increased height of the temple, and an aspiration for height is particularly felt all through the course of evolution. The above features, being peculiar only to Orissa, may be said to be typically Orissan. They begin to apear from the tenth century A.D. The five-fold division of the *bāḍa* is characteristic not

only of the body of the *garbha-gṛiha* but also of that of the *jagamohana.*

The emergence of the typical Orissan form of the temple may be studied with reference to several instructive examples at Bhuvaneśvara, namely the Siddheśvara (Fig. 7), the Kedāreśvara and the Brahmeśvara. The Siddheśvara and the Kedāreśvara are two decayed temples of medium height situated, like the Mukteśvara, within the precincts of the Siddhāraṇya, and look almost alike in appearance. Like the Mukteśvara each of the temples is *pañcharatha* in plan. A five-fold division of the *bāḍa* has, however, been obtained by dividing the *jāṅgha* into two sections by three courses of horizontal mouldings *(bāndhanā)* about the middle height, though the central *ratha* forms one unit consisting of the usual niche with a tiered superstructure reaching the lowermost course of the *baraṇḍa.* The number of mouldings in the *pābhāga* has increased to conventional five, and the *baraṇḍa,* instead of being a recessed frieze as in the earlier temple, has taken the form of a number of mouldings projected and recessed alternately. At the bottom the *gaṇḍi* is surrounded by miniature *rekhas,* one on each *paga,* and the figure of a rampant lion *(jhampa-siṁha)* may be seen projecting from the *rāhā-paga* on each face. This is a motif that is new in appearance, but a variation of which, the lion rampant on an elephant *(gaja-siṁha),* became a distinctive characteristic of later Orissan temples. This particular feature is absent in the temples of the earlier group, e.g. the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Mukteśvara, etc., where one usually finds instead an inset sculpture depicting a particular legend associated with the divinity to whom the temple was consecrated. In the Mukteśvara, on the front face, a sedent lion is placed above the prominent design consisting of the figure of a *kīrttimukha* between two dwarfish *gaṇa* figures. This may indicate the beginnings of such a practice, and in the Siddheśvara-Kedāreśvara group four rampant lions on the four sides of the *gaṇḍi* may be recognised to be an advancement on the former design. Above the *bisama* on each *rāhā-paga* is placed a grinning figure seated on haunches, which appears to carry the *āmalaka-śilā* as caryatids do. It is these figures which later on came to be known as *deul-chāraṇis.* Next to the *āmalaka-śilā* there is the flattened dome-shaped section, known as the *khapūrī,* surmounted by the *kalasa* and the distinctive emblem (*āyudha*) of the god as the crowning finial. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the *kalasa* and the finial are absent in the earlier group. The small temple by the side of the Vindusarovara (now collapsed) had a prism-shaped object, not unlike the phallic emblem, surmounting the *āmalaka.* The Paraśurāmeśvara also possibly had a similar object as the crowning member of the tower. The Mukteśvara is now found to be crowned by a *kalasa,* but it is not

known definitely whether it was there originally. The *kalasa,* an auspicious object in Hindu ritual, is a sacred element and there can be little doubt that its appearance in conjunction with the distinctive emblem of the divinity has been dictated by a sacerdotal necessity. Leaving aside the rather doubtful case of the Mukteśvara, these two important features of the typical Orissan temple are for the first time met with in the Siddheśvara-Kedāreśvara group. Compared to the Mukteśvara, with its finished appearance, the Siddheśvara and the Kedāreśvara, with their thick-set and heavy-shouldered *śikharas* and a general coarseness of ornament, may appear to be rather archaic. But the features mentioned above clearly mark them, along with the Brahmeśvara, as a stage in transition from the early *Nāgara* form to the typically Orissan one. They present us, in many respects, with the beginnings of those individual features that finally became established as the distinctive characteristics of the typical Orissan temple. Chronologically they may roughly be placed in the tenth century A.D.

The Brahmeśvara temple (Fig. 8) with its more finished appearance belongs also to the phase of transition like the Siddheśvara and the Kedāreśvara. According to an inscription, now lost, it was built by Kolāvatī, mother of king Uddyotakeśarī, in the eighteenth year of the latter's reign, which may be placed about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[24] Situated within an enclosure and with four subsidiary shrines (*chaturamarakulī*) at the four corners it makes a regular *pañchāyatana* group. Although belonging to the same phase as the Siddheśvara and Kedāreśvara the main temple marks an advance on both. Apart from its more refined appearance due to the rounding off of the sharp edges, the *rekha gaṇḍi* in the Brahmeśvara, instead of showing a gradual inward curve as in the earlier group, rises almost perpendicularly up to a greater portion of its height and takes a pronounced bend only towards the top, a contour that is not far off from that of the celebrated Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara. The graded heights of the *aṅga-śikharas* on the *pagas* at the bottom of the *gaṇḍi* introduce pleasing variations to the rather monotonous effect of such a feature in the Siddheśvara-Kedāreśvara group where they are found to have made their first appearance. The *kīrttimukha* as the pedestal of the projecting figure of the rampant lion also appears to mark an advance on the design, just a step prior to the evolution of the usual conventional motif of the *gaja-siṁha.* The *jagamohana,* too, though approximating in shape to those of the Mukteśvara, the Siddheśvara and the Kedāreśvara, has a more refined appearance. Further, it introduces new and significant features supplying a definite connection with the future development of the typical *piḍhā deul.* The top is surmounted by a domical member and crowned by

the *āmalaka-śilā* and the auspicious jar, exactly as in the *jagamohanas* of the typical Orissan temples. But the different elements of the superstructure still show rather an assortment of individual members without any conscious attempt at co-ordination and integration that are to come later. Thus, in its characteristic features and appearance, the Brahmeśvara offers us the nearest approach to the great Liṅgarāja which is the best and the most representative of the Orissan type of the *Nāgara* temple.

The temple of Rājārāṇī (Fig. 9) at Bhuvaneśvara, though apparently an exceptional type in Orissa,[24a] requires a more detailed treatment in this connection. Standing isolated nearly a furlong to the east of the Siddhāraṇya, it looks picturesque by reason of the broad expanse of green fields on all its sides. The rather unusual name might have been derived from the fine-grained yellow sandstone, known as the *rājrāniā*, of which the temple has been built. Time has mellowed its surface to delightful soft shades, varying from pale amber to deep jacinth, which further add a colourful effect to the building among its natural surroundings.

The Rājārāṇī certainly marks an advance in the art of composition over that of the group just mentioned. In general configuration the plan of the sanctum (Text Fig. 1) is no doubt in the shape of a square, but because of the multiple offsets and projections on each face, introduced evidently to give greater variety and play of light and shade, it becomes almost circular in appearance. Moreover, the sanctum, instead of being aligned on the same plans as the rest of the building, is placed diagonally to it.

In elevational aspect too the Rājārāṇī temple is a departure from all the others of the Orissan group. Along with the extreme variegation of the ground plan the main body of the tower is surrounded by a number of smaller replicas, clinging to and clustering around it (Fig. 10). Although this kind of elaboration was already anticipated in the previous group, here, in the Rājārāṇī, the tendency gets an added emphasis not only in the two *aṅga-śikharas*, one above the other, on each of the *rāhā-pagas*, but also in the separate volume and mass that have been given to each. The walls of the sanctum are richly and magnificently carved and the individual decorations are of rare and singular beauty. But the *jagamohana* is apparently left unfinished.

Though exotic in Orissa, the Rājārāṇī is really the result of a logical evolution, following a distinct course, from the early *Nāgara* form in Orissa represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara-Mukteśvara group at Bhuvaneśvara. Though there is a more fluent volume and mass in the body of the tower displaying a refinement in curves and

contours that denote a more subtle feeling for form, the design did not find favour in Orissa and was ultimately discarded, as mentioned above. No one who has seen the Rājārāṇī temple at Bhuvaneśvara and those of the Khajurāho group can fail to notice the similarity in the shape of this particular *deul* with the *śikharas* of the Central Indian type, a type that strikes a new note in this aspect of the temple design. Another link with Central India may be recognised in the double *āmalakas* which characterise the *aṅga-śikharas* of the Rājārāṇī. The course of evolution, as outlined above, had no doubt its fullest and freest play in Central India where the exuberance of miniature replicas clinging to the body of the main *śikhara* adds a rich and variegated, though somewhat disturbed and restless, effect.

The majestic temple of the Liṅgarāja (Fig. 11) at Bhuvaneśvara represents the Orissan type of temple in its full maturity. The god enshrined in it is Śiva (Tribhuvaneśvara or Bhuvaneśvara) from which the city takes its name. The sanctuary is situated in the middle of a large quadrangular court enclosed by massive walls and with a monumental entrance portal in the middle of the east side. Many other subsidiary structures are clustered round the main sanctuary pile. Each of these accessory buildings is a work of art, but the mind and eye of the spectator always turn towards the enormous Liṅgarāja with its majestic proportions, its extraordinary means of construction and its elegant carvings.

Like every other temple of magnitude and importance the Liṅgarāja, as it now stands, is made up of four great conjuncts, all disposed on the same axis extending from east to west, *viz.* the *bhoga-maṇḍapa* (refectory hall), the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* (dancing hall), the *jagamohana* (hall of audience) and the *deul* or the sanctuary proper (Text Fig 2). They do not all date from the same period; the original temple scheme consisted of two elements, the *deul* and the *jagamohana,* the two ancillary halls of the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* and the *bhoga-maṇḍapa* being added, in all probability, about a century later. The sanctum proper is characterised by the tall curvilinear tower, remarkable for its height and volume, and the halls by pyramidal roofs. The *deul* and the *jagamohana,* both belonging to the original temple scheme, are *pañcharatha* in plan, and in each there is the corresponding five-fold division of the *bāḍa* in vertical segments. The mouldings of the *pābhāga,* the *bāndhanā* and the *baraṇḍa* and the sculptural decoration of the two *jāṅghas* are richer and more elegant in design, but do not produce any idea of monotony or of being overdone. The niches in the central projection of the *bāḍa* of the *deul,* except on the east, have each developed into a miniature shrine on

a roofed platform approached by elaborate flights of steps. They accommodate the subsidiary divinities, Pārvatī, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, associated with the mythology of Śiva to whom the temple is consecrated. The black chlorite figures of these deities are specimens of exquisite carving representing the high watermark of the plastic skill of Orissan artists in days gone by.

Undoubtedly the most impressive feature of the Liṅgarāja is the great tower of the *deul* (Fig. 12) which dominates not only the entire composition but also the surrounding landscape for many miles. Nearly 160 feet in height, its stupendous mass is effectively broken up by the vertical *pagas* which add to the fluency of its outline. The tower, slightly inclining inwards from the top of the *baraṇḍa,* speeds up into a parabolic curve near the top. This pronounced taper takes off the harshness of the almost perpendicular ascent of the tower and introduces pleasingly the recessed *beki* over which rises the ponderous *āmalaka-śilā* supported at each corner on a lion with two hinder parts *(dopichhā-siṁha).* Above is the umbrella-shaped *khapūrī* surmounted by the *kalasa* and the trident, the emblem of the god installed within. The corners of the tower and the edges of the *pagas* have been rounded off a good deal, but the square cross-section is maintained all through the height of the *gaṇḍi.* Not only has the *deul* grown in elevation, but the height is further accentuated by the vertical lines of the *pagas,* of which the angles of the *anurāhās* on each face bear miniature representations of the *rekha* tower *(aṅga-śikhara).* Rising in graded sizes up the entire height of the *gaṇḍi,* they help the upward ascent of the tower, rather than break it. A harmonious counterplay in the design is afforded by the horizontal mouldings which, carried in lines across the chases of the *pagas,* richly texture the entire surface of the tower. On the *rāhāpaga* on each face projects the figure of a lion, rampant on an elephant *(gaja-siṁha),* that looks as if leaping in space. With its aspiring height and plastically modelled mass the *śikhara* of the great Liṅgarāja is the crowning achievement of this far-famed temple.

The *jagamohana,* also co-eval with the *deul,* is no less magnificent. Like the *deul* it is *pañcharatha* in plan and shows the similar division of the *bāḍa* into five-fold vertical segments. The superstructure consists of a pyramidal roof rising in two sections *(potalas)* of superposed horizontal tiers in gradually receding stages. Above this square roof rise the circular crowning elements, the *beki,* the bell-shaped fluted member supporting the *āmalaka-śilā,* and the *kalasa* finial. The entire height is a little over 100 feet from the ground, and with its massive dimensions and decorative scheme the *jagamohana* is a fitting prelude to the *deul* which soars high up be-

hind, each affording a counterplay in the design of the other. The ancillary halls of the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* and the *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, though of later date, are very much of the same design as the *jagamohana*, and harmoniously fit into the architectural scheme of the whole; but they prolong the line of the structures rather inordinately.

Of the secondary structures within the courtyard of the Liṅgarāja, mention should at least be made of the temple of Bhagavatī which is a structural entity of high architectural merit and sculptural excellence. Were it not situated beneath the shadow of the mighty tower of the Liṅgarāja, it would have ranked as a production of supreme grandeur and magnificence.

There are a number of votive inscriptions on the temple and its adjuncts. But none is earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A.D., which must be taken as the farthest limit of the date of the temple. Scholars have usually placed the Liṅgarāja at about A.D. 1000.[25] But in view of the direction of architectural development, as outlined above, along with the fixed chronological point supplied by the Brahmeśvara temple, the Liṅgarāja has to be dated about A.D. 1100, certainly not earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century.

A number of temples of the typical Orissan class may be found at Bhuvaneśvara and other parts of Orissa. Few of them aspire to the massive grandeur and dignity of the Liṅgarāja, but all are remarkable for their rich and finished appearance. Though in no way reaching the latter's standard of excellence, they abundantly testify to the prolific prevalence of the type through centuries. Of those at Bhuvaneśvara mention should specially be made of the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva (Fig. 13) which, though smaller in size and lesser in sanctity, is no less imposing. The only temple dedicated to the worship of Vishṇu in this sacred fane of the god Śiva, it approximates the Liṅgarāja in its general arrangement and in having the four necessary adjuncts, all in the same axis and raised over a substantial terrace. The ascending heights of the pyramidal roofs of the two ancillary halls and the *jagamohana* provide an effect of which there is a parallel only in the celebrated temples of Khajurāho in Central India.

The famous temple of Jagannātha at Purī, still a very sacred place of pilgrimage, is, like the Liṅgarāja, large and massive and consists also of the four usual elements within a quadrangular court, surrounded by two lines of enclosure walls and approached through the outer walls by means of four monumental portals, one on each side. The main entrance was on the east where stands a monolithic column, the Aruṇa *stambha*, transported from its original

site in the precincts of the Sun temple at Konārak. Almost contemporaneous with the Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara the temple was built practically on the same principles and likewise consists of four component parts, the two frontal ones being added later, probably about the fourteenth century A.D. The architectural effect of the temple, as it stands, is however not up to the mark. In spite of its immense sanctity and its impressive size and massiveness the Jagannātha at Purī cannot claim to possess such sublime dignity as that of the Liṅgarāja, probably on account of the fact that successive renovations, carried out at different periods, along with its annual coat of lime-wash, have resulted in a loss of its original grandeur.

The celebrated Sun temple at Konārak (Fig. 14), known as the black pagoda from its darkish colour seen from a distance, was built during the reign of Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1238-64). A noble conception initiated by a master mind and executed and finished by a master architect, it represents the crystallised and accumulated experience of several hundreds of years, and ably illustrates the fulfilment and finality of Orissan architectural movement. The tide of humanity has long drifted away from Konārak, leaving to posterity a supreme artistic creation, grand and impressive even in its ruin.

The temple, now a deserted fragment, is situated in the centre of a quadrangular court and is designed in the shape of a huge chariot drawn on exquisitely carved wheels by a team of seven spirited horses. The approach was from the east where a roofless structure confronts the visitor. This structure, the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa,* rests on an elaborately carved podium reached by long flights of steps, one on each side. On the east the stairway is flanked by two superb lions, each rampant on an elephant (Fig. 16). The motif is fairly prolific in Orissan art, but here in these two sculptures we have masterful portraits in which the nobility and vigour of the animals have been depicted in all truthfulness and vehemence. Unfortunately, the roof of this pretty little building has tumbled down. But to judge from the ruins around and on the analogy of structures of similar kind, the building must have been surmounted by a pyramidal roof resembling the massive pile that raises up its head behind. In its elegant proportions and elaborate carvings, inside and out, this battered structure is a suitable prelude to what awaits the visitor further on.

The position of the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* as an isolated structure in front of the temple proper may be regarded as an improvement on the design which joins the four essential components in an axial line with the sanctum. The latter prolongs the length of the plan inordinately in comparison with its breadth and thus upsets the

balance. At Konārak, not only is the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* planned as a detached building in front of the main temple group, but the *bhoga-maṇḍapa* also appears as a separate building on one side. Their character and location not only proclaim a correct sense of grouping and architectural application, but also a reasoned co-ordination of all into a pleasing unified scheme with all the necessary components without in any way disturbing the balance and harmony of the composition.

Crossing the *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* one descends to the courtyard below where once stood the Aruṇa pillar, now shifted to Purī and placed in front of the Jagannātha temple there. From this position there spreads out before the spectator the enormous temple—the lofty towered sanctuary and the pyramidal pile of the *jagamohana, i.e.* the audience chamber, both united to represent the Sun chariot (Fig. 15). Soaring high up with its enormous mass borne on wheels, the temple symbolises, as it were, the majestic stride of the Sun god across the horizon of the sky, and no conception could have been more grand and expressive of the cosmic phenomenon which the Sun god stands for.

Apart from its spiritual significance the architectural character of the monument may also be described as superb. Both the sanctum and the *jagamohana* stand on a lofty basement the exuberance of which is itself a marvel. The frieze of elephants at the bottom all around represents this creature in every mood and action, playful and violent, and offers a substantial stylobate on which the ponderous burden rested. The skill with which the artists have portrayed every curve and lineament of the animal is proof positive that they must have had ample scope for studying the anatomy and appearance of this lordly beast. Above this frieze of elephants rise the bold mouldings of the basement which with their deep contrasts of light and shade accentuate the richness of the walls. The latter present a vast panorama of graceful sculptures, separated by richly adorned pilasters and broken by exquisitely patterned wheels of gigantic shape. Each of the wheels (Fig. 17) is 9 feet 8 inches in diameter, with rims 8 inches deep, axles protruding 11 inches, and 16 spokes alternatively thick and thin. Some of these are now mere things of shreds and patches. Those that have weathered the storm and stress of centuries are marvels of elaborate and intricate designs, the maximum of decoration being squeezed into the minimum of space.

Over this richly sculptured basement rises the temple pile, the sanctum and the *jagamohana,* each *pañcharatha* in plan and consisting of five vertical sections as is typical in Orissa. Every *ratha* is

further diversified into smaller facets. These divisions and subdivisions, richly embellished with elaborate carvings, are carried up along the height of the tower. Not only do they lighten the enormous mass by introducing pleasing varieties of lights and shades, but they also accentuate the soaring verticalism of the monument and impart to it a fluency and movement seldom paralleled in any other kind of building.

Around the walls of the sanctum, on the north, south and west, the visitor sees the Sun god in all his glory in elaborate recessed niches on the projection of the central *ratha*. The lofty curvilinear tower of the sanctum has, however, fallen down, and we miss the soaring grandeur of the *śikhara*. But the massive pile of the *jagamohana* in front, complete with its ponderous superstructure, partly compensates for the loss, and we are in a position to visualise the stupendous height of the fabric, when entire. The *jagamohana* is covered by the usual pyramidal roof in three stages (Fig. 15), surmounted by a fluted dome-shaped member and crowned by the gigantic *āmalaka-śilā*. This kind of roof, usually associated with the *jagamohana* in Orissa, is itself highly expressive of the needs and functions which it serves. There is no roof in India where the same play of light and shade is obtained with an equal amount of richness and constructive propriety as in this instance, nor one that sits so gracefully on the base that supports it. Here at Konārak the design is perfectly harmonious on account of the added elevation of the different stages and the greater volume and plasticity which are imparted to this solid pile by the life-size sculptures of lively execution and alluring beauty that adorn each stage of the roof all around. These sculptures, with their superb modelling, the fulness of their forms, and their easy and graceful attitude and poses, add a new and striking note in the form of the Orissan *jagamohanas*.

Within the courtyard other stately buildings adorned the site, but only a heap of ruins now remains to indicate their former splendour. On the north and south there are imposing portals, the former flanked by two majestic elephants, and the latter by two prancing steeds. Architectonically treated, their massive strength and vigour, their passion and vehemence, are masterfully portrayed. In the whole range of world's art it would be difficult to find more successful delineation of animal figures.

At Konārak the extraordinary genius of the architect and the sculptor combined to raise a sanctuary in honour of Sun god, the illuminator of the universe. Even in its ruin it illumines India and her art, and shines forth throughout the world as a momentous creation of human endeavour. When entire, the temple must have been

one of the most exquisitely proportioned monuments ever known. Each part and each section harmoniously blended and mingled with one another and built up a perfect composition, so diversified and yet so marvellously unified. The intricate treatment of the walls with figures and decorative motifs of varied forms and manifestations has created, so to say, an inspired orgy of sculptural magnificence. Yet, everything is ordered and balanced and the entire monument vibrates with a rhythm and grandeur, unique in the world.

Though not coming within the general course of evolution of the Orissan type of temple, the Vaital *deul* (Fig. 18), situated by the side of the main road to the west of the Vindusarovara tank at Bhuvaneśvara, is notable as belonging to a conception that is apparently alien to Orissa. It stands on a raised platform within a low enclosure wall and consists of a shrine chamber preceded by a porch hall in front. Unlike the usual type of the Orissan temple the sanctuary is rectangular in plan (18 feet by 25 feet) and is surmounted by a tower which is also of an unusual shape. The *jagamohana* in front, also of rectangular form and roofed as the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara, presents a radical divergence in having a small replica of the *triratha rekha* temple embedded at each of its four corners. A similar arrangement of four replicas of the *rekha* at the four corners of the porch hall may be found in a temple at Baijnāth (Kāngrā District),[26] though the hall there is surmounted by a pyramidal roof. Apart from its rectangular shape, the shrine proper of the Vaital *deul* exhibits many novel features. A significant deviation from the usual type may be recognised in the form of the *gaṇḍi* which, rising like that of the usual type up to a certain height, is surmounted by an elongated vaulted roof of two stages with a recess in between, further crowned by three *āmalakas,* each with the usual finials, placed along the ridge of the upper semi-circular vault. Moreover, the ground plan does not show any *ratha* projection on any face of the *bāḍa* and the exterior surfaces of the walls are treated and diversified in a manner that is entirely new, not only in Orissa, but also in the *Nāgara* style of temple. All around the *bāḍa* each wall is divided into richly patterned pilasters and recesses containing sculptures—an arrangement that is exactly similar to the treatment of the walls of the South Indian style of temple. The beginnings of such a treatment have already been traced to the storeyed temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. As a distinctive decorative pattern it becomes clearly established in the seventh century A.D., as we see in the Jain temple of Meguti (A.D. 634) at Aihoḷe and the rock-cut *rathas* of Mahābalipuram of about the same period. A further link with South India is indicated by the semi-cylindrical vaulted roof, clear analogies of which are furnished by the Bhīma

and Gaṇeśa *rathas* at Mahābalipuram. Still earlier parallels of the shape of the roof, though not extant in structural form, are recognised in relief representations at Bhārhut, Sāñchī, etc. It should be stressed, however, that analogies with the south end with the shape of the roof and the manner of treatment of the exterior walls of the *bāḍa*. In their origins both these features were not particularly South Indian. Moreover, we miss here the storeyed arrangement of the tower which is distinctive of South Indian temples. Apart from these, the other essential arrangements of the Vaital *deul*, including the rise of its *gaṇḍi* up to a certain height, exhibit a more general conformity with the early *Nāgara* form as presented in Orissa. Hence, though the tower presents a closer alliance with South India and the plan is rectangular, the distinctive quality of the architectural treatment of the temple may be regarded as derived from the *Nāgara* style.

All over the building there is a profusion of carved work, elegant and graceful in an extreme measure. The pleasing proportions of the sanctum, the skilful disposition of its surfaces and decorative elements denote an aesthetic sense of a very high order. Many of its decorative elements closely approximate to those of the Paraśurāmeśvara, with which it is clearly allied in general form and disposition of its *jagamohana*, as well as on stylistic considerations of its sculptures. The date of the Vaital *deul* cannot, therefore, be far removed from that of the Paraśurāmeśvara.

Among the hundreds of temples at Bhuvaneśvara the rather exotic shape of the Vaital *deul* marks it as having been derived from alien inspiration and assimilating extraneous influences. The shape of the temple, however, is recognised in the canonical texts of Orissa as forming a distinct class, known as the *Khākharā*. Miniature replicas of the *Khākharā* often appear in relief in the surface decoration of the Orissan temples of orthodox shape and form, and a likely parallel, though much transformed on account of subsequent renovations, may be noticed in the Gaurī temple at Bhuvaneśvara. Another temple of the Vaital *deul* type may be seen in the little shrine of Durgā at Bāḍeśvara (Cuttack).[27] It is a very near imitation of the prototype at Bhuvaneśvara and like it also seems to have been a structure of remarkable beauty and excellence. A ruined temple at Rāṇīpur Jhariāl (Patna State)[28] also appears, from its plan and arrangements of the *bāḍa*, to have been a building of the Vaital *deul* type. Outside Orissa the type appears in the Teli-kā-mandir at Gwālior (Fig. 20), the Navadurgā temple (Fig. 19) at Yāgeśvara (Almora District),[29] and also possibly in the rectangular temple, now ruined, at Osia, Rājputāna. The Orissan texts of the

Śilpaśāstras refer to three varieties of the *Khākharā* temple, namely the *Drāviḍa,* the *Varāṭī,* and the *Kośalī.* The first no doubt brings out the South Indian association of the type which is too apparent in the extant monuments to be missed.

Another interesting type of temple in Orissa may be found in the three ancient temples within the compound of the modern shrine of Rāmeśvara at Baudh.[30] Each of these temples stands on a raised platform and consists of a sanctum cella with its attached portico in front. Each is planned on the principle of two squares, placed diagonally and intersecting each other at angles of 45 degrees. The angular faces thus formed in the exterior walls of the temple give it the shape of an eight-pointed star. Each angular face is further subdivided into three facets and the entire design presents a charming arrangement of light and shade, accentuated still more by the intricate tracery work, with deep shadows in the interstices, characteristic of the ornamentation of the *gaṇḍi.* The angularities of the plan ascend in bold lines along the height of the *gaṇḍi* and convey an appearance of greater height than any of the temples really possesses. Barring the star-shaped plan the other arrangements of the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi* have striking affinities with those of the Bhuvaneśvara temples of the early phase. Elaborate carvings literally cover each one of the temples from the base to the top and the ornamentation is not inconsistent with the early phase of temples at Bhuvaneśvara. In view of the general shape and form and plastic considerations of their sculptures, these temples may be referred to a date not far removed from that of the Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara. Another temple of a similar plan may be recognised in a ruined brick monument at Kausuli near Rāṇīpur Jhariāl, old Patna State.[31] Only one wall of this building now remains. But the exterior face leaves no doubt about its plan being obtained on the principle of two intersecting squares, as in the above-mentioned temples of Baudh, to which, as the carvings indicate, it was probably co-eval in date.

This plan of intersecting squares is a rare occurrence in the early phase of the history of Indian temple architecture. But, along with the addition of graduated projections on each face of a square, this principle is also latent, as a parallel measure of elaboration, in the variegation of the ground plan and diversification of the walls of a *Nāgara* temple. The former was no doubt the almost universal practice, but the latter, not entirely outside the scope of possible development of a *Nāgara* temple, is also known to have been in use. A further advance on this simple plan may be recognised in a temple within the Nurpur fort[32] the ground plan (Text Fig. 3) of which, made of two intersecting squares, has the

angles of intersection filled up. Thus the temple assumes an octagonal shape with small projecting angles between the sides. This is one particular direction in the development of this plan. Another direction is supplied by the addition to the number of intersecting squares, developed particularly in the Chālukyan monuments of the eleventh-twelfth century A.D., a direction that clearly explains the full-fledged stellate plan of these monuments.[33]

B. Central India

Central India had been the home of early *śikhara* temples, and a number of shrines in this part of the country provide a moving picture of the march of the *śikhara* style from its archaic beginnings in the fifth-sixth century A.D. to the emergence of the *Nāgara* form in the eighth. Moreover, temples in this region exhibit different expressions and manifestations which, though belonging to the *Nāgara* style in general, present significant varieties in contrast to the practically unilateral architectural movement in Orissa. The geographical position of Central India, accessible to impacts and influences from the west as well as from the east, might have been responsible for such varieties. In spite of different expressions we may recognise in the temples of this region certain distinctive features peculiar to this part of the country.

In an earlier section, in connection with the emergence of the *Nāgara* form, mention has been made of the early *śikhara* temples of Central India. The temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur[34] may be recognised as a lineal descendant of the early *śikhara* style, as represented by the temples at Pathāri (Gwālior) and the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā Kuṭhārā. Built of large-sized red bricks over a raised terrace of cell foundations, the temple consisted of the sanctum proper[34a] and a *maṇḍapa* in front, with an ante-chamber (*antarāla*) connecting the two. The *maṇḍapa,* of which only the pillars remain, was, in all probability, a later addition, as this adjunct is usually found to be absent in other early temples of this kind. The sanctum is *pañcharatha* in plan, the *rathas* being carried upwards along the height of the *śikhara.* Here a greater variegation over the plan of the earlier examples is apparent from the addition to the number of projections on the outer wall, the gradually receding planes on each face thus leading to more attractive effects of light and shade. The projections, continued vertically, also emphasise the height of the tower. The *bāḍa* is divided into three sections—the *pābhāga,* the *jāṅgha,* and the *baraṇḍa,* the last consisting of two recessed friezes that separate the cube of the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi* of the tower. The brick temple at Bhītargāon, belonging to a date

several centuries earlier, has also two lines of recessed friezes demarcating the *śikhara* from the cube of the sanctum. Another peculiarity of the Sirpur temple is the triangular dormer opening over the doorway in front, a characteristic that is prominent in the early brick temples. The mouldings of the *pābhāga* and of the *baraṇḍa,* as also the *ratha* projections, are boldly designed. Equally boldly designed false windows on the central projections on the three sides provide a singular harmony with the doorway in front. The principal decorative scheme consists of well-shaped *chaitya*-window motifs, finely cut and pleasingly disposed all over the exterior surface. The *śikhara,* tapering inwards, shows a vertical sequence of attached *āmalakas* at the corners, and though the top is damaged, it is easy to imagine, on the analogy of similar temples, that a flattened *āmalaka-śilā,* supported on a recessed *beki,* crowned the *śikhara.* The brick-work is particularly good, the surface and joints being rubbed down to a beautifully smooth texture with bold, well-defined and sharp-cut ornaments. In the perfect disposition of its parts and in the richness and refinement of its surface, this battered structure at Sirpur is perhaps unsurpassed among the early *Nāgara* temples of this region. The date of this interesting monument is not definitely known, and while some scholars place it in the seventh century A.D., others bring it down to the ninth. The treatment of the temple indicates a long experience in the art of building, particularly building in brick, and in the light of the stylistic development of the *Nāgara* temple in the different regions its date appears to be midway between the above two dates proposed by previous scholars. In Central India there had been a prolific activity in brick building about this period and fragmentary examples may still be seen in the two battered buildings at Kharod (Bilāspur District)[35] and one at Pujāripali (Sambalpur District).[36]

A rather archaic form of the *Nāgara* temple in Central India may be seen in the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva at Baijnāth,[37] a small village, nine miles from Rewa. Unfortunately, a greater part of the *śikhara* has fallen down, but enough remains to provide an idea of its plan and elevation. The sanctum is *triratha* in plan and the *bāḍa* consists of the usual three sections, the *baraṇḍa* consisting simply of a recessed frieze. The *śikhara* inclines inwards and appears, from its preserved portion, to have a stunted elevation. The ornament, consisting chiefly of *chaitya*-window motifs, is simpler in execution. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was inclined to identify the Baijnāth temple with the one given by king Lakshmaṇarāja to the Śaiva ascetic Hṛidayaśiva, as mentioned in the Bilhari inscription. There is, however, no definite evidence to sup-

port this tentative suggestion. In plan, in elevation, and in general appearance the Baijnāth has a close parallel in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara and is nearer to the early *śikhara* temples. Hence, stylistically the Baijnāth temple appears to be anterior to the brick temple of Lakshmaṇa at Sirpur. A ruined temple of the Baijnāth type and appearance may be found at Bargaon.[38] The above temples represent an early phase of the *Nāgara* style in Central India and are identical in form and appearance to analogous monuments distributed over different parts of Northern India and a substantial portion of the Deccan.

An interesting temple with characteristics of the early form affords an instructive example in the development of the distinctive Central Indian type. This is the well-preserved temple at Baroli (Fig. 21),[39] situated in a wild and romantic spot near the Chambal falls. In plan it is *pañcharatha,* but the *bāḍa* is divided into the usual three sections. The corners have sharp edges with the usual vertical sequence of angle-*āmalakas.* What is interesting is that the recessed *beki* in this temple is surmounted by a large-sized flattened *āmalaka* over which is placed again what looks like a second *āmalaka* supporting the *kalasa* finial. The *pagas,* again, do not terminate at the end of the *gaṇḍi* but are continued beyond, each in the shape of a triangular finial that almost touches the *āmalaka-śilā.* The double *āmalaka* and the continuation of the *pagas* beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* are characteristics that belong to Central India, being unknown, except as aberrations, outside this area. Barring these two interesting features which are peculiar to Central India the temple closely agrees to the other examples of the early *Nāgara* form. From its shape and appearance the sanctuary appears to date from about the ninth century A.D.

In Central India the direction of development of the early *Nāgara* form is practically identical with that as outlined in case of Orissa. But the pillared halls, though apparently absent in the early phase of the development, come to play a prominent part in the composition of a Central Indian temple and become a necessary concomitant of the full-fledged local type. In this respect the type had had its associations with other parts of India, west as well as south.

A number of temples in Central India indicate a development that is essentially identical to that in Orissa. There is the same process of variegation by dividing the body both vertically and horizontally and by subdividing each such section. In Central India the process is carried a little further. For example, a Central

Indian temple is usually *saptaratha* in plan and the cube of the *bāḍa* is divided into seven sections by two *bāndhanās*, while we do not meet with more than five such divisions in Orissa. The *jāṅgha*, thus diversified, horizontally as well as vertically, offers a background for a moving pageant of elegant sculptures in various attitudes and poses, all conforming to the varied composition of the walls. The *gaṇḍi* of the *śikhara* is also correspondingly diversified by the continuation of the *rathas* as *pagas*, and soon, as already indicated in Orissa, by the appearance of *aṅga-śikharas* on the body of the main tower all around. In Central India the latter process was carried to its logical conclusion and clusters of *aṅga-śikharas*, clinging to the body of the main tower, impart to it a plasticity and volume that are unknown in Orissa. Boldly projected and rising up one above the other they signify an impatient and restless upward urge which, not infrequently, interferes with disciplined movement. In the Baroli temple we have already noticed two interesting features—one in the projection of the *pagas* beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* and the other in two *āmalakas* crowning the *śikhara*. In the later examples such projection, confined to the *rāhā-paga* only, became a singular characteristic of the Central Indian temple. The second, the double *āmalaka*, also proved to be distinctive of Central India, two *āmalakas* being invariable not only as surmounting the top of the main *śikhara* but also those of the *aṅga-śikharas*.

The place of the vestibule (*antarāla*) and the pillared audience hall (*maṇḍapa*) in Central Indian temples has already been indicated. The former has been an inseparable element even from the earliest times, and the latter, though probably absent in the earlier examples, comes, later on, to occupy an important position in the regular temple scheme. Preceding it again there is placed another smaller hall *(ardha-maṇḍapa)*, serving as a portico with its entrance projected and leading to the tall flight of steps that forms an impressive approach. All these, one after the other, represent a continuous scheme resulting in a plan elongated along the axial line, the entire complex of structures being raised over a substantial and solid terrace. Some of the important Orissan temples also exhibit four component elements in axial length, but there the disposition and details of the adjuncts are different. Again, the halls in Orissa are usually astylar, but in Central India columns and pillars form important elements of the scheme. The roof in each hall is placed over a dome supported on pillars. These pillars and architraves over which the ceilings are placed offer suitable backgrounds for lavish carvings, and hence the interiors of these halls are also richly ornamented in strong contrast to the bare and dull appearance of the interiors of the Orissan halls. The halls in

Orissa are closed, but here they are open on the three sides, the openings between the pillars forming balconied windows shaded by projecting eaves. Along the sides there are seats (*kakshāsanas*) with sloping balustrades. The sides of the *maṇḍapa* hall form transepts in the more developed examples, and they go round the sanctum cella and are provided with balconied windows on three of its sides. These openings not only provided well-lighted halls, in contrast to the gloomy interiors of similar Orissan adjuncts, but also throw intense shadows athwart the intermediate portion of the building complex providing a significant contrast to the solids in the lower and upper sections of the temple scheme. This contrast of solids and voids lends an effect which is seldom paralleled in any other region of India.

In the superstructures of these adjuncts and their elevation a general likeness may be recognised in the arrangement of the *piḍhā deuls* in Orissa. In Central India, as in Orissa, each of these halls is distinguished by a separate roof. Ascending in graduated heights they sweep up to the lofty *śikhara* of the sanctum, suggestive of the rising peaks of a mountain range converging on to the highest point. This effect of the elevation may be recognised, to a certain extent, in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara (Fig. 13). The roofs are composed of horizontal strata of tiers upon tiers in receding stages. The surface texture of these roofs is thus essentially the same as in Orissa, with the only difference that the bell-shaped member, which we find in the full-fledged Orissan *piḍhā deul* intervening between the last stage of the *piḍhā* and the *āmalaka,* is absent in Central India. The contour also, instead of being that of an Orissan straight-edged pyramid, conforms more to that of a domical shape. The last is no doubt dictated by the method of interior construction of such roofs in Central India.

The above characteristics, gradually evolved, together with the singular features of the double *āmalaka* and the *rāhā-paga* projecting beyond the *gaṇḍi,* constitute the distinctive traits of the Central Indian type of the *Nāgara* style. The Kandarya Mahādeo temple at Khajurāho (old Chhatarpur State) represents the most notable creation of the Central Indian movement. It has to be stressed, however, that the type was the result of a gradual evolution, the course of which is indicated by several interesting temples in different parts of Central India.

An early phase in the transition is represented by the Viśvanātha temple at Maribagh (old Rewa State).[40] *Pañcharatha* in plan and with a fivefold division of the *bāḍa,* the temple shows an advancement on the earlier design. Temple type of this kind had

a much wider distribution and may be placed between the ninth-tenth century A.D.

Amarkantak, reputed to be the source of the rivers, the Narmadā, the Son and the Mahānadī, was a very sacred place in ancient times and a number of beautiful temples[41] adorned the site in days gone by. Many of them are now in ruins, but among the remains that still stand there are a few which, on analysis, may be found to represent important developments. The temples of Keśavanārāyaṇa and Machchhendranātha, situated contiguous to each other, are practically identical in design with only slight variations in minor details. Each of the temples consists of a sanctum, an *antarāla* and a *maṇḍapa* joined in axial length. The sanctum cube in each case is *pañcharatha* in plan and has a fivefold division along the vertical axis. The *pagas* in each project beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* which is surmounted by two *āmalakas*. The surface of the tower is ornamented by shallow-cut *chaitya*-window motifs of tracery-like execution. The body of the cube is sparse of sculptural decoration, except in the central *ratha* divided into two tiers by the *bāndhanā* moulding. The *antarāla* is covered by a straight-edged gable superstructure of sharp outline. The *maṇḍapa* is square in plan, with *kakshāsanas,* sloping balustrades, overhanging eaves around, and is open on all sides except for the pillars that support the roof. The latter consists of a pyramidal superstructure (now broken away in case of the Machchhendranātha) rising in horizontal tiers, receding gradually, and crowned at the apex by *āmalakas* and the usual finials. In the Keśavanārāyaṇa the roof rests on the pillars that go round the hall, but in the Machchhendranātha a group of four columns in the centre has been provided for to support the roof, in addition to the pillars around the hall. In the Pātāleśvara temple (Fig. 22), also at Amarkantak, we have an identical composition, its plan, elevation and appearance representing a very close approximation to the Machchhendranātha.

In these temples the sanctum, the *antarāla* and the *maṇḍapa* form parts of a unified scheme and thus they represent an advancement from the early *Nāgara* form towards the typical Central Indian design. The *śikhara* over the sanctum with its emphasis on pleasing contour and unbroken mass is still of the early *Nāgara* form, but with its shape and appearance, in its projecting *pagas* and double *āmalaka,* there is perhaps a faint approach towards the shape and appearance of the typical Central Indian temple.

The triple-shrined temple, traditionally ascribed to Rājā Karaṇ Dāhariyā (Rājā Karṇa of Ḍāhala), at Amarkantak belongs also to

this phase, though we have a novel design here in the arrangement of three sanctuaries on three sides of a central *maṇḍapa* hall.

Each of the shrines is *saptaratha* in plan and consists of seven segments along the vertical axis. The seven-fold division of the *bāḍa* is an advancement over the five-fold one, and though inherent in the logic of development of the *Nāgara* temple, it is a feature, particularly characteristic of the typical Central Indian temple and not met with elsewhere. The *śikhara* in each case sweeps up with unbroken contour, the *rāhā-paga* on each face projecting beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* which is crowned by two *āmalakas.*

This triple-shrined temple with the superb magnificence of its three tall towers of chaste and graceful outline soaring above the pyramidal pile of the *maṇḍapa* in the centre represents a novel design of temple complex in Central India. Though rare in Central India, it was widely prevalent in Western India, including Khāndesh, and also in the Chālukyan regions in later times. In Central India other temples of this design may be found at Deoguna (Jaso State) and at Kukdeswar (Indore).

Closely allied to the Amarkantak group is the great temple of Virāṭeśvara Śiva at Sohāgpur (old Rewa State),[42] which represents a further stage in the evolution of the Central Indian type. The temple consists of the sanctum, an *antarāla,* a *maṇḍapa* hall and an *ardha-maṇḍapa* or portico, all on the same axis, one after the other, on a common low platform. By the addition of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the *maṇḍapa* hall the Central Indian temple complex reaches its typical form. In plan the sanctum is *saptaratha* and is correspondingly divided into seven segments along the vertical axis. The *jāṅgha,* divided into three sections by two *bāndhanās* of two bands each, serves as a background for three tiers of sculptures of elegant shapes and forms that add a richness and variety to the sanctum walls, in contrast to the rather tame treatment of these wall sections in the earlier examples. The *baraṇḍa,* separating the cube of the sanctum from the body of the *śikhara,* again consists of a number of banded mouldings, projected and recessed alternately. The *śikhara* rises in seven *pagas* with the *rāhās* projecting beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* and is crowned by three *āmalakas.*

At the base of the *śikhara* there appears a new feature of ornamentation, hitherto unknown in Central India. A line of miniature *śikhara* replicas (*aṅga-śikharas*) of varying and progressively increasing heights surround the body along the *pagas,* the *rāhā* on each face repeating the pattern on a bigger scale. This kind of ornamentation, as already indicated, was latent in the evolutionary process of the *Nāgara* temple. In the full-fledged Central Indian

temple we have perhaps the most emphatic expression of this mode, as we see in the celebrated Kandarya Mahādeo temple at Khajurāho. In the Virāṭeśvara at Sohāgpur we recognise an early stage of this process in which the *aṅga-śikharas* cover only the lower portion of the main tower. The major portion of the *śikhara,* left uncovered, shows the traceried pattern of *chaitya*-windows in shallow relief, as we have in the early temples.

The *antarāla* in front of the sanctum is covered, as usual, by a gable roof attached to the front face of the *śikhara.* An advance on the harsh outline of this feature in the earlier monuments may be recognised in the Virāṭeśvara in the attempt to break up the outline into a number of sections. In front of the *antarāla* stands the *maṇḍapa* hall with *kakshāsanas.* In the Amarkantak group this component was of square shape. But in the Virāṭeśvara at Sohāgpur the *maṇḍapa* assumes a cruciform shape on account of the balconied windows at the sides and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* projected in front.

The interior of the *maṇḍapa* hall also offers some instructive features. Like the Keśavanārāyaṇa and the Machchhendranātha at Amarkantak the *maṇḍapa* roof is supported on the pillars going around the hall, there being no additional central group as in the Pātāleśvara. The square is converted into an octagon by massive architraves placed diagonally on the supporting pillars and thus cutting off the corners. Over this octagonal frame of architraves is another octagonal course and on this are supported the overlapping concentric rings of a great trabeate dome, fretted and coved all over. In plan, in elevation, in structural means and in decorative scheme the Virāṭeśvara temple at Sohāgpur offers the nearest approach to the distinctive Central Indian type as represented by the magnificent temples at Khajurāho.

Stylistically and constructionally the temples at Amarkantak and Sohāgpur represent a distinct phase in the evolution of the Central Indian type of temple and have to be placed midway between the Viśvanātha temple at Maribagh, an example of the general *Nāgara* class of the ninth-tenth century A.D., and the typical Central Indian temples at Khajurāho, the chronology of which remains still to be settled. The Khajurāho temples have generally been placed within a century between A.D. 950 and 1050,[43] in the period in which the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti were predominant in this region. The stylistic and structural considerations, however, tell a different tale. The Khajurāho temples, at least the more important ones, represent an accumulated and crystallised experience and indicate, in every sense, the fulfilment and finality of a long anterior develop-

ment. Our knowledge of architectural movement in Central India and in other localities does not quite fit in with the above chronology of the Khajurāho temples, though it is usually accepted. It is true that there have been found inscriptions at the place ranging in date from A.D. 953 to 1001, but it is not always clear to which particular temples they apply. The usual chronology of these temples, settled with reference to such inscriptions, may therefore be regarded as rather tentative. No local art movement, much less the Central Indian one due to its geographical position, can be regarded as an isolated episode. It is generally related to other developments that are taking place elsewhere. The direction of architectural movements in different parts of India, coupled with the chronological data supplied by the temples of known date, would indicate that none of the temples at Khajurāho, even those which on account of style may be regarded as the earliest, can be dated prior to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. The Viśvanātha temple at Maribagh belongs to the general class of the *Nāgara* style, and with reference to the temples of this class in different localities cannot be placed earlier than the ninth century A.D. The gradual advancement of this design towards the typical Central Indian one, along the lines described above, denotes a transitional process covering a rather long period, particularly in those days of slow movement. The temples at Amarkantak and Sohāgpur, together with temples of identical design and form at Khajurāho and other places, belong to this transitional phase which may roughly be placed between the ninth and the eleventh centuries A.D. In Orissa, as already indicated, the distinctive local type comes into view not before the close of the eleventh century A.D., and in Central India, too, the typical Central Indian temple takes its shape at about the same period.

But the fact remains that there was a prolific architectural activity at Khajurāho in the second half of the tenth century A.D., as the inscriptions found at the place abundantly testify. It is significant again that this activity, so far as epigraphic data are concerned, ceased abruptly about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The first half of the eleventh century A.D. was a critical period for the Chandella dynasty, partly owing to the rise of the Kalachuris, and mainly on account of the invasions of Sultān Mahmūd who advanced as far as Kālañjara, not far from Khajurāho. A cruel invader, intent on sack, pillage, plunder and iconoclasm, Mahmūd had left signs of wanton destruction wherever he went, and it is not unlikely that the monuments of an earlier building activity at Khajurāho, to which the inscriptions amply testify, suffered irreparable damage. As noted above, the Chandellas again rose to power in the second half of the eleventh century A.D., and the temples that now

stand in all their glory at Khajurāho very probably belonged to this period.

The straggling village of Khajurāho contains at present over thirty temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation. The monuments are distributed among the three great religious systems—Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and Jainism—and in each group there is one, or more, greater than the rest. In the Śaiva group we have the Kandarya Mahādeo and the Viśvanātha, in the Vaishṇava the Rāmachandra or Chaturbhuja, and in the Jain the Pārśvanātha. It is these temples, more than any other, which represent the Central Indian temple in its best and most complete manifestation. In plan and elevation, in form and appearance they are all alike, and are to be distinguished only by certain details as regards their expression. The temple complex consists of the sanctum (*garbha-gṛiha*), the *antarāla*, the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, with the projected portico in front, all on the same axis one after the other, and raised on a substantial masonry terrace, the *adhishṭhāna* or the socle. Each temple, so constituted, appears to represent a unified design, and sometimes the main temple is flanked at each corner of the *adhishṭhāna* by a supplementary shrine, thus forming a complete *pañchāyatana* group. But the accommodation of a temple within a quadrangular enclosure, though customary in other parts of India, is unknown to Khajurāho.

In spite of this general agreement in plan and composition, which is evidently due to one and the same stylistic movement, the Khajurāho temples can nevertheless be distinguished in the details of their expression. The distinctions represent the successive manifestations of one single movement, indicating a steady onward march, culminating in its most complete expression in the grand and magnificent pile of the Kandarya Mahādeo. From the elevational aspect the temples may be divided into two broad groups—those with repetitions of miniature tower replicas (*aṅga-śikharas*) attached to the main *śikhara* all around, and those without. From the standpoint of plan and composition again, two distinct groups may be recognised according as there are transepts, forming an inner passage of ambulation around the main cella of the sanctum, or not. As a general rule, the temples without the transepts around the sanctum cella and without the *aṅga-śikharas*, precede those that possess these significant characteristics with which the typical Central Indian temple reaches its complete form.[44] Stylistically, however, the two groups are very close to each other, the one representing just a stage prior to the evolution of the other, and, to a certain extent, chronological overlappings, usual in such circumstances, are not unlikely.

Following the sequence of evolutionary process, outlined above, the account of the Khajurāho temples should begin with the Vāmana (Fig. 23) and the Ādinātha (Fig. 24) temples which are practically of an identical design. The sanctum of the former is *saptaratha* in plan, but the cube is divided into five vertical segments only. The contour of the tower is not broken up by any superposed miniature replica (*aṅga-śikhara*) and its surface is ornamented by minute and interlacing patterns of *chaitya*-windows, looking almost like fretwork. The sanctum walls below are, however, decorated by elegant mouldings and graceful sculptures whose modelling and execution are in the best traditions of mediaeval art. To some extent, the *śikhara* has a stunted appearance as in the earlier temples of the general *Nāgara* class, and the *rāhās* also end at the top of the *gaṇḍi*. But such features as the double *āmalaka* and the treatment of the walls of the sanctum cube indicate a developed phase of the Central Indian architectural movement to which its other elements, like the *antarāla*, the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* together with their disposition, are closely related.

The Ādinātha (Fig. 24) represents a small but exquisite structure by the side of the great Pārśvanātha temple. Its *maṇḍapa* and other usual adjuncts either did not exist originally or were removed and replaced in modern times by a brick construction, abominable in its glaring incongruity. Rising on a high *adhishṭhāna* the sanctum is *saptaratha* in plan and correspondingly has a seven-fold division of the *bāḍa*. The sanctum walls are decorated by three tiers of sculptures, each of alluring beauty and in every way comparable to the best temple sculpture of the age. The *śikhara* rises in seven *pagas* with the *rāhās* projecting beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi* and almost touching the lower of the two *āmalakas* which surmount the recessed *beki*. What is interesting is that the *konakas* also continue beyond the height of the *gaṇḍi*, a feature that gets an added emphasis in the great Pārśvanātha temple. The shape of the *śikhara* is more elongated than that of the Vāmana, and the surface, unburdened by any duplicated miniature, is richly fretted with delicate interlacings of *chaitya*-opening patterns. It is perhaps the most finished creation of the Central Indian architectural movement just prior to the emergence of its complete and full-fledged form.

The majority of the Khajurāho temples, however, belong to the second group *i.e.* with the *aṅga-śikharas* clustered around the body of the main tower. Interesting examples may be seen in the Bharatji or Chitragupta, the Devī Jagadambā (Fig. 27), the Kunwar Math (Fig. 25), the Rāmachandra or Chaturbhuja (Fig. 26), the Pārśvanātha (Fig. 29), the Viśvanātha (Fig. 28), and last, the most impres-

sive of all, the Kandarya Mahādeo (Fig. 30). They are fundamentally of the same design and composition and consist of the characteristic component elements with practically identical arrangements and dispositions. But even within this group there is a divergence in an important respect. None of the temples surveyed up till now have an ambulatory contained within the mass of the structure. But each of the last four temples of this group, representing the most complete expression of the Central Indian type, has an enclosed inner ambulatory, formed by the extension of the transepts of the *maṇḍapa* hall around the sanctum cella. This ambulatory again has the usual projected window openings on three of its sides just as in the frontal parts of the temple complex. The temple with the inner ambulatory is known as the *sāndhāra prāsāda,* while the one without as the *nirandhāra prāsāda.* The earliest example of the *sāndhāra prāsāda,* so far as extant monuments are concerned, may be recognised in the second group of Gupta temples.[44a] In those days this plan was more or less widespread, being found over a large area in the north as well as in the south. But gradually the plan became localised in the south. The mediaeval temples of this plan in certain regions of Northern India like those of Khajurāho, probably indicate the influence of the building traditions of the south.

In these two well-marked divisions of the temples at Khajurāho, with repetitions of *aṅga-śikharas* on the tower, it is likely that the one without the inner ambulatory *(nirandhāra)* is stylistically anterior to that which is furnished with it (*sāndhāra*), though the two are very close to each other, but for this significant distinction. A minute comparison of the forms and appearances of these two divisions of temples and their decorative scheme may also lend some support to the hypothesis of a posterior date to the *sāndhāra* temples. As a rule, the *sāndhāra prāsādas* are more elaborate and exuberant than the *nirandhāra* ones, their bewildering wealth of ornament and variegation indicating the finality of the movement just prior to dessication and decadence.

Among the *nirandhāra* temples of this division the Devī Jagadambā (Text Fig. 4; Fig. 27) and the Kunwar Math (Fig. 25) were impressive productions, though the latter is much damaged. Both have the same exuberance of sculptures and rich ornamentation, pleasingly balanced by the variegated treatment of the *śikhara* by smaller replicas reduplicated all around. In the Kunwar Math, however, the *śikhara* is surrounded by regular and successive rows of smaller replicas, practically of identical heights, along the receding planes of the *pagas.* In this respect the Kunwar Math strikes a new

note in the *śikhara* design which has parallels further towards the west.

Of the *sāndhāra* temples the sanctum in the Rāmachandra or Chaturbhuja (Fig. 26) is *pañcharatha* and *pañchāṅga,* the other temples showing the seven-fold division horizontally as well as vertically. The extension of the transepts of the *maṇḍapa* around the sanctum forms an inner ambulatory around the *garbha-gṛiha,* provided on three sides by projecting windows with sloping balustrades and overhanging eaves as in those of the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa.* Along the entire central zone of the temple complex there runs thus a line of voids (cf. Figs. 26 and 28) that gracefully relieves the solids in the lower and upper sections. Hitherto such voids have been confined to the *maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* only. Their provision on the sanctum walls perfects the design and adds to the impressive character of the monument as a whole. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is nearer to the typical Orissan *piḍhās,* on account of its having a pyramidal outline and the bell-shaped member, usual in Orissa but unknown in Central India, intervening between the last stage of the pyramid and the *āmalaka.*

The Pārśvanātha temple (Fig. 29), the holiest of the Jain group at Khajurāho, is one of the most elaborate productions, though much reduced in size. It comprises an oblong structural scheme with a projected portion at each end of the sanctum—the one in front forming the *maṇḍapa* hall and the other at the back an attached outside shrine. Though there is an enclosed passage around the sanctum cella, in continuation of the transepts of the *maṇḍapa* hall, the projected balconied windows on the sides are singularly absent, thus resulting in an almost complete elimination of any voids in the temple walls. There is only a small latticed window on the central *ratha* on each face for admission of light and air into the enclosed inner ambulatory, but they are so disposed as not to interfere with the predominantly sculptural scheme of the whole. The lack of contrast between the solids and the voids, that constitutes a striking and pleasing characteristic of the Khajurāho temples, gives the Pārśvanātha a monotonous and overburdened appearance which its exuberant wealth of sculptural elegance could hardly compensate for.

Of the Śaiva group of temples the most important are the Viśvanātha and the Kandarya Mahādeo, which illustrate the Central Indian architectural movement in its richest and most finished expressions. In these two magnificent monuments, representing the final results of a long anterior development, the experience of successive ages is found in a mature and crystallised state. The Viśva-

nātha (Fig. 28) is the smaller of the two and stylistically makes the nearest approach to the imposing and impressive pile of the Kandarya Mahādeo. In plan and composition, in shape and appearance, the two are identical, but in the Kandarya Mahādeo the effect is much richer and grander, expressive of an abler and more skilful disposition of its various parts and their decorative elements.

The Kandarya Mahādeo temple (Text Fig. 5; Fig. 30) stands on a high terrace and comprises the usual component elements. In vertical section the temple is seen to be a mountain of masonry with its volumes and masses moving in an upward direction until they reach the peak. According to the sacred literature, Śiva, the god enshrined in the temple, has his abode in the Kailāsa mountain, and this temple, which has the appearance of a mountain in exterior elevation, may be described as a fitting sanctuary for the lord of the mountains created by human endeavour.

The sanctum is *saptaratha* in plan and consists of the seven segments along the vertical axis. This arrangement is typical of the Central Indian temple of full-fledged design. On the lofty basement terrace rises the emphatically high plinth or *pābhāga* sloping upwards in a succession of bold mouldings with prominent passages of light and shade. Over this rises the central zone of the wall section, the *jāṅgha,* divided into five segments, the two *bāndhanās* separating the three elaborate tiers of sculptures. Following the alternate projections and recesses of the plan these life-like forms, "shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest", present a moving pageant of sculptured grace. This decorative arrangement constitutes a remarkable characteristic of the Khajurāho temples, each building accommodating such friezes in proportion to its size. In the Kandarya Mahādeo we have nearly 900 such sculptures, each slightly less than life-size, and it is no wonder that with such animated throng of plastic forms ever present on the walls, the structure pulsates with a vitality not ordinarily met with in building art.

Several courses of *baraṇḍa* mouldings, admirable again in the disposition of light and shade, separate the wall section from that of the towered superstructures. Here the analogy with a mountain range is complete, not only on account of the graded heights of the superstructures of the different components rising and falling alternately and ultimately converging on the main tower, but also in the multitudinous peaks, in the shape of *aṅga-śikharas,* arrayed round the main *śikhara,* that lead the eye towards the topmost pinnacle (Fig. 31). The entire mass of the tower is thus broken up by deep indentations and appears to be weightless. The upward urge, thus

emphasised, though restless in movement, seems to lend to the entire monument a striking quality of aspiring verticalism. The ascent, though broken up and dissolved in separate volumes and masses, is not without a rhythm of its own, as every lineament is principally governed by the fundamental scheme laid down in the plan and elevational aspect of the entire monument.

The different adjuncts of the sanctum have their separate superstructures, graded in height towards the main tower (Text Fig. 6). The *antarāla* has the usual gable roof, exquisitely rich in treatment. The *maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* are each roofed by a trabeate dome with similar supplementary superstructures clustering around and subordinated to it in the same way as are the *aṅga-śikharas* to the main *śikhara*. The main superstructure in each is crowned by the *āmalaka* and the *kalasa*. The progressive and repeated ascent and descent of the different superstructures converging on the pinnacle of the *śikhara*, as seen in the lateral view, produce a remarkable ensemble which is not visible, however, in the front where the several roofs seem "to coincide in one comprehensive outline."[45] Thus every lineament, however varied in treatment and articulation, is summed up in a final unity.

The interior of this temple complex, because of the variety and multiplicity of its details, is no less impressive. The entrance, which is on the east, is approached by a steep flight of steps, imposing in its dignity. The exquisitely carved doorway shows a foliated form of strut attached to the bottom of the lintel, a pleasing motif repeated also in the ornamental doorway to the sanctum cella. The frontal doorway leads to a passage expanding into the rectangular *ardha-maṇḍapa* and next to the square *maṇḍapa* hall, each a hypostyle with open sides. The transepts on either side of the *maṇḍapa* extend around the sanctum and connect with the boldly projecting balcony windows. The disposition of the interior complex is replete with notable features, functional and at the same time highly decorative. The ceilings of the different superstructures are no doubt made up of oversailing courses of masonry. The limitations of this elementary structural procedure necessitated the reduction of spans by underpinning, and it is this necessary function which the pillars effectively serve. We may take, for instance, the roof of the *maṇḍapa* hall. The four central pillars support a frame of architraves. The square, thus formed, is transformed into an octagon and next the ceiling goes up in overlapping concentric courses until at the top it is closed by a single disc. A pendant projects downwards from this apex which is just below the pinnacle on the summit. Smaller trabeated domes cluster around the central dome, just a reflex in the interior of the arrangement of the supplementary superstruc-

tures around the main one. This simple arrangement has been given a magnificently ornamental treatment and the almost bewildering wealth of decoration defies description. The floors of the different components of the structure are not on one level and in their disposition one may also recognise the same ideas of vertical ascent of the monument as seen in the exterior. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* leads up to a raised dais in the centre of the *maṇḍapa* from which the *antarāla* is, again, on a higher level, and finally another series of steps leads up to the *garbha-gṛiha*. Not only in the solid masses of the superstructure, but also in the disposition of the hollow parts, the same aspiration for verticalism is equally apparent, the former leading up to the pinnacle of the *śikhara*, the latter to the holiest of the holies, the *garbha-gṛiha*.

The Kandarya Mahādeo at Khajurāho represents the finality of the Central Indian architectural movement—a consummation of a fruitful evolutionary process—and is at once brilliant in its conception and the most imposing in its perfect finish and grace. Central India affords many other temples of this type, but none can equal it in its flawless proportions, the orderly and harmonious disposition of its various parts, its sculptured grace pulsating with vibrant, yet restrained, energy, or in the pleasing ensemble of the various lineaments of the superstructure with the aspiring spire of the *vimāna* dominating and controlling the entire scheme. Exuberant in details, architectural as well as sculptural, that may appear to be seemingly restless, there is no sign of disorderliness in the entire monument, and all have been drawn up in the bold sweep of the rhythmically compact *śikhara*. It fully deserves the high encomium lavished upon it by critics of art in modern times.[46]

The Ghaṇṭāi temple (Fig. 33) at Khajurāho, as it now stands, appears to be of an entirely different character. It is now in an extremely fragmentary state and a few pillars that remain represent but a mere shell of what was apparently a great conception. The pillars are arranged on a moulded plinth in two squares set apart from each other, the frontal one evidently constituting the portico, and the rear, the *maṇḍapa*. The *antarāla* and the *garbha-gṛiha*, which apparently stood behind, have now disappeared, and it is the absence of these two elements and of the enclosing walls and superstructures that lends a singular appearance to the monument. The pillars now stand alone, and in the beauty of their form and proportions and the chasteness of their ornamentation they evince almost a classic dignity.

A few of the temples representing exceptional types in Central India should also be discussed in this connection for completing the

account of the architectural movement in this region during the mediaeval period. The two four-faced square temples at Khajurāho[47] present unusual appearance when compared to the temples at the site already described. They are the temples of Brahmā and of Mṛitaṅg Mahādeo (Mṛityuñjaya Mahādeva), the former on the east bank of Khajur Sāgar and the other situated close to the Rāmachandra or Chaturbhuja temple. Each of them (Text Figs. 7 and 8) represents a shrine, square on the inside and cruciform outside, the projection in the centre of each of the four walls being provided with an opening. The opening on the east forms the main entrance with a flight of stairs in front. In the temple of Brahmā the other three openings are closed by stone lattices of simple but different patterns, but in the Mṛitaṅg Mahādeo all the four openings are left clear, the eastern one serving as a vestibule leading to the interior of the sanctum from the open portico hall, provided in front, and the other three as open balconies. The roof is pyramidal, formed of overlapping courses in gradually receding tiers, almost similar in form and construction as the superstructures of the *maṇḍapa* halls. The type is nothing new as it represents the regular form of a *maṇḍapa* hall in different parts of India. The idea of a sanctum with the four sides open is, however, novel during this period, and not a little interest attaches to these temples because the sanctum in each case is roofed over by a pyramidal superstructure, and not by a curvilinear *śikhara* which is the usual rule. In the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara we have an Orissan parallel of this kind of shrine.

In Central India, apart from the square temples and different manifestations of them, we are also familiar with temples of circular shape and plan. Two representative examples of this group may be mentioned here, one at Gurgi Masaun (twelve miles east of Rewa town), and the other at Chandrehe, also in the old Rewa State (Text Fig. 9). The former is in a dilapidated condition, most of the *śikhara* having gone, but the latter (Fig. 32) is found to be in an excellent state of preservation. Both belong to the same conception and were approximately of the same period. There is a possibility, again, that the two were erected by one and the same person, the abbot Praśāntaśiva of the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaivas, about the middle of the tenth century A.D.[48] Each of the temples has a sanctum, circular both inside and out, with an *antarāla* and an open *maṇḍapa* projecting from the front.

Apart from the circular plan of the sanctum, which is certainly a novel feature, these two temples are closely related to the Central Indian architectural movement in the compositional arrangement of the different components as well as in the essential features of their elevation and scheme of decoration.

Reference may be made in this connection to a few brick temples in Uttar Pradesh which offer certain interesting analogies to the circular temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi Masaun. Mention should first be made of a temple at Parauli in the Kānpur District[49] which presents us with a circular plan of the *garbha-gṛiha* internally, though externally it is a polygon of sixteen sides with three of the sides cut off possibly to form the entrance facade. Other temples of such external shape and appearance are also found at Kurari in the Fatehpur District,[50] where, however, the interior of the *garbha-gṛiha* is of a square plan. As usual in brick architecture, each of the temples is covered by a double dome constructed on the corbel principle. Because of the clear definition of the different faces and deep-cut traceries covering the entire surface from the base to the summit, the effect and appearance of each of the temples are decidedly good, and it is a pity that none of them is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a complete idea of this type of monuments which indicate, no doubt, a new direction in the development of the North Indian temple style. Another temple of an external circular shape, though square internally, is found at Tinduli in the Fatehpur District.[51] The temple has also an appearance and effect not unlike those of the group mentioned above. In this predilection for a circular plan, whether in the exterior or in the interior, or in both as in the case of the temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi Masaun, Central India and the Gangetic region may be found to have interesting links with each other.

Mention should also be made here of a few other temples in Central India built on the principle of circles so far as the exteriors are concerned. At Arang in the Raipur District[52] there is a dilapidated temple of the name of Bhand Dewal which, except for its plan, offers a general resemblance to the temples of the Central Indian type. What is interesting is that though the sanctum is square internally, externally the plan is based on that of a circle, and not on that of a square which is the usual rule. The circumference of the circle has, however, straight faces on the principal directions, that to the front having been occupied by the usual frontal components of the temple complex. The arcs intermediate between the straight faces are each cut up into three right-angled indentations, the spaces between these indentations being again straight-faced on the periphery of an inner circle running along the recessed points of the right-angled indentations. The plan is, no doubt, a novel one and has almost the shape of a star if the principal straight faces are ignored. Another modification of this principle may, again, be recognised in the brick temple of Śavarī-Nārāyaṇa (Seorinarayana) near Kharod,[53] in the Bilāspur District. In this temple

the intermediate arcs of the circle between the straight faces are each cut up into five regular right-angled indentations at the back and into two in front, the remaining portion of the circle in front having been occupied by the frontal adjuncts of the *maṇḍapa* and the portico, now entirely gone. But for the straight faces the plan is obtained on the principle of a rotating square round a central axis. In principle both the temples belong to the same conception and may be said to be of rare occurrence in Central India, but characteristic of the temples of the Dakhan. A temple at Rahilya, near Mahobā, and the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapura, in the old Gwālior State, each exhibits a plan like that of the Śavarī-Nārāyaṇa and indicates a wider distribution for such a type of temples. Indeed, such a conception appears to be an extension in Central India from regions lying further in the south-west.

To complete the account of unusual types of Central Indian temples reference should be made to the peripteral shrines dedicated to the worship of the Chauṅshaṭ Yoginīs associated with the cult of Śakti. Such temples are usually characteristic of Central Indian territories, though one or two examples may be found far beyond the geographical limits of Central India. Generally, such a temple takes the shape of an open circular court enclosed by a peripheral colonnade with chapels enshrining the images of the sixty-four Yoginīs and occasionally of some accessory divinities as well, and a principal shrine,—sometimes accommodated in the centre of the peripheral chapels, sometimes in the centre of the open court—, being occupied by the image of an aspect of Śakti. The Chauṅshaṭ Yoginī temple at Bherāghāṭ,[54] near Jabalpur, is 116 feet in internal diameter with eighty-one peripheral chapels together with a central shrine containing an image of Umā-Maheśvara. This temple might have belonged to the ninth or tenth century A.D., though the possibility of a much earlier date for the shrine cannot be entirely ruled out. The Chauṅshaṭ Yoginī temple at Mitauli, near Padhauli,[55] may be ascribed to the eleventh century A.D. It is 120 feet in diameter, has sixty-five peripheral chapels and a circular central shrine with a *maṇḍapa* in front. Circular Yoginī temples are also found at Rāṇīpur Jhariāl (Text Fig. 10) in the old Patna State,[56] at Dudahi in the Lalitpur District,[57] and in the old Kālāhandī State.[58] All of them seem to belong to the early mediaeval period. The type seems to have extended as far south as Coimbatore where it is represented by a solitary example reproducing its essential elements. The Chauṅshaṭ Yoginī temple at Khajurāho[59] is rectangular in plan—an exceptional design in this kind of temples (Text Fig. 11). The central quadrangle measures 102 feet by 59½ feet, and is surrounded by sixty-four peripheral chapels, all around, and one larger in the back

wall, no doubt representing the main shrine. Each of these is surmounted by a small *śikhara,* essentially of *Nāgara* design, though crowned by more than one *āmalaka* in the characteristic Central Indian fashion. The Khajurāho temple seems to have belonged to a date slightly later than that of the Bherāghāṭ one. Coomaraswamy[60] has made the following interesting observation regarding the association of temples of this design. "It may be remarked that early examples of similar plans, based no doubt on still earlier Indian prototypes, can be recognised in the case of more than one Gandhāran monastery shrine, *e.g.* Jamālgarhi and Takht-i-Bāhi, and so far as the rectangular type is concerned, can be paralleled in the cloistered court of the Kashmiri shrines, and those of some Jaina temples at Girnār and Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa (*beṭṭa* type) and of the Chālukya Keśava temple in Maisur".

C. Rājputāna

It is in Rājputāna that we have the earliest remains of a structural shrine, the circular temple at Bairāṭ, in Jaipur, that goes back to the third century B.C. Fragments of an *āmalaka,* the crowning member of a *śikhara* temple, unearthed at Nāgarī, near Chitor, and datable in the fifth century A.D.,[61] testify to the existence of the *śikhara* temple in Rājputāna as early as the Gupta period. This part of the country thus seems to have been familiar with the early evolution of the *Nāgara* temple style from its genesis in the archaic *śikhara* temples of the Gupta and the post-Gupta phases. But older temples of this evolutionary phase have all disappeared, and the earliest extant temple of this order in Rājputāna may be dated in the eighth century A.D. when the *Nāgara* temple had already emerged in its distinctive shape and characteristics.

The straggling village of Osia, 32 miles to the north-west of Jodhpur, seems once to have been a flourishing settlement, and contains about a dozen and a half old temples of both Brahmanical and Jain affiliations.[62] These temples, now in a sadly neglected state, represent two phases of building activity, one early and the other late. The former, datable in the eighth-ninth centuries A.D., is represented by about a dozen temples revealing a stage in the evolution of the *Nāgara* style in which the regional characteristics are yet to appear. The later phase is illustrated by nearly half a dozen examples in which the regional characteristics are manifest; such regional characteristics, however, hardly represent any new trend, but illustrate an almost parallel application of the tendencies with which we are already familiar in Central India.

In form and appearance the temples of the early series are alike to one another. Temple No. 1 (Fig. 34), dedicated to god Hari-Hara,

is a characteristic example of the group. It is of the *pañchāyatana* class, each of the shrines, including the main one, being *pañcharatha* in plan and provided with a shallow projecting portico in front. The *bāḍa* is divided into three vertical segments, and the *śikhara*, gradually inclining inwards with an unbroken contour, is topped by an *āmalaka*.

Temples essentially of the same style may also be found at Jhalrapatan, Ambam and Buchkalā, all in Rājputāna. One of the temples at the last place bears an inscription, dated in Vikrama *Saṁvat* 872 (A.D. 815), which refers itself to the reign of the Gurjara Pratīhāra king, Nāgabhaṭa II. An inscription in the Jain Mahāvīra temple at Osia speaks of the shrine as existing in the time of Vatsarāja, father of Nāgabhaṭa II, though the temple itself, as it now stands, must have been of a considerably later date. Vatsarāja flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., and these two inscriptions may furnish an idea regarding the approximate age of the temples of the early series in Rājputāna. In plan, in shape and in appearance these early Rājputāna temples resemble the temples of the *Nāgara* order in other parts of India of approximately the same period.

In spite of the smallness of size, each of the temples at Osia, Dr. Kramrisch[63] rightly observes, "is a model of clarity in the disposition and proportion of its architectural theme." The elegant proportions of the different sections and their chaste ornamentations, together with the graceful and unbroken contour of the tower, contribute to make the group one of the most attractive among the early *Nāgara* temples. Further, the *pañchāyatana* temples at Osia, because of their exquisite setting and orderly disposition of the central and the accessory shrines, form impressive compositions. Thus the early series of temples at Osia, in spite of their damaged state, remains as one of the most significant among the entire class of *Nāgara* temples.

Two temples of the early series at Osia (Nos. 2 and 7) show a distinct advance in the composition in the addition of a *maṇḍapa* which precedes the principal shrine. The *maṇḍapa* consists of an open pillared hall provided with sloping *kakshāsanas* at the two sides and a projecting portico in front. Unfortunately, temple No. 2 is much damaged, but in the skilful disposition of its different parts and adjuncts and in its profuse, yet refined, embellishment it ranks as one of the most pleasing creations of the builders' art in Rājputāna. Temple No. 7 at Osia (Fig. 35), dedicated to Sūrya, is also an equally elegant production and is perhaps the finest monument in the entire series. Like temples Nos. 1 and 2 it is also of the *pañchāya-*

tana class, and what is interesting is that the attendant shrines seem to have been connected by a cloister, parts of which still remain. In this arrangement we have possibly the nucleus of the subsequent cloistered composition that is particularly characteristic of the Jain temples of this region.

Among the early series of temples at Osia there may also be recognised examples which belong to conceptions different from the *Nāgara*. The *bhadra* or the *piḍhā* temple, so intimately associated as the *maṇḍapa* of the *rekha* sanctum in the temples of the *Nāgara* design, appears at Osia as an individual conception in this early phase. In the much damaged temple No. 3 at Osia we have apparently a conception of the rectangular temple with a wagon-vaulted superstructure, as we have in the Vaital *deul* at Bhuvaneśvara, the Navadurgā temple at Yāgeśvara (Almora District) and the Telikā mandir at Gwālior.

This early series of the temples at Osia, though fundamentally resembling the contemporary *Nāgara* temples in other parts of India, possesses greater affinities with those of Central India. The *mahāpishṭa* supporting the temple is characteristic of such monuments both in Rājputāna and Central India; but it is usually absent in Orissa which was another important centre of the early *Nāgara* temples. The shallow pillared porticos of the Osia temples have their parallels in the *antarālas* of the Central Indian temples of early date. With the introduction of the *maṇḍapa,* inclined *kakshāsanas* seem to have been characteristic of such a hall both in Rājputāna and in Central India. The development of the early design of the *Nāgara* temple respectively in Rājputāna and Central India is also, to a certain extent, parallel. The distinctive type of a mediaeval Rājputāna temple, therefore, differs very little from a typical Central Indian one. A clustered arrangement of *aṅga-śikharas* round the body of the main *śikhara* is a characteristic of the typical Rājputāna temple as well as of the Central Indian.

But a Rājputāna temple, in spite of its close affinity to a Central Indian, lacks many of the distinctive features of the Central Indian temple type, such as extension of the *pagas* beyond the top of the *gaṇḍi,* a number of *āmalakas* as the crowning element of the *śikhara,* and division of the *bāḍa* into more than three segments (*aṅgas*)—*pābhāga, jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa.* A typical Orissan temple is characterised by a five-fold division of the *bāḍa,* while a full-fledged Central Indian temple has as many as seven such segments in the same section. A three-fold division of the *bāḍa* is characteristic of the early *Nāgara* temple and Rājputāna retains it to the last. In this

respect and in certain other features, to be noticed later, the temple-building activity in Rājputāna seems to have been allied to that of Gujarāt and Western India.

In the later series of the temples at Osia one may recognise significant stages in the development of the characteristic type of the Rājput temple. Three temples of this group deserve special mention, namely the Jain temple of Mahāvīra,[63a] and the two Brahmanical temples dedicated respectively to Sachiya Mātā and Piplā Devī. The *aṅga-śikharas* in these temples, though on a lesser scale than those of the Central Indian temples, are as emphatic in expression, and become characteristic of the developed type of the Rājputāna temple. Though not far removed from the typical Central Indian temple, at least in respect of its fundamental design and composition, the form and disposition of the pillars and of the *toraṇa* in front add distinctive notes that are found only in Rājputāna and Gujarāt. In the form of the plinth and of its decorative scheme the movements respectively in Rājputāna and Gujarāt also appear to be related to each other. The projecting eaves shading the *bāḍa* and its niches are also characteristic of the temples of these two regions. Another feature found in the temple of Sachiya Mātā is the octagonal disposition of the pillars in the centre of the *maṇḍapa* hall supporting the shallow dome. This is first met with in structures dating from the eleventh century, and in a developed form in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Piplā Devī with its orderly arrangement of more than 30 richly carved pillars supporting the superstructure. This arrangement of the *maṇḍapa* became characteristic of the Rājput temples of the developed type and may be seen in its most bewildering variety in the Jain temples of Mount Abu.

The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind and the Someśvara at Kirāḍu, both in Jodhpur, seem to represent fundamentally the same design and form as those of the later series of the Osia temples. Kirāḍu has a number of temples, all severely damaged. Among these the Someśvara[64] is perhaps the most exuberant in design and decorative scheme. Unfortunately, only the sanctum with a part of its tower remains along with the shell of what had once been a magnificent pillared *maṇḍapa*.[65]

Kumbharia in southern Rājputāna[66] has, again, a number of Jain temples which are noteworthy as anticipating further development that became characteristic of the Jain temple complexes of this region. The temple of Neminātha (Fig. 36), for example, is not fundamentally different from the characteristic type of the Rājput temples, described above, except that it is situated within a quadrangular court. But the double-*āmalakas* crowning the *aṅga-śikharas* as well

as the main *śikhara* are rare in their appearance in a temple of this region. Such a feature is distinctively Central Indian in character, but is also met with, perhaps as aberrations, outside the limits of that territory. The Pārśvanātha temple at Kumbharia is also identical in form and design, and both the structures probably belong to about the eleventh century A.D.

The *maṇḍapa* of the Neminātha temple and that of the Pārśvanātha (Fig. 37) introduce certain interesting features. The superstructure in each case with its tiers of rooflets and *āmalakas* is closely analogous to that of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Sunak in Gujarāt. The disposition of the interior is, again, highly instructive. The arrangement in either case seems to be identical. The *maṇḍapa* of the Pārśvanātha temple is, however, more masterfully disposed with its central complement of elegant pillars with capitals, all worked in good taste, supporting the shallow central dome, the richly carved pillars with ornamental arches on the flanks, and the surrounding cloister with cells of images approached by smaller doorways which effectively repeat the pattern of the larger entrance leading to the sanctum. As Kramrisch[67] rightly observes: "The Maṇḍapa of the Pārśvanātha temple in Kumbharia puts to unique use the white Makrana marble of Rājasthān. The gleaming spaciousness of the hall, within the internal cloister of cells—evolved particularly in Jaina temples—is without equal".

An advancement of the above design may be recognised in the celebrated group of Jain temple-complexes at Dilwārā, Mount Abu.[68] The group consists of four principal temples, and their accessory structures, each enclosed within a quadrangular court. Among these, two, built respectively by Vimala and Tejaḥpāla and known as Vimala Vasahi and Luna Vasahi (though sometimes called after their builders), are conspicuously noteworthy for the exuberance of ornamental detail minutely wrought in a manner that remains unsurpassed even in India which was justly famous for such kind of work.

The first temple is dedicated to Ādinātha or Ṛishabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara. It stands within a quadrangular court, approached on the east through halls, axially placed, one rectangular and the other square (Text Fig. 12). As it now stands, the complex consists of the sanctum, placed near the western end of the court and preceded in front by *maṇḍapa* and a portico, the three surrounded by a colonnaded cloister (Fig. 39) of image-cellas aligned round the enclosing wall. In Jain terminology these components are known respectively as *mulagabhāro, gūḍha-maṇḍapa, sabhā-maṇḍapa* and *devakulikā*. All these adjuncts, however, do not seem to have been of the same period.

The sanctuary itself, built in black stone, appears to be earlier than the halls and colonnaded cloister which are in white marble. The sanctuary is surmounted by a tower which, however, is too low to have any architectural effect. The halls in front were erected in Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1088 (A.D. 1031) by Vimala, an officer of the Chaulukya king Bhīma I. The colonnaded cloister, again, seems to have been later than the halls by about a century.

The second temple, the Luna Vasahi, is dedicated to Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, and stands to the north-east of the Ādinātha temple. Generally it follows the plan of the latter. Like the latter, again, the sanctuary in black stone appears to have been earlier than other members of the complex which are in white marble. The front halls (Fig. 38) were put up in Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1287 (A.D. 1230) by the banker Tejaḥpāla, brother of Vastupāla, who built the triple-shrined Jain temple at Girnār in Kāthiāwār.

The setting of these temples on the rugged scarp of the hill at a height of more than 4000 feet is, no doubt, the most picturesque. Externally, the temples are perfectly plain and without any architectural effect, the insignificant spires peeping, as it were, over the enclosure walls, and having nothing to commend them to the attention of the visitor. A totally different effect, however, awaits him in the interior (cf. Figs. 39-41) which, in each case, resolves itself into an orderly grouping of richly carved pillars of the portico and the *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine and of the colonnaded cloister around. A splendid display of sculptors' skill is spread over the interior in the minutely carved, almost fretted and traceried, decoration of the pillars, ceilings, doorways and cloistered cells. To quote Cousens,[69] "the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty". Ordinary chiselling would hardly achieve such a delicacy of carving, and there is a tradition that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, the payment to the sculptors being made by the weight of marble dust so removed.

Amongst this exquisite array of delicate carving the domed halls in both the temples arrest the admiration of the visitors with an almost bewildering awe. In each of the halls the central feature is the octagonal nave supporting the shallow trabeate dome over a ring of the eight pillars with light cusped ornamental arches in between. On the octagonal frame of architraves over the arcade of pillars a small bracket at each angle introduces the circle of the dome which rises in concentric rings till the apex is reached. The carving of the pillars is delicate as well as the most intricate. In

the Vimala Vasahi they are all of a uniform pattern resembling those of the Sūrya temple at Moḍhera in Gujarāt and fundamentally differ very little from those in the Kumbharia temples. In the Luna Vasahi, however, the pillars exhibit varieties, particularly in the introduction of fanciful motifs. In this later hall much of the vigour of earlier work has been lost and the bewildering maze of carvings, faultless though in execution, fails to evoke the same aesthetic reaction that one experiences in that of Vimala Vasahi.

The exuberance of all this sculptural magnificence reaches its climax in the treatment of the vaulted ceilings of the halls. No description is adequate to convey a correct impression of the carefully wrought infinite detail that meets the eye, layer upon layer, till the superbly designed apex is reached. Each of the ceilings is built of concentric rings, every one of which carries a beautiful motif, delicately carved, while athwart the lower rings is placed a series of sixteen brackets with representations of Vidyādevīs, or goddesses of learning of the Jain pantheon, each contained within its own aureole. At the apex the dome culminates in a pendant of exquisite beauty hanging like a stalactite from the centre. In Tejaḥpāla's hall the pendant hangs down in a series of gradually diminishing rings and is carved in a fashion rivalling the fineness and delicacy of filigree work in metal (Fig. 41).

In spite, however, of the splendid wealth of intricate ornamentation, executed with a perfection seldom achieved by human endeavour, architecturally none of the halls can be declared to be free from flaw. The multiplicity of infinite plastic detail, repeated innumerable times, obscures, to a large extent, the structural properties in respect of which, again, the fundamental rules of architectural composition seem to have been ignored. Even an admiring visitor cannot fail to perceive a certain disregard of the laws of proportions in the disposition of the different components of the interior. This is particularly noticeable in the rather stunted heights of the domes which are set too squat to fit in with their diameters. The ceilings of the bays of the transepts, particularly in Tejaḥpāla's temple, are too low and the unnecessarily heavy architraves, the "antethesis of the fairy lightness of the sculpture and gossamer tracery",[70] obstruct the view of more than one of them at a time, thereby preventing a general vision of the whole. There is, no doubt, a certain beauty in the delicately carved exuberant ornamentation of the halls; but even this beauty, endless as it seems, leaves the visitor with a sense of tiresome surfeit, and there are very few structural merits to compensate for this defect.

D. Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār

The history of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār is intimately linked up from rather early times, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the development of the *Nāgara* temple in these regions is, to a very great extent, identical, and, as already indicated, closely allied to that in Rājputāna. A geographical proximity of all these regions and, to a certain extent, political circumstances might have been responsible for such striking affinities. Moreover, the construction of these monuments may be traced to a hereditary class of temple-builders, known in Western India as the *Salāts,* and the common characteristics that are noted in the temple-building activity in these regions, bear an impress of their traditional knowledge and skill.

Before describing the development of the *Nāgara* temple in these regions it is necessary to describe a few temples in Kāthiāwār which represent conceptions that are apparently different from that of the *Nāgara* temple style.

At Gop in the Barda hills in Kāthiāwār there is a temple (Fig. 43) of a rather unusual shape that has been described by Cousens[71] as a "stranger" in this region. It is considered to be the oldest structural temple in Kāthiāwār. The monument seems to have been supported on a basement of two terraces, the upper, slightly reduced in dimensions than the lower, possibly serving as a *pradakshiṇa-patha* or ambulatory round the sanctum. The terraces, each relieved horizontally at the bottom, and also perhaps at the top, by courses of mouldings and vertically along the sides by ornamental niches originally containing sculptures, are, however, heavily damaged. The perpendicular walls of the sanctum are severely plain except for a line of grooves on each side near the top. A few of the grooves still contain fragments of wood,[72] perhaps remains of wooden beams supporting a roof around the sanctum and covering the upper terrace. In that case the roof as well as the walls enclosing the second terrace seem originally to have been of wooden construction and have naturally disappeared in course of time.[73]

The walls of the sanctum end at the top in two shallow cornices over which rises the roof in two stepped courses, ultimately crowned by a graceful domical finial. The lower of the two stepped courses is relieved on each side by two *chaitya* arches and the upper by one. The *chaitya* arches are bold in design and elegant in execution, and project each in the form of a dormer. Originally they contained sculptures, a few of which still remain *in situ.*

As it now stands, the temple at Gop presents a rather unusual design and it is difficult to make any definite statement regarding its

antecedents and affiliations. Cousens[74] finds certain striking resemblances between this temple and the early Kāshmirian monuments, particularly the Mārtaṇḍ, in two important respects, namely the stepped-out pyramidal roof with *chaitya* arches in the courses, and in the trefoil arches seen around the lower terraced basement. According to him the type was introduced in this region from Kāshmir by the Sun-worshipping ancestors of the Mers. This view of Cousens, since accepted by archaeologists including Coomaraswamy[75] and Percy Brown,[76] suffers, however, from two important flaws. The history of the ancestors of the Mers is not yet fully clear and it is not definitely known that they originally hailed from Kāshmir. Secondly none of the Kāshmir temples of the type with which similarities are suggested can be dated earlier than the eighth century A.D., whereas the Gop temple is admittedly two centuries older.[77] The absence in Kāshmir of any example of the type of a date earlier to that of Gop stands at present in the way of the acceptance of the hypothesis of Kāshmirian origin of the Gop temple. Moreover, when closely examined, the Kāshmirian analogy seems also to rest on a weak foundation. The roof is, no doubt, stepped as in the Kāshmirian temples, but the graceful domical finial above, instead of the harsh angular point at the top like that in the Kāshmirian temple, indicates for the monument at Gop a conception other than that of the Kāshmirian. The boldly projecting *chaitya* arches are unlike the angular pedimental arches seen on the roof of the Kāshmirian temple, while it is difficult to class the arches around the basement terrace of the Gop temple with the distinct trefoils of Kāshmir. All these would suggest that the conception of the Gop temple was distinct from that of the Kāshmirian.

On the evidence of the shape of the basement arches in the Gop temples Sankalia[78] hesitatingly suggests a Gandhāran influence through Sindh. But this view also cannot be pressed strongly as the fundamental elements of the design and composition of the Gop temple have hardly any parallels in the Gandhāran monuments. In our opinion the two major features in the composition of the Gop temple, followed also in several other monuments of the region evidently of this class, are the situation of the sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the stepped arrangement of the roof. Of the first a parallel may be recognised in the plan of what has been designated as the storeyed type of Gupta temples. On this analogy the stepped arrangement of the roof in the Gop temple may, perhaps, be considered as but a slightly different expression of the storeyed conception of the superstructure in the Gupta temple. The bold and emphatic steps in the roof of the temple at Gop resemble, though in a less pronounced manner, the storeys in receding stages, charac-

teristic of the composition of the roof in the Gupta temple and lend a plausibility to the suggestion made above. The appearance of *chaitya* arches as gables on the roof is very old and may be traced back to the days of Bhārhut. There is no necessity, hence, to draw upon the doubtful Kāshmirian analogy on this score. Cousens[79] has further noticed certain analogous features in the temple at Gop and in what he describes as "early Dravidian temples" at Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal; but he regards them as "purely accidental". To our mind, however, such analogies are of greater import with regard to the affiliations of the Gop temple, particularly in view of the fact that an almost identical plan also characterises the early temples of Deccan. Here also among the different shapes of the superstructures we have both the storeyed as well as the stepped arrangement. Such temples are approximately contemporary to the temple at Gop, and both may be considered to be but slightly different expressions of the same conception.

In Kāthiāwār other temples of the same class as that of Gop are found at Than (old Jain temple),[80] Visvavada,[81] Harshadmata (Fig. 45), Pindara (Fig. 42), Villeśvara,[82] and a few other places. In these temples the plan is usually that of a sanctum within a covered ambulatory, and the stepped arrangement of the superstructure is also recognised to be one of their distinctive characteristics. In these respects, though chronologically later, they may be regarded as clear analogues of the temple at Gop.

The above temples of the Gop class, when closely examined, may enable us to determine the progress of the style. The development is noticed in the progressive increase of the number of stages, in the gradual reduction of the heights of the steps, in more harmonious proportions between the lower and upper elements of the structure and in a general refinement of the contours. The temple of Śiva at Villeśvara[83] represents, perhaps, the latest development of the type (Text Figs. 13 and 14). It is also the most perfectly preserved temple of the group and hence enables us to understand the composition and design of the type in a more convincing manner. The sanctum is situated within a covered ambulatory and is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of stepped stages in receding tiers, each stage on each face being relieved by ornamental *chaitya* arches, gradually diminishing in number from six in the lowermost course to one in the uppermost. Each corner at each stage is further ornamented with decorative finials. The ambulatory is enclosed by walls of stone relieved on the exterior by shallow pilasters that end in cornices. A flat roof of stone covers this ambulatory. From the increased number of stepped stages—the largest among the temples

of the group—the refined pyramidal contour, and the shape and design of the ornamental arches and finials, the temple may be considered to be the latest, at least in point of style, among the temples of the Gop type. The pilasters on the exterior walls of the ambulatory resemble in a general way the pillars in the Elephanta cave, and it would not be unreasonable, perhaps, to refer it to the same period as that of Elephanta.

Among the temples of the Gop type in Kāthiāwār a rectangular design of the sanctum may be recognised in the so-called Varāha temple at Kadvar.[84] Another such rectangular temple with a distinctly stepped arrangement of the superstructure is found at Kalsar. Here the rectangular sanctum is preceded by a portico, also of rectangular design (Fig. 44). The superstructure in each consists of a few stepped courses, relieved by *chaitya* arches.

Scholars are inclined to class the Sun temple at Sutrapada[85] as a temple of the Gop type. Of course, the plan of the sanctum with a covered ambulatory has a general resemblance with that characteristic of the temples of the Gop group. But the stepped-out pyramidal arrangement of the superstructure, with an emphasis on the horizontal lines, as we see in the monuments of the Gop class, is entirely lacking here. Rather, the tower with the vertical facets on each face, *āmalaka* quoins at regular intervals and the heavy *āmalaka-śilā,* topped by a smaller one, as the crowning member reproduces the prominent characteristics of a *Nāgara śikhara* (Text Fig. 15), and there can be no doubt that here we have an early *śikhara* temple denoting a stage in the evolution of the *Nāgara* style in the region. The plan of an inner sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the succession of *chaitya* ornaments on each face of the *śikhara* might have been responsible for such an erroneous classification. The latter ornament is a distinctive characteristic of the early *Nāgara* temples while such a plan is also noticed in a few temples of the Deccan, each having a prominent *Nāgara śikhara* over the sanctum. From these considerations the Sutrapada temple should properly be classed with temples of the *Nāgara* style, rather than with those of the type at Gop. Similar is the case with the temple at Pasthar, classed by Sankalia[86] with the monuments of the Gop type. Here also an archaic *śikhara* of a low height surmounts the sanctum. In this connection it may be noted that adjacent to the Śiva temple at Villeśvara, described above, there is an example of a *śikhara* temple, described by Cousens[87] as representing "a very early and rudimentary stage of the Northern style". This indicates the possibility of the co-existence, at a very early stage of architectural activity in this area, of the temples of the

Nāgara style with those of the Gop type. The plan of an enclosed sanctum within a covered ambulatory, seen in several early temples of the *Nāgara* form in this area, might have been inspired by this fact of simultaneous co-existence.

The characteristic regional expression of the *Nāgara* temple style in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār is usually designated as the Solāṅkī after the Chalukya or Solāṅkī rulers of Aṇahillapāṭaka. Many of the Chaulukya kings were great patrons of the building art, and the prolific and magnificent architectural activity during their regime was, in a large measure, due to their active and enlightened patronage. Their ministers and governors were also zealous patrons of arts and culture. By its geographical position Gujarāt was the hub of international commerce of those days, and merchant princes, like the brothers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, vied with one another in encouraging the arts in the most exuberant manner possible. The common people also shared in such activities by raising up substantial funds by a system of recognised imposts for the gods. It appears that the entire community was identified with the artistic movements of the day, and the result was a brilliant upheaval of every form of art, particularly of architecture in which the religious zeal and devotion of the people found the most emphatic expression. The whole area was studded over with monuments, distinctive in design and the most luxuriant in execution. The majority of the temples of this brilliant phase is, however, in ruins, while many have been almost completely obliterated. Time and man have wrought havoc turning the once smiling and gleaming monuments to a skeleton of their former glory, or into totally shapeless ruins.

Monuments of the early *Nāgara* form, prior to the emergence of the characteristic Solāṅkī type, are very few in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. Among the few that remain, some had been classed otherwise, while with regard to the others their true imports had not been always recognised. It is because of this that the characteristic type of the Solāṅkī temple has sometimes been regarded as an individual growth in this region, a few scholars even suggesting an evolution of the Solāṅkī temple from those of the Gop type. Architectonically however, though not geographically, the two groups stand far apart and represent two distinctly different conceptions. In the fundamentals of design and form there is hardly a common link between the two. The prominent features of the Solāṅkī temple belong to the *Nāgara* conception, and in it we have a regional expression of the *Nāgara* temple style. The Solāṅkī temple type is related, at least in some measure, as a parallel movement to the other regional manifestations of the *Nāgara* style, so widely distributed over different parts of India.

A few stray and isolated examples of the early *Nāgara* temple still remain in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. In respect of form and design the oldest *Nāgara* temple in this area may be recognised in a dilapidated shrine at Rhoda (Gujarāt). From its simple design and chaste ornamentation (Fig. 46) it seems to be nearer to the Gupta *śikhara* temple and apparently belongs to a date not later than the seventh century A.D. The small shrine[88] by the side of the Śiva temple at Villeśvara (Kāthiāwār) and the Sūrya temple at Sutrapada (Kāthiāwār)[89] belong architectonically to an identical conception.

A few other temples in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār help us to trace the progress of the *Nāgara* temple from the simple design of the temples of the Rhoda group. A small shrine (Fig. 47) at Pashthar (Kāthiāwār), evidently of the early *Nāgara* form of *triratha* shape, presents two curious features, *viz.* the division of the *rāhā-paga* into two vertical halves by a deep depression in the middle along its height and the appearance of sectional *āmalakas* on the central *paga* at regular intervals corresponding to those of the *āmalaka* quoins. In contrast to the rich scheme of the *śikhara* above, the cube of the sanctum below, unrelieved by any horizontal moulding or by any vertical *ratha* projection, has a bald and severe appearance. This may indicate that originally it was not meant to be seen from outside, the sanctum being enclosed within a covered ambulatory, perhaps of wood, that has been swept away. The above-mentioned shrine beside the Villeśvara temple and the small temple (Fig. 49) adjacent to the Navalakha at Ghumli (Kāthiāwār), slightly advanced in design because of its *pañcharatha* conception, also appear from their bare walls to have been provided each with an ambulatory of wood. The Sūrya temple at Sutrapada, already discussed, has the sanctum enclosed within a covered ambulatory of stone, and it appears that like the temples of the Gop class the plan of a sanctum within an enclosed ambulatory was also followed in the early *Nāgara* monuments of Kāthiāwār. It is from this composition that one may trace the evolution of the *Sāndhāra prāsāda* in several of the subsequent regional manifestations of the *Nāgara* style.

A *pañcharatha* plan of the sanctum is a natural development from the *triratha,* and several temples of this plan, architectonically posterior to the *triratha* group, may also be found in Gujarāt as well as in Kāthiāwār. An elegant example of the *pañcharatha* group may be seen in a small shrine at Sandera (Gujarāt).[90] Exquisite in proportions and with a graceful array of fretted ornamentation of *chaitya* arches the temple may be regarded as one of the most notable monuments of the early *Nāgara* form in this region, as effec-

tive in design and sensitive in treatment as the celebrated Muktesvara at Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa). Two small temples (Text Fig. 16) at Miani (Kāthiāwār),[91] dedicated respectively to Gaṇapati and Mahādeva, each of the *pañcharatha* plan and preceded by a pillared portico in front, are as elegant in design and decorative conception as the one at Sandera. The small shrine at Ghumli (Kāthiāwār) might have been as effective, except for the bare appearance of the walls. The temple of Ranik Devī (Fig. 48) at Wadhwān (Kāthiāwār)[92] is also essentially of the same conception as above. It seems to be slightly later in date in view of the high plinth consisting of more than three courses of mouldings, the division of the *bāḍa* into five segments by a simple shallow band—an apology for the *bāndhanā*—around its middle and a rather attenuated form of the *śikhara*.[93] In Orissa and Central India the increase in the number of *rathas* in the plan is, in a certain measure, related to the division of the *bāḍa* along the vertical axis. With the *pañcharatha* plan Orissa develops a *pañchāṅga bāḍa,* and to this the Orissan builders adhere to in spite of the development occasionally of the *saptaratha* and *navaratha* plans. The characteristic type of a Central Indian temple is *saptaratha* in plan, and correspondingly the Central Indian architects develop a *saptāṅga bāḍa*. But in other regions of the *Nāgara* style the *bāḍa* of three segments, distinctive of the early *Nāgara* form, is rigidly maintained. Rājputāna, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, Khāndesh, etc., in spite of the manifestations of regional characteristics, all adhere to the three-fold division of the *bāḍa,* and the stray and not too emphatic occurrence of a fivefold division, as seen in the Ranik Devī temple and in one or two others as well, may be regarded as an aberration in this area.

A battered shrine, known as Muni Bhāva's temple, near Than (Kāthiāwār),[94] shows definite characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple; but already a development of the design may be recognised in the provision of a pillared *maṇḍapa* in front to which a distinctly local character is given by the arrangement of *kakshāsanas*. An interesting feature of this temple is again seen in the full-length figures of griffins or rampant lions, repeated in the vertical facets of the walls, a motif that is perhaps unique in this area.

Cousens is of opinion that the old ruined shrine of the god Trinetreśvara which once stood at Tarnetar,[95] about six miles northwest of Than (Kāthiāwār), was older than Muni Bhāva's temple. The Tarnetar shrine consisted of a sanctum with a *maṇḍapa* in front. As is apparent from the photograph[96] that alone survives, the *śikhara* exhibits an arrangement of *aṅga-śikharas* in clusters around

its body, a motif that is evidently late in appearance. This feature is a distinctive characteristic of the Solāṅkī temple, as of several other regional expressions of the *Nāgara* style. The awkward manner in which the roof of the *maṇḍapa* is sought to be joined to the *śikhara* indicates a certain lack of experience on the part of the builders with the elaborate design of the Solāṅkī temple, then just in process of formation. The now vanished temple at Tarnetar, therefore, probably represented an important stage in the transition from the early *Nāgara* form of temple to that of Solāṅkī. It is a pity that no monument now survives to enable us to understand this transition better.

Like other regional expressions of the *Nāgara* style, the typical Solāṅkī temple of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār appears to have received its complete form by the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The type, so formed, is in a large measure, analogous to the fully developed Rājput temple, and the architectural development in these regions seems to have been parallel and simultaneous, at least in the later stages of the development of the *Nāgara* temple. The affinities, which are not few, have already been indicated and need not be repeated here.

The general scheme of a Solāṅkī temple differs very little from that of any other regional expression of the *Nāgara* temple. Fundamentally the composition consists of the sanctum and the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* (*gūḍha-maṇḍapa* as it is known in this area), combined usually in axial length. The exterior walls are broken up by vertical chases, projected and recessed alternately, which are carried up into the elevation producing effective contrasts of light and shade. The chases are obtained usually by a system of *ratha* projections, as in the temples of the *Nāgara* conception, or occasionally in the more developed group by the intricate process of rotating a square round a central axis—a process that may be recognised to be a different application of the same idea that was responsible for the introduction of the system of addition of *ratha* projections on the exterior walls of the temples of early *Nāgara* form. Occasionally, again, in the larger conceptions a detached hall, *sabhā-maṇḍapa,* and a *kīrti-toraṇa* are added in front of each. Sometimes a sacred reservoir with flagged steps forms an important element of the temple complex, but this is seen only in the more important groups. A few of the larger temples seem to have the *maṇḍapa* halls disposed in more than one storey, but the examples themselves are too damaged to allow any clear understanding of the arrangements.

In elevation the scheme of the Solāṅkī temple reproduces the same fundamental divisions along the vertical axis as in other re-

gional types of the *Nāgara* temple. The temple rises from a high socle (*pīṭha* or *mahāpishṭa* as it is variously termed), above which is the wall surface up to the entablature (called *mandovara* in Gujarāt and *bāḍa* in Orissa). The entablature serves as a transition to the next division, the superstructure along with its crowning elements. The socle consists of a series of mouldings, sometimes plain, usually ornamented with repetitive motifs in an order specifically fixed by tradition. The wall surface has a threefold division, corresponding to those of the early *Nāgara* temples and termed respectively in Orissa as the *pābhāga* (plinth), the *jāṅgha* (wall face) and the *baraṇḍa* (transition). No further subdivision of this section, as seen in Orissa and Central India, is to be found in the Solāṅkī temple, a feature shared also by the Rājput temple. The first of these, the *pābhāga,* not always emphatic in expression, consists of a series of mouldings, and the second, the *jāṅgha,* shows a grouping of sculptures in the vertical chases. The last, the *baraṇḍa,* in the Solāṅkī temple, as in the characteristic Rājput type, usually consists of a cornice or double cornice, extending in the form of a sloping eave *(chājjā)* in the frontal parts. Above this rises the superstructure, the tall curvilinear *śikhara* surmounting the sanctum cella and a low pyramidal roof, composed of diminishing horizontal courses, covering the *maṇḍapa* hall. In the characteristic type of the Solāṅkī temple the *śikhara* over the sanctum has clusters of *aṅga-śikharas* round its body, each a replica of the main tower. As already noted, these *aṅga-śikharas* in the Rājput and Solāṅkī types of structures, though less exuberant than the Central Indian, are equally, if not more, emphatic in expression, each having its own volume and retaining the four-square shape of the main structure. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* also reproduces a similar motif in the repetitions of rooflets in tiers all around.

In the arrangement of the interior the Solāṅkī temple displays notable features. The *maṇḍapa* hall is definitely peristylar in character, and richly carved pillars constitute an essential element in its composition. As in the elevation of the temple outside, the pillars are also divided into three principal sections, a moulded base, an elegantly carved shaft further subdivided into decorative horizontal zones, and the top, referred to by some scholars as "an attic portion", consisting of the capital with its entablature and other elements. In the earlier of the temples the pillars are arranged along the sides of the *maṇḍapa* hall, while in the later ones they are grouped octagonally in the centre of the hall thus dividing it into a central nave and lateral aisles, the latter sometimes having additional complements of pillars. In the more ornate examples light foliated struts, simulating flying ornamental arches, are thrown across the nave pillars and

they form a very elegant motif rich in treatment. The square hall projects on the outside, the projections being left open; that to the front is meant for entrance; while those on the two sides usually accommodate windows and alongside *kakshāsanas* with leaning parapets. Sometimes, though rarely, the latter form additional porticos. The dome is supported on an octagonal frame of architraves over the pillars and rises in oversailing concentric courses, each course richly carved, terminating at the apex in a pendant of exquisite beauty. Every element of the composition has been masterfully conceived and beautifully treated, so that the interior is as rich and effective as the external design of the temple. In external design the Solāṅkī temple has its compeers in other zones of the *Nāgara* style; but in interior arrangement the Solāṅkī temple, or its parallel, the Rājput, is without any equal.

The above preliminary discussion of the distinctive characteristics of the Solāṅkī temple renders it unnecessary to describe in detail the individual monuments. The temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva (Fig. 50) at Sunak (Gujarāt), happily a complete specimen so rare in this area, is regarded as one of the most notable monuments of this class. It consists of the sanctum and its *maṇḍapa,* axially joined, and preceded by an open portico in front. Externally the roof of the *maṇḍapa* is surrounded by tiers of rooflets, each with *āmalaka* and *kalasa* finial, the top of the dome, raising up its head over the design. Likewise the *śikhara* over the sanctum, one of the most graceful in outline, is surrounded by tiers of *aṅga-śikharas,* one interesting feature in each case being the occurrence of double *āmalaka,* a feature that is also seen prominently on the top of the main *śikhara.* At the sides of the *maṇḍapa* there are inclined *kakshāsanas,* most effective in their spacing and disposition, while every surface, whether on the walls or on the pillars, is richly carved in the most elegant manner (Text Fig. 17). In respect of design and plastic adornment it has been aptly described as a "gem of its kind" by a competent authority.[97] A copper-plate inscription of Karṇa of Vikrama Saṁvat 1148 (A.D. 1091) found at Sunak, as interpreted by Sankalia,[98] records a grant of land for the maintenance of a tank (*vāpī*), made at Sūnaka (Sunak) for the god Mahādeva. This presupposes the existence at Sunak of a temple of Mahādeva, which can be no other than the present temple, in the closing years of the eleventh century A.D. Stylistically, however, the construction of the temple has to be referred to a date approximately a century earlier. Clear parallels of the Mahādeva temple at Sunak may be found in the Jain temples at Kumbharia (South Rājputāna), usually referred to the eleventh century A.D. In the latter an advancement of the interior design is recognised in the

octagonal grouping of the pillars supporting the dome, an arrangement that is yet to come in the Gujarāt temple. The Sun temple at Moḍhera (Gujarāt), more elaborate in design and enrichment, also displays a grouping of the pillars supporting the dome in an octagon. This temple cannot be later than A.D. 1026, and the Sunak temple, in which this characteristic design is yet to be reached, may belong to a date slightly earlier, perhaps to the close of the tenth century A.D.

Several other temples of approximately the same date and essentially identical in conception are found in Gujarāt as well as in Kāthiāwār. Only the more important ones may briefly be mentioned here. The present temple of Limboji Mātā at Delmal (Gujarāt), though occupying the site of an older structure, seems to be of comparatively recent date. But the two subsidiary shrines, situated on the south-west and south-east corners of the court and dedicated respectively to Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya, "are genuine examples of good old work and are exceedingly neat and complete little structures—chaste in design and ornament".[99] These subsidiary shrines, essentially of the same style as that at Sunak, may furnish an idea of the date of the original temple of Limboji Mātā which once stood in the centre of the court. The larger of the two shrines at Sanḍera (Gujarāt)[100] is also an elegant piece of work identical in plan and detail with that at Sunak, though smaller in dimensions. The Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Miani (Kāthiāwār)[101] may also, from its style, belong to the same group. The temple of Hingloji Mātā at Khandorna (Fig. 52) and that of Jaisalnātha Mahādeva at Asoda (Fig. 53), both in the former Baroda State, belong also to this conception, the latter being an eminent example of this class. The triple-shrined temple at Kasara (Gujarāt), now in ruins, is apparently an interesting conception (Text Fig. 18). Round a central *maṇḍapa* hall with a porch, now gone, on the east, are arranged three shrines, each with a Solāṅkī type of *śikhara*, the western, facing the porch, being dedicated to Śiva, the northern to Vishṇu and the southern to Brahmā.[102] The shrines as well as the *maṇḍapa* are now found in a battered state; but when entire, each was a notable production and the effect of the whole was one of impressive grandeur. The triple-shrined temple at Parbadi (Kāthiāwār)[103] with its central *maṇḍapa*, now gone, is essentially of the same style as the one at Kasara and may belong to the same date. Another triple-shrined temple, but of a later date and dedicated to Jain worship, is found at Girnār (Kāthiāwār).[104] Besides, several other remains, such as at Kanoda (Gujarāt),[105] Gorad (Gujarāt),[106] Chaubari (Kāthiāwār),[107] etc. also appear, from the style of the fragments preserved, to be affiliated to

the Sunak group. As compared to the Sun temple at Moḍhera, the temples of the Sunak group have, on the whole, an older appearance, and have to be referred to a period earlier than that of Moḍhera, preferably towards the close of the tenth century A.D. The fairly large number of monuments of this epoch suggests a brisk architectural activity even during the early Solāṅkī regime.

In the eleventh century A.D. the Solāṅkī temple reaches its supreme expression, and among the many monuments that were raised there were several notable productions, though unfortunately all of them are more or less dilapidated. Among these, the Sun temple at Moḍhera (Gujarāt)[108] is the most imposing even in its ruin (Fig. 54). Much of the character of this temple complex lies in its elaborate setting, all elements of the scheme being harmoniously related to one another in an organic architectural entity of the most impressive grandeur. The entire scheme is raised on a paved terrace and resolves itself into three principal components (Text Fig. 19). On the east, to which the temple faces, is situated a large rectangular reservoir (the sacred *kuṇḍa*) with flagged flights of steps on each side interspaced by small shrines (Fig. 57). Admirable in lay-out and arrangement, this *kuṇḍa* is itself a noble production. At the head of the steps on the western side stand two richly carved pillars of the *kīrti-toraṇa* or ornamental archway, behind which is seen the open pillared hall of cruciform shape, the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* as it is known in Gujarāt. This hall, aptly described as "a magnificent pile of pillared splendour,"[109] is placed diagonally with the axial line of the next component that consists of the sanctum and its adjoined *maṇḍapa* as one unit. All these components are skilfully adjusted to one another in a manner that results in the production of an effective unity out of the three seemingly separate compositions.

The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* (Fig. 56) has four entrances on its four faces through ornamental cusped archways between two pillars. In between the plan is broken up into a number of deep vertical chases at regular intervals. Each angle, so formed, has a dwarf pillar, and the entire system is enclosed by a low wall following closely the indentations of the plan all around. This wall is surmounted by a continuous parapet with *kakshāsanas* arranged all around. In the upper section the small pillars support the entablature of the roof, in the lowest stage of which runs a continuous eave (*chājjā*). In the interior the pillars are arranged in two rows in the form of a cross, the central complement describing a regular octagon for support of the dome above. Every single part of the design is exquisitely carved, and

in spite of the profuseness of the ornament covering all visible surfaces, both inside and out, there is hardly any idea of exaggeration.

The sanctum and the *maṇḍapa,* essentially of the same conception as in the earlier temples of the Sunak group, each displays notable advances in design. The first, enclosed within a covered ambulatory, is of the *sāndhāra* class, while the second exhibits a central complement of pillars grouped in a regular octagon. Over this octagonal nave rises the dome (Fig. 58), the ornamented ceiling of which still remains. Fretted ornamental *toraṇas* join the pillars and relieve the harshness of the four-square scheme at the top. A shallow vestibule of four pillars fronts the doorway of the inner sanctum. The *maṇḍapa* and the ambulatory of the sanctum are each lighted by window openings of an effective design. Externally (Fig. 55), vertical chases are formed in the plan by *ratha* projections, and the ornament is as varied and rich, both internally and externally, as in the case of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa.* In each of these elements the superstructures have collapsed. A low pyramidal roof no doubt surmounted each of the halls, the *maṇḍapa* and the *sabhā-maṇḍapa,* while a typical Solāṅkī *śikhara* covered the sanctum.[109a] Bereft of these necessary accompaniments the scheme now appears in a truncated state. But the structural propriety of the different parts as well as of the whole, the rich and varied ornament that matches and blends beautifully with the architectural lineaments, and the sense of organic unity, all combine to rank it among the supreme creations of Indian genius. A master mind conceived the noble scheme, and master artists carried it to perfection. An inscription in the back wall of the sanctum of the Moḍhera temple bears a date, Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1083 (A.D. 1026), which may tentatively be taken as the date of the temple.

Mention may be made of two other monuments, apparently also of the eleventh century A.D. One is the Navalākhā temple at Ghumli,[110] and the other, also going by the same name, at Sejakpur, [111] both in Kāthiāwār (Text Figs. 20 and 21). The foliated plan of the sanctum of the Sejakpur temple is obtained on the principle of a square rotating round a central axis. Richly carved and in the best proportions of form and design, each of the Navalakha temples, when in its original state complete with the superstructures, represented a fine conception of eleventh century Solāṅkī work. In the Ghumli temple the sanctum is enclosed within an ambulatory and the *maṇḍapa* is disposed in two storeys, likely parallels of the latter being found in the larger Sas Bahu temple at Gwālior and in the ruins of the Rudra Mālā at Siddhapur.

The Solāṅkī tradition maintains a rich and prolific output in the twelfth century A.D. which saw two eminent royal patrons of build-

iṇg art in Siddharāja Jayasiṁha and Kumārapāla. With the former is associated the completion of an imposing conception, the Rudra Mālā or Rudra Mahālaya, at Siddhapur (Gujarāt).[112] Unfortunately it is now completely in ruins, but a picture of its former splendour seems to have survived in a Gujarātī ballad which speaks of the temple as covered with gold, adorned with sixteen hundred columns, veiled by carved screens and pierced lattices, festooned with pearls, inlaid with gems over the doorways and glistening like flames with rubies and diamonds. Much of this is, no doubt, exaggeration full of rhetoric; but the impressive character of the conception is evidenced by the scanty, though colossal, remains. They consist of groups of columns of the pillared *maṇḍapa,* which seems to have been in more than one storey, and had three entrance porticos on three sides. The surviving foundations suggest that the conception with the usual appurtenances occupied a space nearly 300 feet by 230 feet. In front there stood a *kīrti-toraṇa* of which one column still remains. From the dimensions the Rudra Mālā seems to have been one of the largest architectural conceptions in this area; the rich character of its design is fully evident in the few fragments that remain. The temple that once stood at Vadnagar (Gujarāt)[113] might have been larger still, as appears from the size of the surviving richly carved *kīrti-toraṇa* (Fig. 51). The famous shrine of Somanātha at Somanātha-pattana (Kāthiāwār)[114] had been built over and over again after periodical demolitions at the hands of the Muslims. The shrine seems to have been old. After its sack by Mahmūd of Ghaznī Bhīma I appears to have rebuilt it. Traces of this rebuilding can still be seen in the present ruin which dates from the time of Kumārapāla in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. (Text Fig. 22). It is much of the same design as the Rudra Mālā without, however, the storeyed disposition of the *maṇḍapa* of the latter, and of nearly the same dimensions. The sanctum was enclosed within an ambulatory. The sculptural decoration has well nigh been defaced, but enough remains to demonstrate the rich character of the design. Near by stand the remains of a few other shrines, of which that of Sūrya,[115] almost entire, has still an imposing effect. The tradition represented by the twelfth century temples seems to have reached a baroque phase foreshadowing the decline.

In spite of a brisk activity in the thirteenth century A.D. much of the vigour and refinement of the earlier works had been lost. The majority of the erections are of Jain affiliation and situated on the sacred hills of Śatruñjaya and Girnār (Kāthiāwār), the eminent patrons of this faith being king Kumārapāla in the twelfth century, and the merchant brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, in the thirteenth. The monuments on these two hills, on account of constant reno-

vations, have lost much of their original appearance, and are hardly of any interest architecturally. The triple-shrined temple of Vastupāla (Text Fig. 23) at Girnār[116] is, however, interesting as illustrating a rare conception. The imposing pile of the Jain temple at Taringa (Gujarāt),[117] attributed to Kumārapāla, in spite of a restoration in the time of Akbar, seems to have retained its original form and design to a very great extent. But the fineness of form and ornament that characterised the eleventh century Solāṅkī temple had already declined. Even the hall of Tejaḥpāla at Dilawārā, Mount Abu (Rājputāna), in spite of its being a notable creation in certain respects, fails to impress from the architectonic point of view.

E. Deccan

The *Nāgara* temple style, it has already been observed, extends beyond its canonical limits far to the south. Temples of the *Nāgara* conception have been found as far south as the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin, while a solitary example, the temple of Gaṇapati at Hangal,[118] indicates an expansion of the conception even far into the interior of the Kannaḍa speaking area. The Deccan temples of the *Nāgara* conception may be divided into two well-defined groups, one early and the other late. The early group is confined to Southern Deccan in the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin, while monuments of the late series are found scattered over the western part of the upper Deccan, mainly in the region of Khāndesh and its neighbourhood. In the history of the *Nāgara* temple style south of the Vindhyas, they represent two important movements, separated from each other in time and space, as well as, to a certain extent, in respect of stylistic progress.

Temples with early *Nāgara* form of the *śikhara* are found side by side with the *Drāviḍa* at Aihoḷe, Paṭṭadakal, Mahākūṭeśvara and Ālampur, all situated in the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin. This region seems to have been a sort of meeting ground of the two well-marked temple styles, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa,* and it is from a blending of the elements and characteristics of the two that one may recognise the evolution of what subsequently came to be known as the Chālukyan style which, though hybrid in its origin, later on constituted a separate and well-defined style of great strength and decorative significance.

Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal, lying close to each other, are now decayed villages, but a fairly large number of monuments in different stages of preservation still reflect a picture of their ancient prosperity. Aihoḷe in the Bijāpur District has particularly been described as a veritable museum of early structural forms, and the truth

of this observation is amply borne out by nearly seventy temples, scattered around the village, which represent an early and prolific phase of building activity, a period of experiments, so to say, in various forms and designs. In this medley of forms the *Nāgara* conception is prominent in a number of monuments. Temples Nos. 9 (Text Fig. 24) and 24 at Aihoḷe[119] each exhibits a sanctum, *triratha* in plan, surmounted by a dwarf *śikhara* of early *Nāgara* design, and preceded by a pillared hall in front. The *śikhara* in each case reproduces the fundamental characteristics of the early *Nāgara* towers, as seen in other parts of India, and the movement naturally represents one among the many widely distributed early activities in *Nāgara* temple-building. The *Nāgara śikhara* seems to have been so popular in this locality that temples fundamentally belonging to different conceptions, such as the Durgā[120] and the Huchchimalliguḍi[121] at Aihoḷe, are each found to be surmounted by a tower of this conception. There is a striking likeness between the *śikhara* of the Huchchimalliguḍi at Aihoḷe and that of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara. The latter is usually assigned to the seventh century A.D. The *śikharas* of temples Nos. 9 and 24 at Aihoḷe seem to be more archaic in design and appearance. The structural activities at Aihoḷe appear to have covered approximately a period of two hundred years, from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century A.D., and the archaic *śikhara* temples in this village may probably be assigned to the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The architectural activities, inaugurated in so promising a manner at Aihoḷe, were continued at Paṭṭadakal that stands near by. In this insignificant village in the Bādāmi District one may still find old temples crowded among the mean mud houses of the present day. As at Aihoḷe, here, too, shrines representing both the conceptions, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa,* are found side by side. Of the former conception there are at least five examples among which the Pāpanātha appears to have been the most imposing as rivalling in importance the other grand monument at the site, the celebrated Virūpāksha,[122] a magnificent production in the early *Drāviḍa* style. The temples of Galaganātha,[123] Kadsiddheśvara,[124] Jambuliṅga[125] and Kāśīviśvanātha[126] represent each a sanctum, *triratha* in plan, surmounted by a low *Nāgara śikhara* which in shape and design resemble those at Aihoḷe and contemporary *śikhara* temples in other parts of India. In the early *śikhara* temples of the Deccan a great divergence seems to be presented, however, by the crowning elements, particularly the *āmalaka* which is a rather insignificant member in comparison with those on their northern prototypes, being much too attenuated in girth to fit in with the *bisama* over which it

is placed. This individual treatment of the *āmalaka* characterises these *śikharas* as representing a Deccanese version of the early *Nāgara śikhara.*

In the temple of Pāpanātha[127] at Paṭṭadakal (Fig. 60) the sanctum is enclosed within a covered ambulatory and is preceded by two axial halls, the first apparently occupying the position of the vestibule *(antarāla)* and the second constituting the forward assembly hall *(maṇḍapa)* of square shape with an open portico projected in front (Text Fig. 25). The entire composition is raised over a substantial plinth of several bold string courses. All around, the walls end at the top in a heavy cornice surmounted further by ornamental pavilions. The roof is flat with the *śikhara* over the sanctum shooting high up at the eastern end. The interior is lighted by ornamental grilles set between pilasters, while the ambulatory around the sanctum has boldly projecting windows, one on each of the three sides. But for the tower which is definitely of *Nāgara* conception, the entire composition is essentially one of the *Drāviḍa* and has a general likeness to that of the Virūpāksha temple that stands close by. The refined contour of the tower of the Pāpanātha indicates a date later than that of any other temple of *śikhara* conception at the site. It may be assigned either towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

The Saṅgameśvara temple (Fig. 59) at Mahākūṭeśvara,[128] lying between Bādāmi and Paṭṭadakal, is a neat little specimen of the *Nāgara* style. It consists of a sanctum, *triratha* in plan, and is preceded by an open pillared portico in front. A collateral shrine on either side of the central *ratha* projection anticipates the developed *pañcharatha* plan. In this respect the Saṅgameśvara has a parallel in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara and may be coeval with it in date.

At Ālampur on the west bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā there is a group of six temples, all situated within a walled enclosure. In design and composition all the temples are essentially identical and have a general likeness to the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal, and may be dated about the same period or to one slightly later. The best preserved monument of the Ālampur group is represented by what is known as the Viśva-Brahmā temple (Fig. 61).[129] Though essentially of the same class as the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal, the different adjuncts of the Viśva-Brahmā temple are found to be in much better proportions leading to a far more coherent composition.

With very few exceptions, the above early monuments of Southern Deccan can hardly be said to have belonged wholly to the *Nāgara* conception. In the majority of these temples, particularly

the more ambitious productions, the essential idea that governed the composition was more of the *Drāviḍa* extraction than of the *Nāgara*, the impact of the latter idea being however emphatically expressed in each case by the *śikhara* surmounting the sanctum. Southern Deccan, particularly the Kṛishṇā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin where such monuments are concentrated, furnished a fruitful meeting ground of two apparently differing conceptions of temples, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa*, and it is from an admixture of the characteristic elements of the two that there evolved in later days an individual style of great prolixity and richness.

A distinctive expression of the *Nāgara* temple style is recognised in the upper Deccan or Dakhan, as it is designated by Cousens, roughly in the territory between the lower reaches of the Narmadā and the upper course of the Godāvarī. The mediaeval monuments of this region,[130] situated as they are between two important zones of architectural movements—the Solāṅkī in the north and the Chālukyan in the south—,bear, in a certain measure, evident signs of their impacts. Nevertheless, they have certain remarkable individual features which separate them from either, as well as from other regional types of the *Nāgara* temple style. These rank them as a separate expression of no mean interest and significance.

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the Dakhanese expression of the *Nāgara* temple style is to be noticed in the design of the *śikhara* which is markedly different from that of any other regional type. Here, the central offset on each face of the body of the sanctum cube is carried up and continued on the body of the *śikhara* up to its summit as an unbroken vertical band covered all through by rich tracery of *chaitya*-window motifs. These prominent bands, following the main contours of the *śikhara* on the four sides, act, so to say, as spines to keep the latter in shape. The segments in between the spines are filled in up to the finial by horizontal tiers of miniature *śikharas* diminishing in size as they go up. The principle governing the clustering of the *aṅga-śikharas* round the main one, an inevitable consequence inherent in the logical process of the evolution of the *Nāgara śikhara*, is, no doubt, felt also in this Dakhanese expression; but here we have a new interpretation of the theme in which the disturbing effect on the contours is effectively held in check by the strongly pronounced vertical spines. The latter, with their emphatic verticalism, keep the *aṅga-śikharas* subordinated to the principal design. The Orissan builders, while admitting the logic of the *aṅga-śikharas*, also reached a similar solution, but in a slightly different manner. In Orissa as well as in the

Dakhan the unbroken ascent of the *śikhara* seems to have been of greater import, and each region evolved a scheme in which the *aṅga-śikharas* received a treatment whereby they lost their individuality and became transformed into mere decorative detail. Kramrisch[131] is inclined to call this type of *śikhara* as composite, as in this treatment may be recognised a conscious attempt to combine both the principles—that of the single and unencumbered *śikhara* with that of one with smaller replicas clustered around.

The temple in the Dakhan usually consists of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa,* sometimes having the appearance of being placed diagonally to each other on account of the great diversity in the exterior walls which practically revel in "a great multiplicity of angles".[132] The *maṇḍapa* has either one approach in the front, or three in the front and at the two sides, each such approach being through a projected porch. Sometimes three shrines are placed round a central *maṇḍapa* having a projected porch in front to complete the design. The angles in the exterior walls are obtained either by the usual system of *ratha* projections, or on the principle of rotating a square round a central axis and thereby leading to a foliated star-shaped plan. In the latter case the central buttress on each face runs parallel with the square plan of the sanctum in the interior and carries upward the prominent vertical band that serves as a spine of the *śikhara.* Like the buttresses the foliated angles in between are carried up and continued on the *śikhara.* These, no doubt, emphasise strongly the vertical tendency of the entire scheme, and possibly to balance and, to a certain extent, to counteract this emphatic upward urge a close series of horizontal mouldings is laid across the composition in the lower cubical section, while deep passages between the tiers of the *aṅga-śikharas* repeat a similar horizontal scheme on the body of the tower. The vertical scheme, as well as the horizontal, thus seem to have counterbalanced each other in a remarkably effective manner which allows for ever-changing chiaroscuro effects up and across the entire composition. It has to be noted in this connection that the cubical section, corresponding to the *bāḍa,* like that in the early *Nāgara* temple, is divided into three main segments.

The characteristic Dakhanese expression of the *Nāgara* temple style, as described above, appears before us as fully formed. Unfortunately, no monuments of a transitional stage have yet been found to explain the gradual evolution of the type. Two eminent expressions of the type, possibly also the earliest in date, have been found outside the confines of the Dakhan proper, one in the South and the other in the North. But the type does not appear to have

been characteristic of any of these regions, where they appear apparently as exceptional occurrences. The mediaeval temples of the Dakhan invariably bear the distinctive features of this characteristic type which, from its close and intimate association with this region, seems to have been its particular heritage.

The temple of Ambaranātha[133] in the Thānā District (Bombay), though in a perilously ruinous condition, seems to have been one of the most outstanding monuments of the type (Text Fig. 26). An inscription on the architrave over the northern doorway of the *maṇḍapa* records its erection in the Śaka year 982 (A.D. 1060) during the time of the Śilāhāra chief Mummuni or Maṁvani. The sanctum and the *maṇḍapa,* seemingly aligned diagonally along the axial line, are characterised each by deep and bold vertical chases as well as by emphatic horizontal mouldings in the plinth and transition *(baraṇḍa).* The treatment of the exterior walls thus provides for all possible combinations of light and shade up and across the composition. A greater part of the *śikhara* has fallen down and the roof of the *maṇḍapa* is also in a battered state. In the *śikhara* on each face may be seen the characteristically Dakhanese expression of successive tiers of *aṅga-śikharas* in between the vertical spines on the central faces, the rich and continuous traceried ornamentation of the latter being in juxtaposition to the rugged appearance of the segments occupied by the *aṅga-śikharas.* In spite of the great diversity, a skilful treatment of the different elements has resulted in a unified design full of animation and vivacity.

Balsane in Khāndesh has a group of nine temples, all more or less battered, though no less interesting. Of these, No. 1 (Fig. 62), a triple-shrined temple,[134] seems to have been an outstanding production (Text Figs. 27 and 28). Of the same design as that of the Ambaranātha, except for its triple-shrined composition, this temple at Balsane exhibits the prominent characteristics of the Dakhanese type in a more developed and crystallised state. No. 4 at Balsane[135] consists of the sanctum and its *maṇḍapa,* disposed in the characteristic fashion, and is notable for the foliated star-shaped plan. The temple of Maheśvara at Patna (Khāndesh)[136] is also similar in composition, but the plan is further elaborated and shows five foliations in between the central bands (Text Fig. 29). In this respect, at least, it resembles the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapura, perhaps the finest monument of the Dakhanese expression. The Galteśvara temple (Fig. 65) at Sarnal (Kaira District), though in a mutilated state, also represents an eminent conception.

One of the best preserved monuments of the Dakhanese series may be seen in the temple of Goṇḍeśvara (Fig. 64) at Sinnar,[137]

about 20 miles to the south of Nāsik. It represents a *pañchāyatana* group, the principal sanctuary with the four subsidiary shrines at the corners being situated on a raised terrace (Text Fig. 30). Besides, in front of the principal shrine, dedicated to the god Śiva, stands a small pavilion for Nandī, the mount of the god. In design and in treatment each of the subsidiary shrines, with the plain unencumbered *śikhara,* is nearer to the *Nāgara* form. But the principal temple with its characteristic appurtenances represents the Dakhanese form in a mature state. There is, however, a falling off in the quality of sculpture and a general stiffness of outline, on which account the monument has been assigned to a period later than that of the supreme efflorescence of the type in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. The Mānkeśvara temple at Jhogda[138] (Nāsik District) and the Amṛiteśvara temple (Fig. 66) at Ratanwāḍi[139] (Ahmadnagar District) also belong to this later phase which foreshadows a decline. Many other old shrines are scattered through the Dakhan, but gradually there is a progressive tendency towards heaviness and clumsiness which are very clearly visible in what are known in this region as the Hemāḍpantī temples.

It is interesting to note that the finest monument of the Dakhanese expression of the *Nāgara* temple style is situated far to the north of the Dakhan proper. At Udayapura in the old Gwālior State stands the venerable pile of the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple[140] built by the Paramāra king Udayāditya, and hence also known as the Udayeśvara (Fig. 67). It is in a perfect state of preservation, and in it may be observed the supreme excellence of the characteristic Dakhanese version of the *Nāgara* temple, described above.[140a] On a high *adhishṭhāna* or socle rise the sanctum and its *maṇḍapa,* the former surmounted by a *śikhara* in its Dakhanese expression and the latter by a pyramidal roof, also of the same order.

On the exterior the sanctum is of a foliated star-shaped plan, the points of the star, meaning the chases between the central bands on the four faces, being obtained on the principle of rotating squares (Text Fig. 31). The central bands themselves remain parallel to the square of the *garbha-gṛiha.* The *bāḍa* or the cubical section has a prominent plinth, nearly as high as the *jāṅgha* above. The socle as well as the plinth consists each of a series of bold mouldings, those of the former spreading towards the bottom as if to hold the ground in a firm grip. The plinth mouldings rise perpendicularly. In shape as well as in treatment these mouldings have a general likeness to those of the Khajurāho temples. But with these the affinity with the typical Central Indian temple ends, and the design, as a whole, follows what has been described as typically Dakhanese.[140b] The chases in the *jāṅgha* are in the shape of faceted pilasters as in the Ambaranātha,

and being angular, because of the star-shaped plan, every one accommodates a sculpture on each of its two sides. The chases are terminated by capital shape mouldings above which a cornice, with a deep recess intervening, serves as the *baraṇḍa* or transition from the cube to the *śikhara* (cf. Fig. 63).

The *śikhara* rises with a slight curvature, the unbroken vertical spines, in continuation of the central band below, with their richly traceried ornamentation holding it in shape. The vertical as well as the horizontal themes, as seen on the perpendicular cube, are repeated on the *śikhara* (Fig. 68). The former finds eloquent expression in the firm contours of the spines on the four quarters transcending the limits of the *bisama* and in the arrays of *aṅga-śikharas*, in continuation of the chases in the lower section, rising in succession towards the peak. The latter theme is reproduced in the division of the sub-quarters of the *aṅga-śikharas* into successive tiers by deep horizontal passages in between. The principal scheme of the composition is, hence, "a close correspondence of the structure and superstructure", as beautifully expressed by Kramrisch,[141] and this is also noticed in the edges of the *bisama*, repeating the five-pointed star in each of the sub-quarters, and in the rims of the *āmalaka-śilā*, responding "in its cusps to the angles of the star-shaped temple".[142] The *maṇḍapa* roof, pyramidal in shape, is composed likewise of miniature repetitions of itself in successive tiers converging to the pinnacle. The mighty gable over the *antarāla*, rising again in successive levels, serves as an effective bond between the superstructures over the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa*, which are essentially of two divergent shapes. Every part is meticulously carved in the most elegant taste and the result is a texture of exquisite delicacy and variety which, instead of overshadowing the structure, emphasises its lineaments in the most effective manner. The entire monument represents a unified design vibrant, so to say, with teeming detail. The temples at Arang and Rahilya and that of Śavarī-Nārāyaṇa near Kharod (all in Central India) exhibit each certain of the characteristic features of the Dakhanese temple but not in so complete a degree as the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Udayapura in which one may recognise a supreme manifestation of the Dakhanese conception.

F. Sindhu-Gaṅgā Valleys

It is to be presumed that the *Nāgara* temple, as the prevailing style in Āryāvarta and a considerable portion of the South, was also known in the regions of the upper belt of Northern India, particularly in the rich riverine plains watered by the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā systems. Unfortunately, very few old temples now

survive. The plains are practically denuded of monuments that could claim a certain antiquity, and when one recalls the iconoclastic fury of the Muslim conquerors from which this wide tract of territory repeatedly suffered, the reason for the extreme scarcity of old architectural specimens would be patent and clear. The few that survive of the old monuments are also sadly ruined. A few dilapidated monuments in brick in the Uttar Pradesh are found to exhibit the characteristics of the early *Nāgara* design, except for their preference for a circular shape. They have already been mentioned in connection with the monuments of Central India. In the north-west, in the Himālayan regions, are found several temples decidedly of early *Nāgara* conception, while in the east, in West Bengal and the adjoining region of Chotanāgpur, the same conception is illustrated by a few monuments. Very few examples, however, remain to enable us to trace its development in any of these regions. The few extant monuments do not lead us beyond the suggestion that this vast stretch of territory was familiar with the *Nāgara* temple. But whether there was any sustained and organised activity in *Nāgara* temple building in any of these areas is a question that still awaits a satisfactory answer. At any rate, there has been found not a single monument in any of these areas that might correspond to the magnificent regional manifestations of the *Nāgara* style, like the Orissan or the Central Indian, the Solāṅkī or the Dakhanese.

In the Himālayan regions the earliest specimen of the *Nāgara* design is possibly represented by a series of monolithic temples at Masrur (Kāngrā).[143] These temples, which are cut out of the rock and reproduce the characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple, may belong to the eighth century A.D. At Baijnāth (Kāngrā)[144] there is also a group of structural temples of about the ninth century A.D., alike in form and design to those of Orissa of approximately the same date. Among these, one is interesting for its flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* which has a *rekha śikhara* embedded at each of its four corners, just as we find in the *maṇḍapa* of the Vaital *deul* at Bhuvaneśvara (Orissa). At Chambā[145] there are, again, several temples of early *Nāgara* form in which an advancement of the design is noticed in the *pañcharatha* plan which characterises each one of them. In the larger temples the *bāḍa* is divided into five segments along the vertical axis, also representing an advancement over the early form, and this feature connects them with the development of the *Nāgara* style as found in Orissa, while a shallow string-course round the *āmalaka-śilā* is a feature which is particularly Rājput in occurrence. Further, an impact of the hill tradition is recognised in a few of the Chambā temples in the two superimposed parasols, one over the

gaṇḍi and the other over the *āmalaka,* each resting on a framework of wood and covered by thin slabs of slate. In the hills such a contrivance is possibly a necessary feature, being eminently suitable for draining off the snow, and is to be found also in the temples of Kedāranātha and Vadarīnātha in the snowy heights of the Himālayas. In the temple of Mahādeva (Fig. 69) at Bajaura (Kulu)[146] we have a neat little temple of the tenth century *Nāgara* design. It is rich in carved ornamentations and is notable for the three side chapels projected from the body of the sanctum, one on each of the free sides, containing fine relief sculptures of Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu and Durgā. All the temples, described above, are essentially of early *Nāgara* form and design and hardly any distinctive feature that might have been due to local inspiration is noticeable in any of them.

In Eastern India also the *Nāgara* temple seems to have been widely known. The monuments that are now extant are, however, confined to West Bengal and the adjoining Chotanāgpur region. In the latter area such temples are mostly found at Telkupi, Pārā, Bōrām, Dulmi, etc. in the Mānbhum District. That the *Nāgara* temple was also the prevailing form in different parts of Bengal may be inferred from several votive temples in miniature of this design found respectively in Northern and Eastern Bengal.[147] Certain sculptures from Bihār[148] also reproduce the form of the *Nāgara* temple in relief, thereby indicating its prevalence in the region of Magadha.

Of the extant temples referred to above, a few can be assigned to the period under review, and whether lying in West Bengal or in the adjoining district of Mānbhum, they are found to have many things in common. Apparently they represent one architectural movement. The Mānbhum temples are small and unpretentious and it is in the temples of West Bengal that the movement can be studied more profitably.

The earliest of the temples of the *Nāgara* design in Eastern India appears to be temple No. IV (Fig. 70) at Barākar (Burdwān District, West Bengal).[149] It consists of a sanctum, the *maṇḍapa* in front being a recent addition not included, in all probability, in the original scheme. The sanctum is *triratha* in plan with a subsidiary niche on either side of the central buttress which anticipates the *pañcharatha.* The central *ratha* on each face is occupied by a niche capped by a superstructure of tiered stages which is terminated by the cornice at the bottom of the *gaṇḍi.* The supplementary niches have similar superstructures which are, however, smaller in height. Otherwise, the walls remain quite plain. The *gaṇḍi* rises with a slight ingress and is capped by a spheroid *āmalaka-śilā.* The *rāhā* and the *konaka pagas* are emphasised. Instead of the interlaced

chaitya-window patterns, the usual decorative motif on the *gaṇḍi* in the early *Nāgara* temples, the surface is covered by relief panels, illustrative of various legends, and animal and human motifs.

In the *triratha* plan, a cube of three segments, a *pābhāga* or plinth of three mouldings, and the plain form of the *śikhara* unencumbered by *aṅga-śikharas,* the temple No. IV at Barākar reproduces the prominent characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple and furnishes a general resemblance with the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara. At the same time there are several features in it which are equally distinctive. In relation to the dimensions of the sanctum, the *śikhara* in the Barākar temple is not as low and stunted as that in the Paraśurāmeśvara. The mouldings of the *pābhāga* exhibit shallow rectangular offsets that are not to be found in the Orissan temples. The relief panels on the body of the *gaṇḍi* introduce a new scheme in the ornamentation of the *śikhara* of the *Nāgara* temple. The *bhūmi-āmalakas* are rounded in section, and these as well as the *āmalaka-śilā* surmounting the *gaṇḍi* have indentations resembling fluted cusps. In this treatment of the *āmalakas* as well as in the offset panels on the mouldings of the *pābhāga,* the temple No. IV at Barākar appears to have parallels, not in Orissan temples, but in temples of Western India, particularly in Gujarāt. Two other interesting features which seem to connect this temple with those of the west may also be referred to. The *rāhā-paga* on each face is divided into two vertical halves by a recessed line along its centre. Again, in the upper stages of *gaṇḍi,* the *rāhā-paga* is furnished with sectional *āmalakas.* Both these features appear in the temple at Pashthar (Kāthiāwār), described above. These clear affinities of this temple with those of the distant west are difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge. Moreover, its link with the typical Orissan temple is furnished by the bold and emphatic miniature *śikhara* shown on the *rāhā-paga* on the front face. The temple No. IV at Barākar, as it now stands, offers many problems of which no satisfactory solution is possible at present. Its date, hence, also seems to be a problematic one. From the general architectonic form, however, it does not appear to have been much later in date than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara.

The brick temple (Fig. 71) at Sat Deuliyā (Burdwān District, West Bengal),[150] also of the *Nāgara* conception, is again interesting in certain respects. The *ratha* plan and the curvilinear tower reproducing in its *pagas* the *ratha* shape of the sanctum cube evidently connect it with the *Nāgara* conception of temple. The interlaced patterns of a variation of the *chaitya*-window motif on the *pagas* and the unbroken and emphatic contours of the latter are likewise distinc-

tive characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple. The apparent division of the *bāḍa* into five vertical segments connects it with the Orissan development of the *Nāgara* design. At the top the *bāḍa* ends in several courses of inverted offsets forming a projected cornice over which the *gaṇḍi* is placed. The top of the *śikhara* has tumbled down and the surface has an extremely battered appearance. In contrast to the *śikhara* with its rich traceried ornamentations with ridge-like terminations on the edges of the *pagas,* the body of the sanctum cube appears rather plain except for the *ratha* facets. The projected cornice with the remains of a continuous recess below, coupled with the plain appearance of the *bāḍa,* may suggest that the sanctum was originally enclosed by an ambulatory which has now vanished. What is interesting is the absence of *bhūmi-āmalakas* demarcating the stages of the *gaṇḍi,* and also probably of the usual *āmalaka-śilā* as the crowning member of the *śikhara.* The absence of such features from the scheme of the *śikhara* constitutes definite departure from the usual *Nāgara* design of the temple. Whatever the explanation of such curious features, the affiliation of the temple fundamentally to the *Nāgara* design is clear and explicit as noted above, and from its general shape, refined contours and decorative scheme it appears to be dated about the tenth century A.D.

One of the finest monuments of the *Nāgara* design in this part of India is represented by the Siddheśvara temple (Fig. 72) at Bahulārā (Bānkurā District, West Bengal).[151] It is made of brick and is situated on a low mound, being originally surrounded by eight small subsidiary shrines and enclosed by a compound wall, all of which are now in ruins. The temple is of the single-celled type, and the sanctum is approached by a vestibule in the thickness of the front wall with a triangular corbelled arch opening. It rests on a plinth which consists of several courses of elaborate mouldings and is of the *ratha* plan. The *bāḍa* or the sanctum cube is divided into five segments by three horizontal bands forming the *bāndhanā* and dividing the *jāṅgha* into two halves. Besides the division of the plan into *rathas* the plainness of the walls is relieved by niches, those on the central *rathas* being capped by miniature *śikharas.* Several courses of projected mouldings separate the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi.* The latter has a chaste and refined contour, the corners as well as the edges of the *pagas* being rounded off. The whole surface of the *gaṇḍi* is covered with intricate traceries of the *chaitya*-window patterns, scroll-work and other designs. Of the last the most interesting are the tiers of miniature *śikharas* in the lower stages of the *rāhā-pagas.* This is a new interpretation of the logical theme of *aṅga-śikharas* on the body of the main *śikhara,* not met with so far; but it seems to have been characteristic of the *Nāgara* temples of this region as is evident

from the temple known as Jaṭār *deul* in the Sunderbuns. The top of the temple has tumbled down and the hand of time has been heavy on the mouldings and decorative patterns. Yet, considered as a whole, this brick monument, because of its graceful proportions, elegant contours and chaste style of decoration, seems to constitute one of the outstanding productions of Indian temple architecture. Coomaraswamy[152] assigns the temple to the tenth century A.D. Dikshit[153] thinks this date to be a century or two too early. From general architectonic shape and ornamental style a date in the eleventh century A.D. may not appear to be unreasonable. At Dehār (Bānkurā District, West Bengal)[154] there are two stone temples, of which the *śikharas* have gone. The treatment of the cube of the *bāḍa* in each case resembles that of the Siddheśvara at Bahulārā, and all the three may be regarded as belonging to the same conception and to approximately the same period. The brick temple, known as the Jaṭār *deul* (Fig. 73), in the Sunderbuns (West Bengal),[155] when in its original state, seems also to have been an eminent production of this conception. Modern conservation has entirely obliterated its original shape and features, but originally, as appears from an earlier photograph, the temple had considerable architectural merits and closely resembled the Siddheśvara in plan, elevation and decorative treatment.

From a study of the temples of the *Nāgara* design in this part of India it appears that they are unmistakably related to the Orissan movement. As a class they are nearer to the early group of Orissa than to the typically Orissan, though the link with the latter cannot be entirely ruled out. One or two, as noticed above, may, again, be found to have significant affinities with the distant western movement. These apart, the Bengali temples may also be recognised to have certain individual features. The Bengali architects displayed, to a certain extent, a better sense of reserve and restraint than their contemporaries in other parts of India. They exhibited a more refined taste in the choice of their decorative patterns and their balanced adjustments. The *Nāgara* temples in Bengal may not have the grandeur of the massive and stupendous stone monuments seen in other parts of India; but they are surely more elegant and graceful, and the brick specimens in particular testify to a fine and mature knowledge of the Bengali builders in the science and art of building.

3. *Drāviḍa Style*

The nucleus of the *Drāviḍa* temple, as has already been observed, is the storeyed form of the Gupta temple and the rock-cut *rathas* at Māmallapuram supply an interesting stage in the development of

the *Drāviḍa* style. The Pallavas were eminent patrons of art and architecture. The early phase of the Pallava rule in the south is an age of great experiments in methods and forms. The "Cave style" of Mahendravarman Vichitrachitta was continued by his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla, but the latter initiated a new turn in the rock-cut method by shaping out free-standing monolithic *rathas* from granulitic boulder-like outcrops in imitation of structural forms. Eight such *rathas*[156] are still found at Māmallapuram, the seaport city founded by him at the mouth of the Pālār river, 32 miles south of Madras.

Every one of the *rathas,* except the Draupadī, exhibits a storeyed elevation of the roof, each storey being terminated by a convex roll cornice ornamented with *chaitya*-window arches (*kuḍus* as they are called in this part of the country), each enclosing a human head. The walls of the ground storey are broken up by pilasters and sculptured niches, while the upper storeys are surrounded by small pavilions *(pañcharams).* In spite of this general resemblance there may be recognised great divergences in shape and form which are, to a certain extent, determined by the shape and plan of the sanctum cellas. The Nakula and Sahadeva *rathas* each has a rectangular plan rounded at one end, and correspondingly the storeyed roof is surmounted by a vault with an apsidal back. This form, reproducing the design of the Buddhist *chaitya* halls, gradually went out of fashion. Among the other *rathas* we have the square as well as the rectangular plans. In the former the storeyed roof is topped by a domical member, the *stūpī* or *stūpikā* as it is called. The latter has an elongated barrel-shaped vault, with gables at the two ends, as the crowning element of the roof. In these two forms one may recognise the origin of the two fundamental components of the *Drāviḍa* temple, the *vimāna* representing the sanctum with its pyramidal tower and the *gopuram* or the immense gateway leading to the temple enclosure.

Of the square type of *rathas,* which furnished the starting point for the *Drāviḍa vimāna,* the Dharmarāja is the most imposing as well as the most perfect (cf. *Classical Age,* Fig. 27). It consists of a square ground storey, with open pillared verandahs all around, which upholds a pyramidal tower of receding storeys ultimately capped by the octagonal *stūpikā.* Each storey is demarcated from the other by a convex roll cornice with *chaitya*-window arches *(kuḍus),* and the upper storeys are surrounded by small pavilions *(pañcharams).* Though the sanctum seems to be situated on the second storey, the pillared verandahs round the ground storey have, more or less, an appearance of an open ambulatory. It is not difficult to find in this type an adaptation of the earlier storeyed form of the

Gupta temple enriched by the introduction of new elements in the matter of detail, apparently of local origin. The *stūpikā* or the crowning member is evidently a derivation from those of the miniature rock-cut relief shrines at Undavalli (Guntur District). The roll cornice appears in the caves of the Mahendravarman period and even earlier. The turretted roofs (*pañcharams*) surrounding each upper storey are, no doubt, intended to fill up vacant spaces round the horizontal stages so as to conceal, to a certain extent, the storeyed elevation and to lend the tower a pyramidal shape. The Dharmarāja *ratha* at Māmallapuram may, in these respects, be clearly recognised to be a typical example in which the distinctive elements of the *Drāviḍa vimāna* may be said to have emerged and attained their characteristic expression.

Of the two rectangular *rathas,* the Gaṇeśa is the more interesting. With its storeyed elevation surmounted by a barrel-shaped vault with a gable at either end and pointed pinnacles at the top, it reproduces, though on a much reduced scale, the distinctive form and characteristics of the immense *gopuram* or entrance gateway to the spacious temple enclosure. The rectangular plan is eminently suitable for a gateway building and the barrel-vaulted roof is certainly the most effective covering for a building of this plan. As such the type was selected as a convenient prototype for the gateway building, and the fundamental resemblance between the shape and form of the simple type of the rectangular *ratha,* as illustrated in the Gaṇeśa, and those of the monumental *gopurams* of the later days leaves no doubt regarding their evident connection. At Māmallapuram the rectangular and the square types of *rathas* appear side by side, each as an independent conception. Their association together to form two important elements of the *Drāviḍa* temple complex is an event that is still to come.

With its beginnings in two distinct types of the Pallava rock-cut *rathas* of the first half of the seventh century A.D. the *Drāviḍa* style of temple passes through a long process of evolution and elaboration under different dynasties of kings who came to be politically supreme in the south. From the period of the Pallava rulers till the end of the Vijayanagara empire in the sixteenth century, and even later, the style maintains a prolific activity, and a succession of datable monuments, spread over the southern end of the peninsula, supplies definite landmarks in the development of the style. Confined within a comparatively small area the movement remains, more or less, compact and unilateral in spite of a history of approximately a thousand years. This long period may be divided into several well-marked phases. Each succeeding phase starts

with the heritage of the preceding one, leading the style, along with a richer elaboration and maturity, to its ultimate logical fulfilment. In fact, there is no real break in the continuity of the tradition, and the strongly marked individualities, constituting the distinctive characteristics of the style, remain prominent throughout.

With Narasiṁhavarman II, also known as Rājasiṁha Pallava (*c.* A.D. 695-*c.* 722), the rock-cut method ceased and the *ratha* type was replaced by structural temples. The change to the structural method furnished the builders with greater powers and freedom, and the results of this change are noticeable in the striking advance that was made in the building art even within a generation. To Rājasiṁha's reign may be assigned several interesting monuments of which three seem to have been of immense importance in the development of the style as a whole. The earliest of these stands at Māmallapuram and is now known as the "Shore" temple (Fig. 74)[157] on account of its being situated on a point of land that juts out into the sea. A formal temple scheme is found to be already in a process of formation as the temple proper is placed within a quadrangular court enclosed by massive walls. The principal feature of the scheme consists of two shrines, asymmetrically attached to each other, each having its own pyramidal tower complete with a domical *stūpikā* and a pointed finial. The one to the east, facing the sea, is larger in dimensions and was apparently the main shrine dedicated to the god Śiva. The western one was consecrated to the worship of the god Vishṇu. The towered sanctuaries, each with a storeyed elevation terminated by a dome-shaped *stūpikā* and with roll cornices and small pavilions at each stage, clearly reveal a derivation from the square type of *rathas* best exemplified by the Dharmarāja. Each tower has gained in height and there is a lightness and soaring quality in the attenuated and elongated shape of each. It is precisely these qualities which lend "more rhythm and more buoyancy"[158] to these rather loosely knit forms. A greater freedom, inherent in the structural procedure, was, no doubt, partly responsible for these qualities; but this alone could hardly account for the effect produced unless a new aspiration had been there.

This aspiration leads to the unified conception of a temple scheme in which all the appurtenances, that were to be distinctive of the *Drāviḍa* style of temple, are clearly expressed and harmoniously adjusted to one another. The first example of such a unified conception may be seen in the celebrated Kailāsanātha temple,[159] built by Rājasiṁha Pallava, not long after the Shore temple, at Kāñchīpuram (Conjeeveram), the capital city of the Pallava kings

from ancient days. This temple complex (Fig. 75), also known as the Rājasiṁheśvara after its royal builder, consists of the sanctum with a pyramidal tower and a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* (*maṇṭapam* as it is known in this part of the country) with a flat roof, both situated in a rectangular court enclosed by a peristyle composed of a series of cells (Text Fig. 32). The sanctuary stands near the western end of the court and is topped by a pyramidal tower of storeyed elevation of great beauty and graceful contours. This constitutes the principal feature of the entire scheme and is obviously a development from the monolithic prototype of the Dharmarāja *ratha.* In the pyramidal tower there is a far greater harmony in the different storeyed stages leading to a more effective design of this kind of superstructure (Text Fig. 33). "From the somewhat compressed forms of the monolithic *rathas* to the more loosely-knit elements of the Shore temple, we now arrive at a further effort to present the *śikhara* (sic.) in a suitable architectural form, well-proportioned, substantial, yet at the same time rhythmic in its mass and elegant in its outlines."[160] A group of supplementary shrines, each repeating on a smaller scale the form of the main shrine and attached to its free sides, may suggest, again, an advancement of the design of the *vimāna.* There are doubts, however, whether these components were included in the original scheme. The peristyle of cells with its range of cupolas is also an interesting feature apparently connected with the future development of the style.

In the composition of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram we have the first example of the unified design of a temple complex with many adjuncts that are to characterise the full-fledged *Drāviḍa* temple. Apart from the *vimāna,* the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa,* an invariable accompaniment of the *Drāviḍa* temple, has already made its appearance and is placed in front of the sanctum, originally as a separate building but later on joined together by an intermediate hall forming the *antarāla.* The sanctuary and the *maṇḍapa* stand within an enclosed court to which access is now obtained by two entrances in the eastern wall on two sides of a rectangular building with a storeyed elevation and surmounted by a barrel-shaped vault. This building now serves as a subsidiary chapel. From its position in the middle of the eastern, *i.e.* the front, wall axially in a line with the *maṇḍapa* and the *vimāna,* it is not difficult to find in this building the original entrance to the temple enclosure. The shape of this structure, eminently suitable for a gateway building, and the manner in which it has been built and disposed, leave no doubt about its original function. The chapel, in which form we now see it, represents obviously a later deviation from the original plan. Its derivation from the rectangular type of *rathas,* like the Gaṇeśa, is also clear

and explicit. With all the appurtenances, like the walled court, the *gopuram,* the pillared *maṇḍapa* and the *vimāna,* all complete and in their proper positions, the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram may rightly be regarded as one of the key monuments of the *Drāviḍa* style.

The Vaishṇava temple, known as the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal,[161] at Kāñchīpuram is also attributed to Rājasiṁha Pallava and might have been begun not long after the Kailāsanātha. Here a more developed sense of composition is evident in all the elements of the temple complex being combined into one architectural unit. The temple stands within a court which is approached by a portico in the east (Text Fig. 34). On the outside the walls of the court are relieved by pilasters and niches, while on the inside runs a continuous colonnaded cloister separated from the central complement, the sanctum and its attached *maṇḍapa,* by an open passage for circumambulation. The *maṇḍapa* is a square pillared hall having an entrance in front and a vestibule behind which leads to the sanctum cella. The sanctum is also square in plan and has a pyramidal tower of four storeys capped by the octagonal dome of the *stūpikā* with a finial (Text Figs. 35 and 36). Each storey is disposed as a shrine, with two enclosed ambulatories in the lowest, an ambulatory and an open balcony in the second and an open balcony in the third. Each storey is separated on the exterior by roll cornices surmounted by parapets with ornamental cupola shapes at intervals, while the walls of the lowest are relieved by sculptures set between pilasters. In the disposition of the different elements there is noticed not only a sense of unity but also an economy which is responsible for much of the architectural character of the monument. The *Drāviḍa* temple style is already in the process of crystallisation.

In the second half of the eighth century A.D. the power of the Pallavas began to decline and the notable advances, made during the previous phase, seem to have received a set-back. Though no ambitious productions were taken in hand, the architectural activities continued, as is evidenced by a number of monuments erected during this later Pallava phase. Of these, the Mukteśvara and the Mataṅgeśvara[162] at Kāñchīpuram and the great temple at Panamalai[163] are essentially of the same mode and style as those associated with the name of Rājasiṁha Pallava. Certain smaller temples of this later phase, such as the Vadamallīśvara at Oragadam[164] (near Chingleput), the Tiruṭṭaneśvara at Tiruṭṭāni[165] and the Paraśurāmeśvara at Guḍimallam,[166] reproduce the apsidal form of the Sahadeva *ratha.* The movement, however, remained, to a certain extent, static, but the standard, already achieved, was main-

tained unimpaired. The rich heritage of the Pallava building tradition thus passed on to the Choḷas who supplanted the Pallavas as the dominant power of the South.

In connection with the development of the *Drāviḍa* temple in the Pallava period it would be useful to refer to a few productions of the style outside the confines of the Draviḍa country proper. One of the most significant is the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal[167] in the Chālukya territory (Text Fig. 37). The temple was built, according to an inscription, for Lokamahādevī, the senior queen of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II (*c.* A.D. 733-746) in commemoration of his having thrice conquered the Pallavas of Kāñchī. There is a strong possibility of its design having been inspired by that of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram. There are epigraphic records, both at Paṭṭadakal as well as in the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram, which, read together, suggest that Vikramāditya, after his conquest of the Pallava capital, was much impressed by the latter temple, and so might have brought builders from the south for his own architectural undertakings. The *Drāviḍa* temple, in its fundamental conception, was not new in the Chālukyan territory and there are two significant examples of earlier dates, namely the Meguti temple at Aihoḷe,[168] built in A.D. 634, and the Vijayeśvara or Saṅgameśvara at Paṭṭadakal,[169] erected by king Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733), father of Vikramāditya II. Some scholars are, therefore, inclined to recognise in the Virūpāksha temple a natural development of the *Drāviḍa* conception in the Chālukyan region. But the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram and the Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal show an essential identity in respect of the plan and composition. Such an identity is difficult to explain unless there had been a closer link between the two. There is every probability, as the inscriptions would tend to suggest, that the former was the prototype of the latter.

In shape and form and in matters of composition the Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal seems to be a duplicate of its prototype at Kāñchīpuram. The Vijayeśvara temple at Paṭṭadakal belonging to the previous reign was also of *Drāviḍa* conception, but there the different elements seem to be cruder in setting. In the Virūpāksha a greater co-ordination of the different parts and their refined setting and execution represent a distinct advance on the Vijayeśvara, an advance that was, in all probability, due to its contact with its southern prototype. The Trailokyeśvara or Mallikārjuna temple (Fig. 76),[170] built by Trailokyamahādevī, a junior queen of Vikramāditya II, stands adjacent to the Virūpāksha and is of the same general plan and design as the latter.

In the Chālukyan territory several temples of the *Drāviḍa* conception were built during this phase. But the most outstanding monument of this conception in this part of the country, and perhaps a unique creation of Indian architectural art, is the famous Kailāsa at Ellora.[171] An entire temple complex (Fig. 78), completely hewn out of the living rock, as it is, it seems to have been a fitting sanctuary for the god Śiva whose favourite abode is the Kailāsa mountain. It was built by the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings who supplanted the Chālukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan. Possibly begun during the time of Dantidurga, it was completed by Kṛishṇa (*c.* A.D. 758-773). The scheme resolves itself into four principal elements repeating the fundamental pattern of a *Drāviḍa* temple as we find in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram or in the Virūpāksha at Paṭṭadakal. Seen as a whole, it has a closer alliance with the latter which, it is not unlikely, was its prototype. The differences that are noticed are, in a large measure, due to the necessities of the rock-hewn technique.

The temple itself stands within a rectangular court surrounded by cloistered cells and approached in front by a double storeyed gatehouse, the precursor of the *gopurams* of later days. The court measures nearly 300 feet by 200 feet. The principal component consists of the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa,* the two occupying an area of approximately 150 feet by 100 feet. This unit is raised over a lofty plinth, nearly 25 feet high, which forms, so to say, a ground storey The plinth is heavily moulded at the bottom and at the top, the intervening space being occupied by a frieze of boldly carved elephant (Fig. 77) and lion caryatids seemingly supporting the massive monument. Over this substantial substructure stand the *vimāna* (Fig. 79) and the *maṇḍapa,* the latter approached by grand flights of steps in the front, *i.e.* the western side. The flat roof of the *maṇḍapa* is supported on sixteen pillars arranged in small groups of four each at the corners, thus dividing the hall into cruciform aisles. From the *maṇḍapa* a vestibule leads to the sanctum cella, the tower of which rises in four storeys and ultimately ends in a dome-shaped *stūpikā.* From the level of the court to the apex the *vimāna* is 95 feet in height. Around the sanctum cella and enclosing the ambulatory, so to say, are arranged five lesser chapels, each repeating, on a smaller scale, the principal theme standing in the centre.

In front of this unit and on the main axis is, again, a detached flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* for the bull Nandī, on either side of which stands a free-standing column *(dhvaja-stambha)* nearly 50 feet high from the level of the court, bearing at the apex the *triśūla* or the sacred emblem of the god. The double storeyed gatehouse, forming the façade of the entire composition, is itself an imposing production, and in its gable roof we have possibly, like that of the Kailāsanātha

at Kāñchīpuram, the germ of the future *gopuram*. All these units, though seemingly detached, are connected with one another by bridges. The entire scheme seems to be unified by an organic rhythm that governs the disposition and proportions of each unit.

This vast temple complex, completely hewn out of the rock with all its elaborate appurtenances, strikes the beholder with a sense of wonder and awe when he visualises the stupendous task involved in such a process. From this standpoint it is, no doubt, a titanic production deserving to be ranked as one of the world's greatest creations. Because of the disadvantages of the rock-cut technique the monument has been set within a deep pit, but those responsible for this unique conception sought to compensate for this defect by raising the monument on an enormously high podium. Due to the technique followed the monument has the appearance of a sculpture on a grand scale than of architecture. There is no doubt that the sculptor's art is the supreme fact of this conception, more so because of the superb carvings that cover all the free surfaces of the monument. At the same time it is the genius of a master architect that lends unity and rhythm to the entire conception, and in this respect it is also a grand piece of architecture. The unique boldness of its technique and the beauty of its execution have made it widely known, and aptly has the Kailāsa at Ellora been described as "the world's greatest rock poem". Among the temples of the *Drāviḍa* conception this is the most northerly one. Apart from its singular technique, in the vastness of its scheme, in the orderly treatment of its parts and in its superbly graceful execution it is also one of the most eminent productions of *Drāviḍa* architecture.

About the end of the ninth century A.D. the Pallavas had to make way for the Choḷas who became the dominant power in the South. During the regime of the Choḷas the *Drāviḍa* style of temple architecture enters a brilliant and distinctive phase. The productions of the early phase of the Choḷa rule are usually small, yet each represents a complete formation in which the relation with the Pallava tradition remains clear and unmistakable. When compared with the productions of the last days of the Pallavas, those of the early Choḷa phase display a certain freshness of spirit that may indicate a revivifying of the style from the dormant state in which it had fallen. These initial attempts represent a transition from the Pallava to the Choḷa development of the *Drāviḍa* temple style.

Of the monuments of the early Choḷa phase, the Vijayālaya Choḷeśvara temple at Narttamalai[172] is interesting for its circular shrine chamber enclosed within a square ambulatory. The erection of this temple is usually attributed to Vijayālaya, the first of the

imperial Choḷas. The circular shrine is rather an unusual design in this class of temples, but the pillared *maṇḍapa,* the storeyed tower of the *vimāna* topped by the *stūpikā,* and the diversification of the external walls by pilasters and recesses belong evidently to the Pallava tradition.

The initial phase of the Choḷa development of the *Drāviḍa* temple is best exemplified in the Koraṅganātha at Srinivasanallur[173] (Trichinopoly District). It possibly belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953). It is of modest proportions and consists of the sanctuary and its attached *maṇḍapa,* the two covering a total length of 50 feet. The conception is essentially Pallava. But at the same time a more rational attitude is recognised in a simplification of its parts that emphasises the "value of plain spaces together with due sense of the character and correct location of the architectural features required for purposes of embellishment".[174] There have also been significant changes in the design and form of the pillars. The wall surfaces are divided by pilasters into niches, each occupied by a full-length figure sculpture in very high relief, resembling almost a statuary in the round. Another interesting and distinctive feature, unknown in the previous phase but a characteristic element in the decorative scheme of a *Drāviḍa* temple of the subsequent periods, is the string-course with a row of griffin-heads in the stylobate. Fundamentally of the same conception as the Pallava temples, the Koraṅganātha at Srinivasanallur heralds also a new phase in the development of the *Drāviḍa* temple style under the great Choḷas.

The Choḷa power reached its zenith under Rājarāja the Great (A. D. 985-1014) and his son Rājendra Choḷa (A.D. 1012-1044),[175] and it is to these two monarchs that we owe two supreme creations of the *Drāviḍa* temple style. Conscious of their unrivalled supremacy and vast resources, these two monarchs set about erecting two stupendous monuments as lithic testimonies, so to say, to their religious devotion and dignified majesty. The first of these was built at Tanjore, the seat of Choḷa sovereignty, by Rājarāja the Great, and is known as the Bṛihadīśvara, otherwise called Rājarājeśvara after its royal builder. According to the temple records the construction was begun some time about A.D. 1003 and completed in A.D. 1010.[176] The second was erected about A.D. 1025 by Rājendra Choḷa in the new capital city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram which this monarch founded in commemoration of his extensive conquests. It is in these two grand and lofty temples that one may visualise the mighty resources of the Choḷa power at its height.

The Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore[177] stands within a walled

quadrangle, 500 feet by 250 feet, which is preceded by an outer court, 250 feet square (Text Fig. 38). The latter, originally intended for minor shrines and residential appurtenances, is of very little architectural interest. The present *gopuram* in front, *i.e.* the eastern wall, is, again, a much later erection. A second *gopuram,* situated axially to this outer gateway, leads to the principal quadrangle with a colonnaded cloister all around. Near the back end of this court rises majestically the great *vimāna* (Fig. 80) with the forward complements of the temple complex—a large *maṇḍapa,* a pillared portico and a Nandī shrine—combined axially in front. All these structures are, by themselves, sufficiently important productions, functionally as well as architecturally, but in no way do they interfere with the effect of the grand and massive pile of the *vimāna* towering above everything in its vicinity. Together they cover a total length of 180 feet, while the pyramidal *vimāna* rises to a height of 190 feet. In dimensions alone the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore is one of the boldest and most daring conceptions of *Drāviḍa* architecture. No less impressive is the architectural treatment of the whole. There is a clarity in the disposition of its parts, each organically related to the other. This, coupled with a correct sense of decorative scheme, leads to the creation of a superb monument, distinguished alike for its rhythm, poise and dignity.

The magnificent pile of the *vimāna,* which constitutes the dominating feature of the entire composition, may be divided into three principal sections, namely the upright cube enclosing the sanctum cella with its ambulatory, the lofty and massive pyramidal body ascending in thirteen diminishing zones, and the crowning element, the graceful dome-shaped *stūpikā* (Text Fig. 39). The first is 82 feet square rising to a height of 50 feet from the base. Along the horizontal section this huge mass is broken up by five projecting bays alternating with recesses, and this theme, continued right up to the top of the pyramidal tower, emphasises the vertical aspect of the conception. Along the vertical axis the wall section is divided into two equal stages by a bold and heavy cornice-like moulding that casts a deep horizontal shadow. The bays, above and below, are occupied by image-niches with the sides treated like pilasters separated by deep recesses. The pyramidal section of the *vimāna* is evidently a derivation from the Pallava prototype, the gradually diminishing zones in its composition being clearly reminiscent of the storeyed elevation of the earlier towers. In the Tanjore *vimāna,* however, the horizontal aspect of the storeyed stages has been suppressed for the sake of an emphatic vertical contour. The shallow horizontal lines separating the zones, intersecting with the vertical bays of the lower section continued on the tower, create a beautiful

architectural pattern, the fundamental idea of which is vertical to all intents and purposes. In this massive pyramidal pile there is a sense of strength and stability, and at the same time a rhythmical quality of soaring verticalism, accentuated further by the dome-shaped *stūpikā* which, poised over the four-square top of the pyramid "like a light but substantial globe",[178] by its contrast and with flamboyant niches at the sides, appears to impart an effect of airy lightness to the entire composition. "Unquestionably the finest single creation of the Dravidian craftsmen", rightly observes Percy Brown,[179] "the Tanjore *vimāna* is a touchstone of Indian architecture as a whole".

Within the precincts of the Bṛihadīśvara temple stand a few other structures, all subsequent accretions of different periods. Of these, the temple of Subrahmaṇya represents an exquisite piece of decorative architecture, richly carved, that equally attracts the admiration of the visitor. It belongs to a late date, about the eighteenth century A.D.

About A.D. 1025 Rājendra Choḷa constructed another stupendous monument in his new capital city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram.[180] Built within a quarter of a century, it resembles fundamentally the great conception of his father. Unfortunately, it has suffered much, and not a little of its spoliation has been due to what K.A. Nilakanta Sastri[181] describes as "modern predatory engineering". It now stands amidst the mud huts of the desolate village, a mere stranded shell of its former prosperity.

Like its predecessor, the great temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram is also contained within an immense walled quadrangle, and the remains of a substantial bastion at the south-east angle would indicate that this was disposed in the shape of a fortress enclosure. Much of the surrounding walls has now disappeared. Within the court the principal composition occupies a rectangle, about 340 feet by 100 feet, with its long axis from east to west, and consists of a large *maṇḍapa,* 175 feet by 95 feet, and the massive *vimāna,* 100 feet square, with a connecting vestibule. The main entrance in the middle of the eastern wall of the *maṇḍapa* is designed as an impressive portal, while two subsidiary entrances are provided in the northern and southern walls of the vestibule, each in the shape of a deeply recessed doorway flanked by two domineering figures of *dvārapālas* on the two sides. The *maṇḍapa* is a relatively low building with a flat roof supported on a cluster of pillars, more than 150 in number, arranged in colonnades in the interior of the hall. In this pillared hall, substantial in dimensions, one may recognise the nucleus of the "thousand-columned *maṇḍapas*" that were to consti-

tute a distinctive feature of the *Drāviḍa* temple-complexes of the subsequent ages. An individual appearance is imparted to the interior by the division of the platform supporting the colonnades along its centre by a wide passage at the ground level, with a similar passage carried round the entire inner circuit of the hall. The vestibule connecting the two principal components, the flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* and the pyramidal *vimāna*, has two rows of massive square piers. Its roof rising above the level of that of the *maṇḍapa* contributes an effective ensemble to the exterior elevation of the entire composition.

The *vimāna*, though larger in horizontal dimensions than the Tanjore one, is only 160 feet high. The treatment of the lower upright section is essentially the same as that at Tanjore. But in the tapering body above, which consists of eight diminishing zones, the introduction of curves, in place of the strongly pronounced straight lines in the previous example, adds a richer note to the creation of Rājendra Choḷa. The Choḷa power in the time of this monarch had reached its most affluent state, and this is reflected in the increased richness and exuberance of this later structure. As Percy Brown[182] aptly comments: "There is a voluptuousness in the later structure, the beauty of ripe femininity, in contrast to the masculine strength of the earlier type. But in comparing these two architectural productions they present much more than a difference in kind. Stately and formal as an epic may epitomise the Tanjore *vimāna* while the later example has all the sensuous passion of an eastern lyric, but it seems to go even deeper than that. Each is the final and absolute vision of its creator made manifest through the medium of structural form, the one symbolising conscious might the other sub-conscious grace, but both dictated by that 'divinity which has seized the soul' ".

In these two eminent productions of the two greatest monarchs of the Choḷa dynasty the *Drāviḍa* temple style reaches its supreme expression. In the mighty sweep of the Tanjore *vimāna* there has been achieved a complete balance between stupendous architectural mass and aspiring verticality. Here the form dominates the composition, all ornament, however exuberant, being subordinated and complementary to it. At Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram also the architectural form remains dominant in the conception, but the ornament has grown richer and, though still subservient to the architectural lineaments, predicts a restless impatience that seems destined to overstep its limits and overflow in plentiful growth.

After Rājendra Choḷa the vigorous days of the expanding power of the dynasty were over. The style also loses much of its force

and tends to become more and more ornate and florid. After the supreme upheaval it enters a baroque phase in which the activities, though practically undiminished, were concerned with productions of no more than ordinary interest. In the twelfth century A.D., the Choḷa power was on the decline and in its last stage, engaged in a life and death struggle with the rising power of the Pāṇḍyas and refractory feudatories. This led to the collapse of the dynasty in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. and the Pāṇḍyas for a time gained dominance in the south. During this Choḷa-Pāṇḍya phase a semblance of the former achievement of the style is noticeable in two productions, the Airāvateśvara at Darasuram[183] and the Kampahareśvara or Tribhuvaneśvara at Tribhuvanam,[184] both in the Tanjore District. The two seem to have been close to each other in time and to denote a revived impetus to building art. But this impetus is concerned, not so much with the production of any robust architectural form, as with the creation of an effect by reiteration of the same elements and by increased elegance and richness of ornamental detail. The temple-complex grows more elaborate, and the formal scheme of the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa* is surrounded by several accessory shrines and *maṇḍapas,* all forming a compact group within an enclosure or a number of concentric enclosures, each approached by a *gopuram* or *gopurams.* The Darasuram temple seems originally to have a number of such enclosures with a *gopuram* for each. In this temple one of the *maṇḍapas,* axially in front of the principal scheme, is designed in the shape of a chariot drawn by elephants. During this phase, and particularly in the Pāṇḍya period, increased importance is given more and more to the temple precincts than to the main scheme, with the result that the latter dwindles in importance in relation to the former, more exuberant in design and execution. The *gopuram* comes to occupy a more prominent position in the temple scheme and gradually grows to imposing size and dimensions, until with its soaring height it dwarfs the *vimāna* standing in the midst of the enclosure. The tendencies, noticed in the Pāṇḍya period, find their fullest expression in the Vijayanagara epoch, during which the exuberance of the late Choḷa and Pāṇḍya phases leads, so to say, to an unrestricted extravagance.[185]

4. *Chālukyan Style*

The *Vesara* style of Indian temple architecture, according to the *Śilpa* texts, was prevalent in the region between the Vindhyas and the river Kṛishṇā. This style, it has already been observed, has been equated by some scholars with what is known to the archaeologists as the Chālukyan style which flourished in the southern parts

of the Bombay State, or, more precisely, the Kannaḍa country. The style seems to have emerged under the rule of the Later Chālukyas who dominated the politics of the Deccan for a little over two hundred years beginning from the later part of the tenth century A.D. It is known to have reached its ripest expression in the Mysore territory under the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra.

The Chālukyan style cannot, however, be said to have an independent origin of its own, but represents "an outgrowth of the earlier Dravidian style, so modified in its development by the Western temple-builders as to have attained a separate style in their hands."[186] The genesis of the development may be traced back to the days of the early Chālukyan kings in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. when, at Aihoḷe and Paṭṭadakal, *Drāviḍa* as well as *Nāgara* temples were being erected side by side. It is the simultaneous co-existence of activities in *Drāviḍa* and *Nāgara* temple-building that provided an opportunity for a certain amount of admixture of the ideas of the two. The result is a development that leads to the emergence, under the aegis of the Later Chālukyan rulers, of a separate and individual style which has been referred to as intermediate between the Indo-Aryan (*Nāgara*) and the Dravidian (*Drāviḍa*) and described as a mixed or hybrid one. But in the making of this style the *Nāgara* conception played a relatively less important part. It is the *Drāviḍa* conception that forms the nucleus of future developments. The influences of the *Nāgara* style are felt in the occasional introduction of a few motifs, in treatment and ornament, which, however, do but little change the form and character of the Chālukyan temple that remain fundamentally Dravidian.

The Chālukyan temple, like the *Drāviḍa,* consists of the two principal components, viz. the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa,* with sometimes an additional open *maṇḍapa* in front. The former is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of storeyed elevation with a dome-shaped crowning member, while the latter are covered by flat roofs supported on pillars. In course of time there is a marked tendency to compress the heights of the storeyed stages of the *vimāna.* At the same time ornamental niche motifs, repeated one above the other up the ascent of the tower, simulate the vertical bands of the northern spire. In this is felt, no doubt, an inspiration from the *Nāgara śikhara.* The Chālukyan temple presents further an essential divergence from the *Drāviḍa* in not having its cells enclosed within a covered ambulatory.[187] The *maṇḍapas,* again, are usually wider in dimensions than the *vimānas.* In the treatment of the exterior walls there seems to have been a blending, again, of *Nāgara* and

Drāviḍa ideas. The walls are broken up by *ratha* offsets in the characteristic *Nāgara* fashion, further spaced at regular intervals by pilasters in accordance with the usual *Drāviḍa* mode. The recesses, thus formed, are usually filled up by niches with superstructures of the *Nāgara* or of the *Drāviḍa* style, thus producing a refrain of great artistic beauty. A further elaboration is noticed in the stellate plan based on the system of rotating squares. In the Chālukyan territory there is only a single example of this plan in the temple of Dodda Basappa at Ḍambal. In the Hoysala temples of Mysore the star-shaped plan becomes the usual fashion. A few of the Chālukyan temples are distinguished for their multiple-shrined compositions in which two, three or four shrines are found arranged around a central *maṇḍapa* hall. Such a composition with its multiple towers presents, not unoften, an extremely pleasing view, and in this respect a few of the Hoysala temples constitute notable and impressive productions. Apart from architectural treatment, the Chālukyan temple, or its descendant the Hoysala, is also characterised by an exuberant plastic ornament covering all the external surfaces which seem to have a richly fretted appearance, from the base to the top. In the interior the pillars and the door-frames, as well as the ceilings, are also exuberantly treated in the like manner. The pillars themselves sometimes bear evident traces of being turned on lathes. All ornaments, whether on the pillars, door-frames or ceilings, have usually been imparted a highly lustrous polish so as to glow in the dim light in the interior. Considered as a whole, the Chālukyan temple represents one of the most ornate and florid expressions of Indian architecture.

Of this style there are innumerable remains within the old Chālukyan boundaries. The Hoysala mode, its later offshoot, is also represented by a large number of temples in the Mysore territory. Indeed, there is hardly any village in either of these regions that does not contain an old monument, either complete or mutilated, and a few of the notable centres usually have more. It is possible, therefore, to refer only to a few significant examples which help us in following the development of the style. The emphasis is more on stylistic sequence than on chronological implications.

At Kukkanur in the Hyderābād State there is a number of old temples of which the Kalleśvara[188] is important as marking an advance over the older prototype of the *Drāviḍa* temple towards the direction of the Chālukyan. It consists of the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa* with a connecting vestibule between the two and a projecting Nandī porch in front (Text Figs. 40 and 41). The exterior walls are effectively broken up by slender pilasters at regular inter-

vals with occasional insertion of a shrine or an identical structural motif in the recesses so formed. The introduction of structural motifs in place of figure sculptures, characteristic of this part of the scheme in the *Drāviḍa* temple, represents a notable modification in the scheme. Further, the storeyed stages of the tower are reduced in height, and the domical apex, with a double curve, also introduces a significant innovation. Again, a gable-shaped motif in the middle of each storeyed stage on each face indicates the beginning of that simulated vertical band up the height of the tower which is so distinctive of the later Chālukyan temples. In these respects the Kalleśvara at Kukkanur, though retaining a distinct *Drāviḍa* shape and outline, exhibits a leaning towards the Chālukyan form that is soon to emerge.

The next notable step in the formation of the Chālukyan style is supplied by the Jain temple at Lakkundi[189] or Lokkigundi, as it was known in the ancient days, situated seven miles to the south-east of Gadag in the Dhārwār District. Coarse-grained sandstone of the earlier prototypes is replaced in this temple by a fine-grained black chlorite schist, and the size of the masonry is also much reduced. This change, continued in the later temples, enabled the artists to treat the surfaces in greater detail and ornament, and the tendency henceforth is towards a rich and florid expression which lends such a distinctive character to the style. "The change in the material", Cousens[190] observes, "was conducive to the change in the style".

The Jain temple at Lakkundi (Text Fig. 42) seems to have been the earliest among a number of old monuments at the place and its style is not far removed from that of the Kalleśvara at Kukkanur. It consists of the *vimāna*, an intermediate vestibule and a *maṇḍapa* with a forward open pillared hall, all axially combined. The treatment of the exterior surfaces is generally of the same manner as that in the Kalleśvara, but a greater ornamental effect has been introduced by a rich motif which takes the shape of a small pilaster surmounted by a turret and arched over by a cusped scroll of the most beautiful character rising from two slender pilasters at the flanks. The wide projecting eave, with a straight-edged incline, around the open pillared hall, is not only a useful feature but also a notable innovation in as much as it becomes a characteristic feature of the later development of the style.

Of this formative phase there are many other examples in different parts of the Chālukyan territories. The Mukteśvara temple at Chauddadampur[191] on the eastern boundary of the Dhārwār District is a neat little structure that indicates a further advance

in the development of the style (Text Fig. 43). The wide eaves over the porches are now double curved in outline, and in conformity with this a smaller eave of the same character runs around the rest of the building. Such eaves henceforth constitute regular features in the temple scheme. It is interesting to note that the pillared porches of the *maṇḍapa* are enclosed by *kakshāsanas,* evidently a northern feature. The ornaments on the exterior walls are far richer and bolder and a greater amount of surface decoration is applied to the mouldings of the plinth. The tower has attained the typical Chālukyan form. The storeyed stages, now considerably reduced, are fairly obscured by the exuberant plastic detail that covers the surfaces. The niche-facets in the middle are fully emphasised and, repeated one above the other, simulate more completely the vertical band that characterises the northern *śikhara.* The domical crowning member "sits closer down upon the top"[192] and has a double flexion with a horizontal band in the middle.

Of the same formative phase as the Mukteśvara are the temples of Siddheśvara at Haveri[193] (Text Fig. 44), Someśvara at Haralhalli[194] and Siddharāmeśvara at Niralgi,[195] all in the Dhārwār District. Among these the Someśvara with its triple towers has an impressive appearance, and the three, along with the Mukteśvara at Chauddadampur, might belong to the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

In the twelfth century A.D. the style reaches its maturity and supreme expression. This phase is illustrated by a fairly large number of temples in different parts of the Chālukya country. One of the most significant temples that illustrate the style at its best is that of Kāśīviśveśvara at Lakkundi,[196] which in its present shape dates from the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. It is a double-shrined temple, the second shrine facing the principal complex axially on the east (Text Fig. 45). The storeyed arrangement of the tower is, no doubt, there, though a superabundance of decorative detail almost masks the horizontality of its conception. Moreover, in the centre of each side the diminishing repeats of trefoil niches up the ascent of the tower emphasise strongly a vertical urge just in the manner of the prominent vertical bands of the northern *śikhara.* From the base to the top the entire exterior surface is encrusted with rich ornamental detail, bold in design and exuberant in expression. The deep and crisp plinth mouldings produce a sparkling effect of light and shade. On the walls may be seen the usual motifs characteristic of the style, but treated with a sense of volume and depth unknown in the monuments of the

earlier phase. The embellishment of the tower, rich as well as varied, is far more delicate and refined, while the decorative treatment of the doorways excels anything seen up till now. Each doorway (Fig. 83) is a perfect example of delicate and intricate chiselling, and some of the bands are so undercut as to resemble fine filigree or lace work. The temple of Kāśīviśveśvara, on this account, has been regarded as one of the most eminent productions of decorative architecture. There might have been a certain idea of voluptuousness in its exuberant ornamentation, but the scheme, as a whole, is perfectly balanced so as to express the style at the zenith of its power.

An equally effective production, expressive of the high watermark of Chālukyan style, may be seen in the temple of Mahādeva at Ittagi[197] in the Hyderābād State, built in A.D. 1112. It forms the central scheme of a number of structures raised on a terraced platform, and is the only one now in a fairly tolerable state of preservation. The inscription recording its erection styles the temple as *devālaya-chakravartī* or 'the chakravartī among temples', and this title seems to be fully deserved. In the balanced and harmonious proportions of its parts, in the orderly disposition of its exuberant ornamentation, all elegantly wrought, the Mahādeva temple at Ittagi may rank as one of the best examples of its class. Cousens describes it as "probably the finest temple in the Kanarese districts after Halabid in Maisur".[198]

The Mahādeva temple at Ittagi is larger in dimensions than the Kāśīviśveśvara at Lakkundi and its decoration seems to be even more elaborate than that of the latter. It consists of the usual complements of the sanctum, the vestibule and the *maṇḍapa,* together with another open hypostyle hall in front, aligned axially from west to east (Text Fig. 46; Fig. 81). The hypostyle with its original range of sixty-eight pillars[199] of varied and complicated designs is itself an imposing conception. A central complement of four pillars of the most bewildering pattern supports a coffered ceiling, the triangular space left at each corner being worked out into a rich fretwork of convoluted arabesque of the most spirited workmanship. A small *antarāla* with the figure of the bull connects this hypostyle with the *maṇḍapa* which is of the usual design with two approach porticos on the two opposite sides. The carving of the doorway is, again, a marvel of decorative workmanship. With regard to the ornamental work on the pillars and door-frames Meadows Taylor[200] says, "no chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer", and this description is fully deserved. The exterior walls of the *maṇḍapa* as well as of the *vimāna* (Fig. 82) carry the usual decorative scheme, bold and

richly wrought, and the tower above is, again, a rich fretwork of sculptured designs. The rich and elaborately worked trefoil repeats successively one above the other, the soft and graceful curves in the contours and the breaking up of the prominent roll mouldings of the earlier temples by deep cusps with ornamental repeats are all designed to accentuate the verticality of an otherwise horizontal conception. In the appearance of this tower, superbly conceived and delicately wrought, one may recognise the nearest approach to that of the Hoysala temple which represents the ripest manifestation of Chālukyan style.

Among the many temples of this mature phase of the style a few other monuments deserve special mention. One is the temple of Mallikārjuna at Kuruvatti[201] in the district of Bellary (Text Figs. 47 and 48). It consists of the sanctum, the connecting vestibule and the *maṇḍapa,* forming a compact group, together with a large pavilion for Nandī, which is a separate structure, placed axially in front. The pillars in the interior of the *maṇḍapa* as well as in the portico are richly patterned in the usual manner, but particularly interesting are the boldly carved leaning figure brackets on the upper parts of the pillars supporting the architraves above. Such flying brackets had also been employed in other temples, but they have mostly been removed. At Gadag (Dhārwār District)[202] there is, again, an important group of temples, mostly in a mutilated state. Of these, the temple of Sarasvatī is interesting as showing the plan of an inner sanctum within a covered ambulatory, this being the only occurrence of such a plan among the Chālukyan temples. The temple of Someśvara (Text Fig. 49; Fig. 84) is also an interesting one. In the division of its wall section into two stages, in the introduction of the figure sculpture as a decorative element of the wall, and, to a certain extent, also in the treatment of the plinth mouldings it supplies definite points of contact between the Chālukyan temple and its offshoot, the Hoysala.

The only specimen of a star-shaped plan within the Chālukya territory is the temple of Dodda Basappa or Dodda Vasavanna (Fig. 85) at Ḍambal[203] (Dhārwār District), and in this respect it supplies another point of contact with the Hoysala temple, in which the stellate plan is the usual one. The principle governing the stellate plan has been discussed more than once. A square rotating round a central axis and stopping at regular intervals in course of the rotation would result in a plan of foliated points, like those of star, touching the periphery of a circle at points equidistant from one another. This plan, wherever found, is characteristic of the sanctum only, but here at Ḍambal not only

the sanctuary, but also its attached *maṇḍapa,* is star-shaped in plan. The former is designed by the square stopping at six equidistant points and the latter at eight. The result would be twenty-four foliated angles in the plan of the sanctum and thirty-two in that of the *maṇḍapa,* the two giving an outline, as Cousens says,[204] "of a serrated 8" (Text Fig. 50). But because of the junction of the two components and the introduction of the two entrances in the latter on the south and the east, the former has only nineteen and the latter only twenty-one foliated angles. The angles of the plan, carried up the walls and continued on the tower, result in a sparkling effect of light and shade along with an accentuation of the verticality of the conception. The temple seems to have been the furthest from the *Drāviḍa* conception which forms the starting point in the development of the Chālukyan temple, and if the intermediate stages had not been known, it would have been difficult to establish its link with the prototype. The storeyed stages have now been transformed into mere string-courses, but the serrated angles effectively break up the horizontal conception with the prominent vertical offsets that are carried right up to the top of the tower. The topmost member of the tower, now much compressed, has also the serrated indentations, in conformity with the plan of the lower section, and looks not unlike the ribbed *āmalaka-śilā* of the northern *śikhara.* The predominantly angular scheme may likewise be recognised in the treatment of the pillars of the southern portico. The date of the temple is uncertain, but from its style it may be placed somewhere about the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In the Dodda Basappa temple at Ḍambal we have perhaps an extreme manifestation of the Chālukyan temple which already seems to have lost its early vigour and tends to become insipid.

The Chālukyan style reaches its highest development and the peak of plastic ornamentation in the Mysore territory under the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. There are nearly eighty temples in the Hoysala mode in different parts of this territory, and their link with the Chālukyan temple is clear and obvious. The scheme of the Hoysala temple is, on the whole, similar to that of the Chālukyan. Multiple shrines grouped round a central *maṇḍapa* constitute a favourite composition in the Hoysala modes and with this the Chālukyan temple is also familiar. What the Hoysala builders did was to elaborate the design to the extreme, as apart from double and triple-shrined compositions there may be seen also quadruple and even quintuple-shrined temples. In the grouping of a number of shrines in a single composition the Hoysala mode cannot, hence, be said to be distinct[205] from the Chālukyan. For the sanctuaries the Hoysala builders usually preferred a stellate plan, and of this the Dodda

Basappa temple at Ḍambal in the Chālukyan style furnishes a notable instance. The stellate plan, as noted above, is also met with occasionally in several of the regional expressions of the *Nāgara* temple style. The typical Hoysala temple usually stands upon a high and wide basement with its sides aligned to those of the building it supports. The wide terrace left around served the purpose of an outer ambulatory, there being none in the interior.

In the architectural treatment of the surfaces the Hoysala temple presents, no doubt, certain divergences, but these divergences result not so much from the practice of an altogether different mode as from an attempt to impart a greater plastic exuberance to the walls. The lofty plinth, sometimes nine or ten feet in height, is divided by a number of prominent horizontal bands with exquisitely carved designs, animal as well as floral, each band being separated from the next by a deep recessed shadow. Friezes of elephants, horses, grotesques, birds, narrative panels, etc., occasionally alternating with floral arabesques, occupy these bands, the place of each being defined by a specific convention. The beginnings of such a treatment of the plinth may be recognised in a few of the eleventh century Chālukyan temples, as noted above, but in the Hoysala temple the bands have increased in number and variety, and are characterised by an amazing plastic exuberance, the like of which has not been met with before.

A continuous cornice or projecting eave around the entire structure terminates the wall section. In the *maṇḍapa* this section is in a single stage and is occupied by *kakshāsanas* with perforated grilles above, each between moulded pillars regularly spaced. In the *vimāna* the wall surface is divided in two stages by a lesser cornice. The upper stage, patterned by pilasters and mural shrines, follows a conception already established in the Chālukyan temple. The treatment of the lower one signifies a notable development. This stage is occupied by a continuous frieze of sculptures, representing divinities, *apsarasas,* etc., each under a foliated canopy. Each is an independent element, exquisitely carved with a minute elaboration of detail, and can scarcely be regarded as an architectural piece. In the Hoysala temple the *vimāna* walls supply a vast sculptured panorama of Hindu mythology in all its manifold details. It is to be noted that such a treatment of the *vimāna* walls, apart from the plastic exuberance which is typically Hoysala, seems to have been anticipated in the Someśvara temple at Gadag mentioned above.

The tower of the Hoysala temple is, no doubt, derived, in the ultimate analysis, from the *Drāviḍa,* the horizontal tiers of mouldings, diminishing as they go up, being clearly reminiscent of the storeyed

stages of the latter. At the apex the much compressed parasol-shaped member may also be recognised to have its prototype in the dome-shaped *stūpikā* of the *Drāviḍa vimāna*. At the same time the Chālukyan tendency of emphasising the vertical aspect is equally evident in the chases of the stellate plan below being carried up and leading to a fluted texture of no mean artistic beauty. The horizontal and the vertical systems that make up the tower may seem to have balanced each other; but the succession of miniature turret-like motifs on each fluted chase registers an emphasis on a vertical tendency. An extreme variegation of the principal compositional elements by numerous facets, string-courses and the like, though exquisite as specimens of applied art, eventually results in a dissolution of every purposeful form and outline. Moreover, compared to the horizontal dimensions the Hoysala temple seems to have a much too low elevation. But this apparent defect is, to a certain extent, minimised by its situation within an enclosed court which prevents its contrast with larger objects. Within the court the temple has the appearance of a richly carved casket in sandal wood or ivory, and in works of this kind the Mysore craftsmen had been justly famous for centuries past.

A study of the typical features of the Hoysala temple leaves no doubt as to its being an offshoot of the Chālukyan. It illustrates a rich and exuberant expression of those tendencies which characterise the Chālukyan movement. Nevertheless, the Hoysala temple fails to impress the visitor architecturally. The general idea conveyed by a temple of the Hoysala mode is that it is the work, not of a builder, but of a sculptor. The amount of decorative work and sculpture distributed over the surfaces of a single temple is enormous. The Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid, one of the latest in the series, will sufficiently illustrate this. Each decorative band of the plinth extends to a length of over 700 feet, the lowest alone having as many as 2,000 figures of elephants in various attitudes and moods. And to realise more fully the enormity of the task involved one has to note that there are nine such bands constituting the plinth (cf. Fig. 86). In the lower stage of the *vimāna* the frieze of sculptures, each of more than half life-size (cf. Fig. 87), occupies a length of some 400 feet. The upper stage of the *vimāna* walls, the cornices, and the *maṇḍapa* with its richly patterned pillars, *kakshāsanas* and perforated screens are likewise covered with an exuberant incrustation of plastic detail. Every work is deeply undercut and intricately chiselled with a dexterity that seems to be unrivalled. Technical skill apart, one wonders when he realises, perhaps with a sense of awe, what stupendous labour and patience have been expended in the production of a single monument. It is not without a sense of

appropriateness that the Hoysala temple has been described as "sculptors' architecture". As Percy Brown[206] says, "these Mysore temples owe their character more to the sculptor than to the mason. Gone is the structural basis, the fundamental framework evolved through the experience of the previous workers in the field, and in its place is an arrangement of manifold planes, projections and courses of masonry, each intricately carved and beautiful in itself, even beautiful in aggregation, but not, as a whole, amounting to a work of significant architecture in the full sense of the word."

There is a large number of temples in the Mysore territory illustrating this sculptors' architecture. Many of the more important conceptions are without any superstructures, which were either never completed or have fallen down. In most cases it is the substructures, *i.e.* the plinths and the walls, which alone remain. These with their amazing display of sculptural exuberance enhance in a greater measure the plastic character of the style. The most typical and well-known examples which enable one to have a complete picture of the style are the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur, the Chenna Keśava at Belur and the Hoysaleśvara at Halebid.

Of these the first was erected about A.D. 1268 and is one of the latest of the series, but it is still in a perfect state and illustrates the Hoysala mode in its full maturity.[207] It has a triple-shrined composition and is situated within a quadrangular court with a cloister of cells all around. The temple (Text Fig. 51; Fig. 88) stands on a high terrace and, with three shrines arranged on three sides of a central *maṇḍapa* which is projected in front as an open hypostyle, it assumes the shape of a cross, the greatest length and breadth respectively being 87 and 83 feet. Each of the shrines is of a stellate plan, the wide terrace below also following its indentations. Each of the shrines is surmounted by a tower, also stellate in shape, which rises to a height of 30 feet. The dimensions of the building are, no doubt, moderate, but all parts are perfectly balanced in their proportions and completely in accord with one another. The effect of the whole, set within a cloistered court, is elegant as well as pleasing. The fundamental scheme and the disposition and embellishment of its parts are in the characteristic Hoysala manner, already described.

The Chenna Keśava temple at Belur[208] is a much larger conception. Here we have a number of temples and other accessory structures enclosed within a walled court, measuring 380 feet bv 425 feet and approached by two gateways in the eastern wall. The principal temple, that of Chenna Keśava, dates from A.D. 1117 and is situated in the centre, with other temples and structures distributed around it without any symmetrical arrangement. Nevertheless,

on account of their rich embellishment the assemblage on the whole looks picturesque. The Chenna Keśava consists of a sanctum of stellate plan and a pillared *maṇḍapa,* having deeply recessed sides, with a connecting vestibule between the two, the whole being raised on a substantial terrace following the indentations of the complex in all its details (Text Fig. 52). Both inside and out there is a rich overlay of ornamental detail; but with the tower over the sanctum gone, the appearance cannot be said to be architecturally much impressive.

The Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid[209] has been regarded as the "highest achievement of the Chālukya-Hoysala school of architecture".[210] Halebid or Halebidu, now a straggling village in the Hassan District of Mysore, represents the site of the ancient city of Dvārasamudra, the capital seat of the Hoysala kingdom for nearly two centuries. The ancient city is marked by the walls that once enclosed it; but there is nothing within, except the remains of a number of temples, Brahmanical as well as Jain, which now constitute the only records of its former splendour and intense religious activity. One of these was the Kedāreśvara,[211] perhaps the 'chapel royal' of the Hoysala kings. A drawing of the temple, made in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. and now in the Mackenzie collection (Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office, London), shows the building as complete. Fergusson[212] described it as "a gem of Indian architecture" and had deplored the state of utter neglect which left it a prey to rank vegetation that had already begun to eat into its core. In spite of his warning and recommendation for protective measures, nothing practically was done to save this important monument of antiquity.

The Hoysaleśvara (Fig. 89) is the principal temple in this city of ruins. It was, no doubt, a grand conception, but much of its architectural character has been impaired by the total absence of its superstructure which had probably never been completed. It is usually assigned to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. But the style of its elaborate plastic work already shows a certain loss of early quality and vigour marking a decline in the tradition. This might indicate a rather late date for the beginning of the conception which remained incomplete, the work having probably been stopped with the fall of the kingdom in the early years of the fourteenth century A.D.

In double-shrined temples it is the usual practice to place the two shrines facing each other with the *maṇḍapa* connecting the two. But the scheme of the Hoysaleśvara consists of two temples of the same dimensions, situated side by side and joined to each other by

their adjoining transepts (Text Fig. 53). Cut into two halves, each would be a complete structure with a sanctum and a pillared *maṇḍapa* with an intermediate vestibule between the two and a detached pillared pavilion in front. Each sanctum is of a stellate plan and the attached *maṇḍapa* has recessed sides, the two being skilfully joined by a substantial buttress on either side. The entire scheme is raised over a wide terrace closely following the indentations of the elaborate plan above. The pavilion in front of the southern sanctuary is a more ambitious and elaborate structure. That of the northern is much smaller in dimensions and simpler in disposition. It is in these frontal adjuncts that one may recognise some lack of harmony in an otherwise balanced configuration, and the question remains whether these frontal pavilions were parts of the original conception.

The effect of the interior with closely set pillars of overwrought detail is one of congestion, if not of confusion. But the exterior elevation (Fig. 89) has certain redeeming features in spite of the exuberance of plastic treatment. The different sections along the vertical axis are beautifully adjusted to one another in their harmonious proportions. The numerous vertical chases, textured by horizontal sculptured bands and friezes of plastic shapes (cf. Figs. 86 and 87), all deeply cut with minute eleboration of detail, lend to the exterior a variegated effect of light and shade. The plastic quality, however, with signs of tautness and stylisation, is not of very high order. Still, the treatment is good enough for effect. An "unending wealth of relief work", says Percy Brown,[213] "was distributed over the exterior surface of this temple, but it is the incredible intricacy with which each detail of this extensive conception was treated that is so overwhelming, filling the spectator with astonishment. In the marvellous minuteness of its technique alone, there is no thought of time, space or limitations of any kind. . . . The temple at Halabid is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestations."

5. *Exotic Types*

Apart from buildings of the three styles, described above, there are types of structures which are either entirely exotic in shape or form, or represent developments that are quite significant. In the secluded valley of Kāshmir Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*c.* A.D. 724-760), one of the most famous of the Kāshmir monarchs, inaugurated a golden era of building activity. The earliest monuments of this phase belong to Buddhism, and of these, the group of buildings at Parihāsapura—a *stūpa*, a monastery and a *chaitya*—was conceived

in imposing dimensions. Each of these buildings reproduces the characteristic form of the type and calls for little comment.

The most prolific activity of this classical phase is recognised in the erection of Brahmanical temples.[214] The type, once established, remained uniform throughout. The typical Kāshmir temple is peripteral in composition. The temple is situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by a peristyle of cells and approached by one or three porticos. The portico itself is a monumental composition, and the peristyle a broad and imposing conception. This kind of conception is also noticed in India proper, and in Kāshmir this composition might have been derived from the Buddhist establishments. But apart from this, the Kāshmir temple has a special character of its own which excludes it from the general course of Indian architectural movement, as outlined above. To a certain extent, the temple in Kāshmir has a distinctly un-Indian appearance, and this is particularly emphasised by its pillars, the treatment of wall surface, and the elevation of its superstructure. It has a double pyramidal roof obviously derived from the usual wooden roofs common in Kāshmir. There is a triangular pediment enclosing a trefoil niche on each of the three sides with a similar pediment over the doorway in front, the pediments being repeated on each stage of the pyramidal roof. The pillars are fluted and surmounted by capitals of the quasi-Doric order. Another speciality is the ceiling of the roof, either of wood or of stone, which takes the form of a lantern formed by overlapping intersecting squares. These features lend a distinctive character to the Kāshmir temple and betray certain extra-Indian inspiration. One of the earliest conceptions, and perhaps the most impressive even in its ruins, is the celebrated Sun temple of Mārtaṇḍ (Text Figs. 54 and 55), built by Lalitāditya, and this appears to have been the model for the subsequent ones. Other typical temples may be found at Vāngath, Avantipura (Avanteśvara and Avantīsvāmī, the latter (Text Fig. 56), like the Mārtaṇḍ, constituting another touchstone of the type), Pātan, Payār, Buniār, and Purāṇādhishṭhāna or Pāndrethān. The type was confined within the limits of Kāshmir. Its influence on the design of the Gop temple in Kāthiāwār cannot be proved, as noted above.

In the other extremity of Northern India the excavations at Pāhārpur (Rājshāhi District, North Bengal)[215] have laid bare the remains of a temple which some scholars declare to be of a type entirely unknown to Indian archaeology. The colossal structure, measuring 356′ 6″ from north to south and 314′ 3″ from east to west, occupies nearly the centre of the immense quadrangle forming the monastery, the far-famed Somapura *mahāvihāra* of old. The

ground-plan[216] consists of a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms (Text Fig. 57). The temple (Fig. 90) rose in several terraces, with a circumambulatory gallery, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around the monument, in each of the two upper terraces. Access to the first and second terraces was obtained by the extensive staircase provided on the north.

This apparently complex plan becomes very simple when the monument is examined and studied from the top downwards. Dikshit[217] appears to be right in observing that "the plan of the Pāhārpur temple was the result of a pre-meditated development of a single central unit, in which future expansion was in a sense pre-determined in a vertical direction, that is in the setting up of new floors, etc. but not laterally". A hollow square pile in the centre, shooting high up above the terraces, provides the pivot round which the entire plan of this stupendous monument has been conceived. The walls of this lofty central unit form a sharp square, and in order, most probably, to relieve this monotony, provision was made in the second upper terrace for a projection, consisting of a chamber and an ante-room, on each face, leaving out a portion of the whole length of the square at either corner. This arrangement resulted in a cruciform shape with one projecting angle between the arms of the cross. The circumambulatory passage with the parapet wall was made to run parallel to the outline of this plan. A similar rectangular projection on each side was also added on the first, *i.e.* the next lower, terrace thus variegating the plan still more. The basement conformed to the alignment of the first terrace structure with the result that the angular projections in the plan of the first terrace and that of the basement were three each between the arms of the cross, to which an additional projection was added by the staircase landing just in the middle of the northern arm. An enclosure wall, strictly conforming to the basement plan, with only a slight deviation near the main staircase, runs round the monument. There are reasons to believe that this complete plan from the basement to the top, along with the different component elements, belongs to a single period of construction, and the evidences of later repairs, additions and alterations did not fundamentally affect the general arrangement and plan. An earlier prototype of the Pāhārpur temple has been reported to have been discovered at Lauriya Nandangarh in North Bihār.[218] But so far as can be gathered from the published reports and reproductions, the angles of the Nandangarh monument appear to be purely decorative and to have originated from an entirely different conception. The disposition of the angles is different at Nandangarh, and every re-entrant

angle has been strengthened with a buttress. The peculiar arrangement of the projections of rectangular structures round the basement at each lower level, which resulted in the projecting and reentrant angles that we see at Pāhārpur, is absent at Lauriya Nandangarh. The Pāhārpur monument may be said to have its own distinctive characteristics and no exact parallel has so far been found elsewhere in India. It should be noted that the existing basement of a later structure within the monastic quadrangle[219] at Pāhārpur seems to be a close replica of the main temple. Here the plan is more perfect and symmetrical with the provision of approach-steps in all the directions, instead of in the north only as we have in the main temple.

It has been suggested by Dikshit[220] that the main shrine of this colossal edifice was situated at the top, *i.e.* on the third terrace, and consisted of a square cella with a circumambulatory verandah all round. The evidence, now before us, is, however, against any such inference, and in view of the extremely mutilated condition of the monument at the top it is difficult to follow Dikshit's line of argument on this point. If such had been the case, the grand staircase on the north ought to have extended beyond the second terrace to reach the third. There are definite indications, however, that it terminated with the second terrace and no access to the third terrace, if there had been any, had been provided for in the original monument. The hollow square pile forming the central unit of this stupendous structure exhibits a brick-paved floor inside "roughly at the level" of the second terrace with its projected chambers. But no access to this inner square from the chambers has been found, nor is there any evidence that there was originally such an access which had been blocked up at a later period. Under the circumstances, the paved platform in the centre of the hollow square, which had been strengthened by a deep soling of bricks and several courses of offsets, does not appear to have served any function, except to add to the solidity of the foundation of the lofty walls of the central square. So far as the arrangement of the temple goes the sanctuary could have neither been situated at the top nor inside the central square pile.

Regarding the plan of the temple Dikshit has made one plausible suggestion that a four-faced (*Chaturmukha, Chaumukha*) Jain temple, which existed very likely at the site, might have furnished the barest model[221] of the present structure. This is a pertinent suggestion which is worth more serious consideration than has been given to it. In this connection we should also take into account a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma,[222] which may be re-

garded as an adaptation of the *Chaumukha* shrines of the Jains. The type represents a square temple with four figures of Buddha, set in recessed niches, on the four faces of a solid masonry pile standing in the centre of a surrounding corridor or corridors and approached by entrance vestibules on one or more of its faces. The Pagan temples seem to offer a striking analogy to the plan of the second terrace of the Pāhārpur temple, and may be compared with profit for the many problems that surround this unique Indian monument. The walls of the central square pile at Pāhārpur do not exhibit any evidence of being provided with niches, but, bearing in mind the analogy of the Pagan temples and of the *Chaumukha* shrines, a suggestion that images were installed in the ante-rooms on the second terrace does not appear to be quite improbable. It is to be noted that these ante-rooms still bear traces of brick platforms abutting on the walls behind, and these were probably intended as pedestals of the images that were once set on the four sides of the central square pile.

The walls of the temple were built of well-burnt bricks, laid in mud mortar, and considering the materials used, it is remarkable that after a lapse of so many centuries parts of it are still standing to a height of about 70 feet above the ground level. The plainness of the walls is relieved on the outer face by projecting cornices of ornamental bricks and bands of terracotta plaques, set in recessed panels, which run in a single row all around the basement and in double rows around the circumambulatory passage in the upper terraces. In contrast with these terracotta plaques, the lower part of the basement is embellished with a number of stone sculptures in high relief, which are almost wholly Brahmanical, but extraordinarily varied in style.[223]

The main fabric of the temple belongs to a single period of construction, most likely to the time of Dharmapāla who was responsible for the foundation of the monastery around it in the latter part of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The temple has been exhumed in an extremely fragmentary state and the form of the superstructure, the method of roofing, and other details are difficult to ascertain now. Marshall[224] assumes the temple to have been a *"garbha-chaitya"* or a hollow pagoda. Such was also the view of R. D. Banerji[225] who described the main shrine of the temple as consisting of a "hollow-roofed chamber". But hollow-roofed shrines are extremely rare, if not unknown, and it is reasonable to infer that the temple was capped by some sort of superstructure. The terraced arrangement of the structure would appropriately suggest a roof rising in receding tiers over the vaults spanning the different

circumambulatory corridors. The square masonry pile in the centre, on the analogy of the Pagan temples, may be said to have supported a curvilinear *śikhara* as the crowning element of this colossal edifice. This sort of roof and superstructure suits not only the analogy of the Pagan temples, but also the evidence of shrines shown in relief in East Indian sculptures or sketched in miniature in East Indian manuscript illuminations. At Pagan the central pile is solidly designed. But at Pāhārpur, probably to reduce the weight of the stupendous building and to guard against resultant sinking, it was left hollow, though sufficient stability for the accumulating weight, as the monument rose up, has been ensured in the enormous girth of each of the four walls.

The temple type at Pāhārpur has been frequently described as entirely unknown to Indian archaeology. The Indian literature[226] on architecture, however, often refers to a type of building, known as *sarvatobhadra,* which should be a square shrine with four entrances at the cardinal points and with an ante-chamber on each side (*chatuḥśāla-gṛiha*). It should have uninterrupted galleries all around, should have five storeys and sixteen corners and many beautiful turrets and spires. The temple at Pāhārpur, as now excavated, approximates in general to the *sarvatobhadra* type as described in Indian texts on architecture. It is a many-terraced temple, each terrace approximating to the height of a storey, consisting, perhaps, of a votive shrine in each of the four projected faces and surrounded by a continuous circumambulatory passage in the second terrace, with further projections and passages at the next lower terrace to extend the building commensurate to its height, a measure that results in so many projecting and re-entrant angles of the ground plan. Thus in Indian temple architecture the type does not appear to have been quite unknown. It is only the disappearance of the other examples that has been responsible for the view that the Pāhārpur type is a novel one in Indian temple architecture. The *Śāstras* enjoin such a type for the kings and the gods, and if our reconstruction of the elevation of the temple is accepted, a fair popularity of the type in Eastern India is evidenced by representations of this type of shrines in the sculptures and paintings hailing from this region. Many of the mounds in Bengal, that can still be traced as rising in terraces, may perhaps reveal, on excavation, other remains of such a type of temple. The ruins of a temple, generally similar to the Pāhārpur plan, but of much smaller dimensions, have accidentally been laid bare at Birat (Rangpur District, North Bengal).[227] From the standpoint of elevation, with a tiered roof of several stages surmounted by a curvilinear tower as the crowning superstructure, the Pāhārpur temple seems to have combined two distinctive fea-

tures of two of the prominent types of Indian temple architecture, the *Bhadra* and the *Rekha* as they are known in Orissa, and may, for the sake of convenience, be described as the *Bhadra-Rekha* type of temple. From the representations of similar temples in the sculptures and paintings, the type may be taken to have been characteristic of Eastern India.

The importance of the type of temple laid bare at Pāhārpur in the history of Indian colonial art and architecture in South-East Asia is immense. Unfortunately, it is not possible here to enter into a detailed discussion of this question. It is sufficient to say that this type of temple in Eastern India profoundly influenced the architectural efforts of Further India, specially Burma and Java, the origins and associations of which had been taxing the archaeologists since the time of James Fergusson. The square temples at Pagan in Burma present remarkable points of similarity with the Pāhārpur temple.[228] The points of divergence between the two are also many, and though the shape of the Pāhārpur monument might have afforded a possible scope for imitation by the Burmese builders, there must be recognised a fundamental difference in the general conception and arrangement of the Pagan temple as a whole. Dikshit refers to Chandi Loro Jonggrang (Fig. 91) and Chandi Sewu in Central Java as offering the nearest approximation to the plan and superstructure of the Pāhārpur temple. "The general view of the former", Dikshit writes, "with angular projections, truncated pyramidal shape and horizontal lines of decoration reproduces the prominent characteristics of the Indian monument." The plan of the main temple of the Chandi Sewu also strikingly resembles the plan of the second terrace of the Pāhārpur temple. To this may be added further the terraced elevation and unbroken circumambulatory galleries in both the Javanese monuments, exactly as we find them at Pāhārpur. The Pāhārpur temple belongs clearly to an earlier period, and the close connection between Eastern India and the Archipelago is an established fact. In view, therefore, of the closer similarity between the Pāhārpur temple on the one hand and the two Javanese ones on the other, "the possibility is clearly suggested of the Indian monument being the prototype."[229]

II. SCULPTURE

1. GENERAL REVIEW

A. *Growth of Regional Schools*

The eighth and ninth centuries saw the consolidation of that process of conscious regionalism that had made itself felt already in the seventh century. For a whole millennium, roughly from about the

third century B.C. to about the seventh century A.D., Indian art admits, despite local variations due to local tastes and visions, of a common denominator at each different stage of evolution and fulfilment. Towards the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century A.D. the regional spirit gradually asserts itself. The classical tradition of an all-India art lingers for one or two centuries, but the regional spirit gradually gets the better of the Indian. This regional outlook reacts on other aspects of culture as well. The local scripts and dialects begin slowly to take shape, with a strong accent on the autochthonous traits, during the next two centuries, and it is in this period that we have to seek for the genesis of all major scripts and languages of mediaeval and modern India.

B. *Mediaeval Trend*

Plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic both of classical Indian sculpture and painting. A movement now starts towards summarising the rounded volume in the direction of flat surface and linear angles. Swelling and smooth round lines develop sharp edges; compositions tend to become linearised with emphasis on sharp angles, horizontals, verticals, and diagonals; and curves that had so long been convex turn into the concave. Already in some of the reliefs of the fifth and sixth centuries (for example, in a few fifth century reliefs from Nagari, Chitor; sixth century Dhamek *stūpa* frieze of abstract geometric patterns; early seventh century relief on a bronze bowl illustrated by Coomaraswamy),[230] one witnesses the presence of certain of these traits. But sculpture being essentially and intrinsically three-dimensional, and plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form having been the most important exponent of the classical tradition, it resisted for long the intrusion of these 'mediaeval' elements. But painting, which is essentially two-dimensional, offered much less inherent resistance to the new conception of form. In the ninth century wall-paintings at Ellora we find these traits asserting themselves so emphatically and exuberantly as to suggest past practice over a considerable period of time. Here the gliding modelled lines are replaced by sharp and thin lines, modulated curves by sharp and pointed angles, and roundly modelled surfaces by flat coloured spaces. It did not take long for sculptural art to be touched by this new art form which evidently opened up a new field for further exploration. Both in painting and sculpture (mainly in terracotta) this new conception of form had far-reaching results in store. How they were registered through the ages will be evident from a consideration of West-Indian and Rājput sculptures

of the tenth-twelfth centuries, West-Indian, mainly Gujarātī, book and textile illustrations of the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, Burmese painting of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, early Rājput miniatures of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, Bengal terracottas and wood-carving of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, and certain Deccani and Orissan miniatures of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, to mention only a few.

The 'mediaeval' trend was not valid for the whole of India, nor was its impression registered everywhere at the same time. It was most visible in Western India, namely Gujarāt, Rājputāna, Central India and certain Himālayan tracts. But, despite isolated instances of earlier date, the mediaeval conception of form does not become general in these regions before the tenth century, and then it grows with time within the regions just referred to. So far as sculpture is concerned, other regions of India, mainly Eastern India, Deccan, the Far South, remain more or less untouched by this conception and draw in the main from the rich heritage of the classical tradition.

C. *Cult-images and Canonisation*

The pivot of early mediaeval sculpture is the human figure, both male and female, in the form of gods and goddesses and their attendants. Such gods and goddesses were there in the preceding centuries as well, when their iconography came to be formally fixed according to basic principles of mathematical proportion, balance, and other relations on the one hand, and *lakshaṇas* and *lāñchhanas* required by the myths, legends, and ideologies of respective cults on the other. This fixation of the iconography of cult-images—whether in the *garbha-gṛiha* or on the walls of temples—was the result as much of creative artistic experience as of the integration of the religious experience by the artist himself. The value of the image during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods does not lie simply in its being an intermediate symbol to help realising an ultimate object; it is realisation itself, both artistically and spiritually, and since it is so, the value is connected with artistic quality as well. What was thus born from within the creative genius came now to be fashioned in strict accordance with minute regulations laid down in the canonical texts. The cult-image was mainly conceived as an object to be used by the devotee to help concentrating his mind for realisation of an ultimate object outside the image itself. The image had thus no inherent relation either with the devotee or with the artist; it existed apart and was identical neither with his inner experience nor with his ultimate object. Such instrumental and intermediary value of

the cult-image conditioned in the main the attitude of the artists, as they usually worked for the devotees who happened to be their patrons. With ever-increasing demands such images had to be turned out in hundreds, and since their value lay solely in the service they rendered as an instrument, they did not call for transfusion of the artist's creative or spiritual experience into the object of his creation.

In a situation like this, the majority of the cult-images that were meant to be worshipped, especially those that were popular and hence in great demand, namely, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Umā-Maheśvara, Buddha, etc., did not attain a very high degree of artistic excellence. A procession of endless monotony of form uninformed by any inner experience and without any registration of individual creative genius, meets the eye. It is only in rare instances that images were expressions of the artist's creative genius and attained high artistic standards. But such examples are few and far between. Yet, it cannot be denied that the standard of average cult-images of the period maintains a fair level even as objects of art; that they do so was to a great extent due to accumulated knowledge of a high order and inheritance of a rich and prolonged experience on the one hand, and well and correctly laid regulations of mathematical relations, of artistic proportion and balance, and of ritual and iconography on the other. In elasticity and transparency, in illumination and depth of feeling and experience, therefore, early mediaeval sculpture can bear no comparison with that of the classical age to which these qualities belong. Canonisation of past experience—creative and spiritual—ultimately resulted in thinning the experience itself, and a thinned experience, though capable of producing good art, cannot produce great art.

Since the cult-images of early mediaeval art rest on the assured foundations of a regulated and canonised structure of form, it maintains a more or less uniform standard of quality in all art-regions of India. There is hardly any major deviation anywhere, any evidence of a novel experience or any tangent shooting in any new direction. Everywhere the art moves within the limits of established practice and within canonical injunctions; and within each art-province it moves forward along the arrow line of time in more or less uniform pace. Curiously enough, the creative climax of each art-region is not reached at one and the same time all over India, but at different periods. In Bihār and Bengal it is reached in the ninth and tenth centuries; in Orissa in the twelfth and thirteenth; in Central India in the tenth and eleventh; in Rājputāna in the tenth; in Gujarāt in the eleventh; and in the Far South in the tenth

centuries. It is in the Deccan alone that the story is one of increasing torpor and petrifaction; indeed, Deccan ceases to be a sculptural province after the eighth century.

Since the image is an object to help concentration of the mind, it faces the devotee full and square, and its attributes, flexions, and attitudes are all gathered on the surface, so as to draw the devotee's eyes straight on them and fill his mind with its entire and total presence. Whether the image is a relief in various grades or worked in the round, it is always conceived and executed in term of the surface as well as of the vertical plane. In seated and standing figures the vertical direction is obvious, but even in reclining images the emphasis is more on the verticality than on the horizontal rest. The attendant divinities or *pārśva-devatās,* whether accompanying the main image in the sanctum or appearing separately in the niches of the outer walls of temples, are also treated on the same principle as those of the cult-images themselves; in rare instances there is a relaxation of canonical and iconographic injunctions. They are also relaxed where minor divinities like *dikpālas* are concerned.

D. *Non-iconic Figure Sculptures*

A large part of the art of these centuries is primarily religious, and whatever secular themes are handled and find place on the outer walls of the temples are accepted as serving the needs of a life religious in aim and inspiration. It therefore reflects inevitably the experience of past centuries as well as of contemporary life; not the experience of any individual but the integrated experience of the cults and communities themselves. It is not the cult-images alone that have well-established types which are hardly ever transformed by any peculiar personal artistic experience, but other figures also conform to more or less standardised types within each art-province, and hardly reveal any personal attitude or experience of the artist.

The multitude of figures relate themselves to a large variety of motifs and subjects. There are narrative reliefs, legendary illustrations, historical or semi-historical scenes, music and dance scenes, *mithuna* couples in a variety of poses and attitudes, toilet scenes, domestic scenes and scenes of daily life, array of warriors and animals, drummers, flute-players, etc., the rampant leogryph, and the woman and the tree (*sālabhañjikā*), among many other motifs. Some of these, as for example, the woman and the tree, the leogryph, the *dikpālas,* and the *mithuna* couples are repeated almost *ad nauseam,* to impress on the onlooker, it seems, the insistence and ever-

presence of certain fundamental principles of life. Floral and vegetal devices are almost conspicuous by their absence; even when, if at all, they make their appearance, they are formally mechanical and stereotyped, and have hardly any place or importance in the entire composition. They are relegated to the borders or to the background whence they impart but a decorative value to the reliefs. On the other hand, early mediaeval art is rich in abstract geometrical devices, throwing deep light and shade and with lines cut in flat and sharp angles and edges. Such devices are to be found in abundance, endlessly repeated either as border decorations or independently by themselves. Like the floral-vegetal devices, they have hardly any relation with the composition of relief. Animal or human figure, tree or floral-vegetal design, abstract devices, etc. —all receive in the hands of the artist equal share of importance; accent is distributed evenly over all or on none; but since the figure sculpture, mainly human figure, is the pivot round which everything moves, it catches the eye before anything else, not by its accent but by its quantity and recurrence. Grouping of these figures is, however, thoroughly disintegrated; they are juxtaposed in relation to space but are not inherently related with one another by psychological and narrative ties. Figures are shown as if loosely distributed on the surface of the stone; they do not emerge from it and have thus lost the direction of forthcoming from the stone itself. They just exist there against the ground of the stone without any effort, and have to be accepted as granted, as it were. Despite gaiety and movement of the subjects, clever display of light and shade in the reliefs, variety of poses and attitudes in front, profile, and more frequently, three-quarter views, and difficult, agitated, nervous, sensuous, flexions of the body there is no evidence of the dynamic urge of the stone itself to blossom into such forms. The centuries of dynamic becoming of form from unformed depths have been left behind.

By the beginning and middle of the twelfth century, all reserves of experience seem to have completely been drawn upon. Indeed this century witnesses complete disintegration of Indian creativeness. Attention to meticulous details, elaboration of essentials and non-essentials alike, over-ornamentation, and canonisation of basic creative principles led to a sort of mechanical grace, elegance, and perfection, and exhibited superb mastery of the craft itself. But the end of Indian creativeness was already drawing near when Islam finally swept it away. In isolated regions, as in Orissa, the persistence of the classical mind and tradition, the irrepressible urge of the Indian mind to express itself in terms of a living and dynamic naturalism and sensuous love of the physical body with

all the ecstasy it is capable of, postponed the disintegration till as late as the thirteenth century (in Konārak, for example). In the South also, it was checked by a new experience of religious emotionalism of a new type of *bhakti* that flowered in a series of portraits, in metal, of Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints till as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. EASTERN INDIA

A. *Bihār and Bengal*

Generally speaking, East Indian sculptures of the period are carved out of black chlorite *(kashṭi-pāthar)*, either of fine or of coarse grain. Metal images are cast in brass or octo-alloy (*ashṭa-dhātu*). A few images of gold and silver have also come down to us, and wood-carvings also are not unknown. But, whatever the material, it does not, as a rule, determine the characteristics of art which are common to stone, metal and wood. Little or no concessions are made to the material itself except in such items as ornaments which, in metal, are wrought with more precision and fineness, or the linear direction which, in wood, is shown as following its grain.

The pivot is the human figure, in the full bloom of youth, radiant and vibrant, and combining in itself both spiritual and mundane suggestiveness, frankly physical and sensuous. It is not unlikely that this sensuous suggestiveness of a really spiritual mood was due at the bottom to an inner experience of erotic nature derived from sexual *yoga* or Tāntrik inspirations, doubtless canonised by the respective cults.

Eastern India, comprising Bihār and Bengal (also Mayurbhanj and to a large extent Orissa), carries on, almost uninterruptedly and without any intrusion of the mediaeval trend, the classical tradition of vision and experience as well as of form, albeit much thinned and superficial. Indeed, nowhere else did the classical tide and tradition of the past centuries persist with such tenacity and strength and for so long a time. The more important specimens of East Indian sculpture are all cult-images, worked more or less strictly according to formulas enunciated by authors of the *dhyānas*. Nevertheless they maintain, in varying degrees in different regions and at different times, a classical dignity and serenity in their bearing, and yet their charm and sensuousness have a spell of allurement that is at once physical and spiritual.

Eighth century East Indian sculpture may be regarded as belonging to the final phase of classical Indian tradition. The facial and physiognomical type is a Gupta survival. A boldness of com-

position in solid masses, more noticeable in the stone sculptures than in the bronzes, with a tender modelling of heavy bodily forms characterises the work of this transitional phase. In Bihār this tide and tradition persist for a longer period, far into the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Western part of Bengal shares in this persistence for some time yet. In South, North, and Eastern Bengal, however, the regional element of sensuousness and refinement asserts itself with power and strength earlier than was the case in Bihār and West Bengal. A considerable difference in facial features, emotional characteristics, and decorative details is also to be admitted throughout between the products of Bihār and Bengal, but this does not disturb the common denominator to any appreciable extent.

The *ashṭa-dhātu* (made of eight metals) images of Nālandā (cf. stone image of Avalokiteśvara, Fig. 93) and Kurkihār (Fig. 94) mark the creative climax of ninth century plastic vision and idiom. Sturdily conceived, the physiognomical mass is modelled with a soft pliability, and the facial expression is one of tender affection and allurement. Even in stone sculptures, despite a metallic ring, the modelling suggests a contented and calm sensuousness. Boldness of plastic conception persists and the swelling of plastic masses is more evident in the metal images than in the stone ones. The ideal art form is one of soft fleshiness within definite outlines.

Out of the soft fleshiness controlled within definite outlines the tenth century evolves a powerfully massive form of the body which is shaped with a disciplined vigour, and shows a conscious strength that seems to swell the outline from within (cf. Fig. 92). In isolated instances this is controlled by a strict discipline even to the extent of petrification of the flesh (Fig. 95), but in most cases it is a soft and tender discipline, and the vigour is spread out on to the surface. This vigour transformed the softness of the fleshy form into mighty roundness. Almost all specimens are moulded into high relief and the trunk limbs are all pregnant with the subdued vigour of a robust form. Throughout the century East India retains this high quality and standard. The modelling still retains its sensuousness, though expressed within a disciplined form. In other respects the tenth century retains, to a large extent, the quality of the ninth. The facial type is the same, equally full, but sometimes a bit longish. The flexions of the body are slightly on the increase, so that we have increasing curves in the outlines of the figures.

The end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century transform the vigour and strength of bodily form into one of cons-

cious gracefulness and elegant mannerism (Fig. 96). Understandably a slender bodily type comes to be favoured. The deep broad outlook of the tenth century becomes somewhat thin and circumscribed, and the elegance of the physiognomical form gradually becomes more evident. The legs have stiffened to a great extent and given up all elasticity, even in postures that suggest movement. The elegance of the modelling and sensitiveness of the facial expression, however, persist throughout.

In the twelfth century the slender body-type and the formal treatment of the preceding century are retained, but the modelling becomes petrified. The sensitiveness of the facial expression disappears and is replaced by a serious heaviness; the legs become almost column-like without any elasticity. The relief, in three or four architectonic units, is covered by dense and heavy multitudes of accompanying figures and decorative details which grow more and more sumptuous and elaborate, and ultimately cover the compositional scheme altogether (Fig. 98). Not only the modelling but also the volume becomes petrified and gradually loses its plastic significance. Ornaments are inordinately lavish and sumptuous, and are not organically connected with the figures. Flexions of the body are extended to the utmost limit; bends are employed to their last possibilities (Fig. 97), but the expression of movement is only that of pattern without any suggestiveness. Despite voluptuous and full curly lips and doubly curved eyebrows, facial features become pointed almost to a triangle, and rigid, without any deep spiritual significance (Fig. 100).

Here and there one, however, comes across a new artistic inspiration, a new creativeness amid a system that was already on its way to suffocation by material exuberance. A spontaneous power of modelling in a completely round form inspires a tough and vigorous artistic form in some rare specimens, and in spite of sumptuousness of ornaments and a precise outline it reveals a conscious dignity and strength, a freshness of elemental experience that could yet save the art from final stagnation. But that was not to be. Left to itself, the art could yet find out new channels or new experiences, but all chances were set at rest by the rapid rush of Islam.

East Indian art of the twelfth century represents mainly the art of the period of the Senas, and a cross-section of the literature and culture patronised at the Sena court reveals the attitude of material exuberance that one notices in Sena sculptures. Even religious themes — both in art and literature — are endowed with a worldly consciousness and almost physical charm and grace (Fig. 99). The *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva, for example, may be regarded as

a literary counterpart of the voluptuous sensuousness of the Sena art. In its origin it had no doubt a religious inspiration, but there is also no doubt that what was basically a spiritual experience came to be overshadowed by a worldly trend developed in the Sena court. Sensuousness and grace were properties of earlier periods of Bengali art as well, but it was left to the Senas to allow and encourage them to degenerate into mere worldly lavishness.

It is not impossible that the explanation for this mechanical worldly lavishness of Sena sculptures is to be found in the strain of their foreign blood. Contemporary South-Indian sculpture is equally lavish in its worldliness, mechanical and rigid in vision and execution, but lacking the grace and animation of Sena images which were direct legacies from earlier Pāla sculptures.

The art-form of Eastern India during these four long centuries proceeds in a wavering line; sometimes favouring a fleshly form frankly sensuous, sometimes an abstract form equally sensuous, not frankly but suggestively, both tendencies working within the strict rigours of canonical tradition. The art seems to have derived its charm and peculiar character from an oscillation between the reality of the flesh and the reality of abstraction, perhaps between two minds, one deeply imbued with the *sādhanā* of the Tantra that knows this physical body to be the abode of heavenly bliss, and the other aspiring to abstract the godliness in man out of his material body itself—the *sādhanā* of Brahmanical Hinduism. In striking contrast to this ideological oscillation between the two tendencies, is the gradual evolution of the composition. It begins with quite simple flexions and attitudes of the body and simple decorations and ornamentations; but with the progress of time the flexions and attitudes of the body become excited and agitated, decorations and ornamentations, playful and frivolous. This tendency from simple and quiet to agitated and frivolous general appearance proceeds in a steady straight course. In any case this tendency seems to have worked itself up to such exaggerations that it came to sit heavily on the art itself, and when finally Islam came and with it came also a change in the Court, and for a time, in the socio-religious institutions and establishments, the art was suffocated, if not to immediate death, at least to immediate stagnation.

Summarily speaking, the four centuries and a half of the rich Eastern school of Bihār and Bengal are characterised by high technical accomplishment and a kind of mechanical grace and elegance. The outlines are sharp and clear and the modelling is almost metallic. The school sent its reverberations to Kāshmir, Nepāl, Tibet and a few sub-Himālayan tracts in the north; nearer home to Mayur-

bhanj; and, beyond the seas, to Burma, Siam, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon. The more important centres of the school were Nālandā, Kurkihār, Bodh-Gayā, Rājagṛiha and Champā in Bihār; Rājshāhi, Dinājpur and Bogrā, in North Bengal, and Dacca, Tippera and Sylhet in East Bengal, all now included in East Pakistan. Regional variations in facial type and expression and in appearance and treatment are noticeable, but they do not reach out of the lines of the common denominator. West Bengal products and those of Bihār go together, while South Bengal cultivates a sort of happy and subtle contentment different from the alluring charm and elegance of North and East Bengal.

B. *Orissa*

As in Bihār and Bengal, so in Orissa, the flow of Gupta classical tide persists with consistent vigour. The soft and mellow lines and curves and full but delicate and subtle plasticity of volume continue in subdued vigour till they are replaced by flowing but firm sinuous lines, quicker flexions and tough, firm, round, modelling of a sturdier plastic volume—elements that presumably were the gifts of a new vision, a new ideal other than that of the bygone age. Indeed, onwards from roughly about the tenth century, not only in Orissa but throughout India, the birth of a new vigour is unmistakable in its plastic expression which retains the balanced proportion of the classical frame, but bids good-bye to its cultured refinement, spiritual grace, and subtle elegance, and seeks to produce instead a sturdier physiognomical type held within firm but ample, flowing lines, and gripped by a large, round and tight modelling. This is true as much of the cult-images as of the non-iconic figure sculptures, including those of animals.

From the specimens collected so far, and from the extensive ruins strewn all over and around Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri (Cuttack District), it is clear that the locality was once, in the seventh and eighth centuries, an important Buddhist centre that encouraged and patronised the art of sculpture in embellishing its temples and monasteries. Wrought in decomposed khondalite or chlorite schist the Buddhist images from these sites, notably from Lalitagiri and Kendrāpārā, carry on, on the whole, the East Indian classical tradition, especially in the essential linearism on which not only the slight *tribhaṅga* attitude but the rhythm of the entire composition rests, including that of the lotus stalk. But they lack the subtle delicacy and spiritual grace of contemporary Nālandā work, for example; instead, they are more expansive and spread out on

the plane, more stern, and held by a more firm and solid composition.

Contemporary or slightly later (*i.e.* ninth century) sculptures from Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, are heavier in appearance and treatment, though yet generously graceful in their slight *ābhaṅga* and *tribhaṅga* attitudes. Not only are they heavier, they are also more sturdily built, fully but tightly modelled; at the same time they retain the pliable amplitude and flowing sinuosity of their outlines. Relatively, they are slightly shorter and perhaps also coarser in physiognomy than the comparatively slenderer figures of Lalitagiri. From the tenth century onwards the sculptural art of Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, and of Jājpur and Chauduar, is a part of the contemporary art of Baudh and Bhuvaneśvara, Purī and Konārak, and may be viewed together. The only point of difference to be noticed is the more intimate relation of the former group with the contemporary art of Bihār and Bengal, especially in the manner of modelling almost fully in the round and that with a metallic smoothness. At this stage, too, the sculptures of this group retain their ample sinuosity of the outline. A second point to remember is that the mediaeval tradition, unlike the Bhuvaneśvara-Purī-Konārak group, but like contemporary Bihār and Bengal, made no intrusion in Cuttack till as late as the thirteenth century.

Khiching, the old seat of the patron goddess of the early Bhañja kings, Kiñchakeśvarī or Khijjiṅgeśvarī, in Mayurbhanj, was another important seat of Orissan sculpture, lying geographically as well as artistically between Bengal and Orissa. Datable in the tenth and eleventh centuries, these sculptures, Brahmanical in affiliation, are all modelled roundly, tightly, and largely. Indeed, their breadth, fullness, and amplitude of modelling and movement impart to them a sturdiness of form and appearance, accentuated further by their relative dimensions, and marked by almost metallic sharpness, precision, and smoothness which is lightened, however, by an emotional expression spread over the face in a smile and distributed over the surface of the whole body. While the qualities of largeness and round amplitude of modelling and movement are shared by Khiching with the rest of contemporary Orissa, the psychological expression of the faces and the metallic smoothness and precision are more closely related to contemporary Bihār and Bengal.

Typically Orissan sculptural art can best be viewed and studied at centres like Bhuvaneśvara, Baudh, Purī, and Konārak. Together they cover a period of five centuries, from the eighth to the thirteenth, and except in the case of the cult-images either installed

at the sanctum in the *garbha-gṛiha* or placed in the important niches sunk in the exterior of the temple, the figure sculptures constitute an essential part of the temple-surface and can be understood only in that context. As Kramrisch says, 'architecture in Orissa is but sculpture on a gigantic scale'. In other contemporary monuments, the temples do not themselves blossom in figure sculptures and images; rather the latter are applied on the exterior walls and in the niches as decorations or according to *śāstric* injunctions; even the almost roundly modelled sculptures and panel-like reliefs in frames, as the case may be, seem as if they were applied on to the walls from outside. But in the monumental structural temples of Orissa, the relationship between the temple body and the figures is altogether of a different order. To begin with, in the eighth (or seventh) century reliefs of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple (Fig. 101), for example, the figures, though very free in their agile movements, are yet very much bound down to the plane of the temple-surface. As time moves forward the *pagas* and the *rekhas* of the *deul*[231] begin to thrust themselves forward from the ground base of the temple-body; a deeper contrast in surface and depth results and the ornamental decorations keep pace with it. Simultaneously the figures, too, which are part of the temple-body, seem to step out in increasing roundness of volume, so that in the reliefs of the Rājārāṇī (Fig. 103) and the Liṅgarāja (Figs. 104 and 106) the figures are connected with the ground by a vertical line of thread as it were. The figures are thus fully thrust out in the open space. Still later, at Konārak, where everything is on an epic scale, the consummation is reached in the thirteenth century, when the figures in relief are still more fully exposed, and independent figures are cut out in completely round volumes of the temple-body itself as it were. Indeed the magnificent singing and dancing figures on the upper storeys (Fig. 105) of the Arka temple are part of the temple-body and yet apart and away from it, fully, roundly and independently emerged into space.

Unless they are meant to be dignifiedly static, also perhaps somewhat mechanical, as the Sūrya images of Konārak, even the cult-images (Fig. 102), despite iconographic regulations of a rigid order, are informed by a dynamic vitality, and a monumentality of composition and largeness of form and bearing,—effects that are directly due to an amplitude of movement and dignified modelling. These qualities are seen at their best in the large-size images of Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, and Mahishāsuramardinī in the exterior niches of the Liṅgarāja temple, in certain images from Jājpur and Chauduar, Purī and Khiching. In all such cult-images, the pliability and

amplitude of the sinuous outline is a distinguishing feature which is in a great measure responsible for the sturdy vitality.

The non-iconic figure sculptures, which are much more numerous at Bhuvaneśvara, Purī and Konārak, have all these qualities and some others besides. They are further characterised by a delightful abandon of feeling, emotion and action, an almost innocent but ecstatic joy of living, a rich luxuriousness of appearance, an intense love for the human body and all that this body is capable of yielding in terms of life-experience.

So much ado has been made about the frank eroticism of the figure-sculptures of Purī and Konārak that a word need be said here. *Mithuna* subjects have never been taboo in Indian art, and a creative sensuousness has ever been regarded as an important source of energy, of vital urge in life—as much in religious and spiritual quest as in the quest for expression—in certain schools and aspects of Indian *sādhanā*. Sānchī and Amarāvatī knew it, Mathurā was more than conscious about it, and in the Ellora scene of Śiva and Pārvatī in rapturous yet self-forgetful kissing embrace the *mithuna* idea of this *sādhanā* finds a most creative expression. Indeed it was accepted as a normal, nay essential part of life without any shame or secrecy attached to it. So is it at Purī and Konārak, where admittedly the eroticism is not only in the sensuous suggestiveness but in the depiction of sexual acts in the widest possible varieties of poses and attitudes known to the Kāmaśāstras. But what is remarkable at Konārak, if not at Purī—the difference is presumably as much due to the attitude of the artist as to his efficiency as a craftsman—is the fact that even in those scenes that depict a sexual act there is a sort of delightful detachment in the actors themselves. They take it so easy and in such a nonchalant manner that there is not the slightest suggestion of a mischief being done or a shameful act being gone through.

The temples of Orissa and Khajurāho show the extent reached by Indian craftsmen in giving concrete form to this very subtle and complex view of life. It is true that contemporary Orissa was touched by the Tantra, and the sensuous love of, and joy in, the human body as caught hold of in the figures of Orissan temples may have been due to Tāntrik inspiration; but it is not necessary, in the light of the interpretation set forth above, to explain the erotic scenes and scenes of sexual acts by referring them to Tāntrik practices about the currency of which we have no definite evidence in contemporary Orissa, much less at Khajurāho. The present writer can bear witness to the fact that he has seen Oriya villagers of the present day look at the panorama of life stretching before their eyes on

the walls of Konārak with as much unconcern and detachment as belong to the figures themselves, while the middle-class educated students either shrink or glance at them through a corner of their bashful eyes!

In the eighth century reliefs of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple (Fig. 101), the figures are physiognomically short and, since the temple surface binds them closer to its ground, are treated in somewhat flattened volumes. This results in a sort of heaviness which is partly compensated by free and round movements of the body. In the ninth century this heaviness persists despite increasing freedom of movement and luxurious vivacity of mood and appearance, for example, in the reliefs of the Vaital *deul*. In the tenth century a refined elegance not only in the physiognomical form but also in the plastic treatment of the rounded volume lends to the figures of the Rājārāṇī (Fig. 103) temple a decidedly sophisticated grace. In the following century, however, this elegance is translated in terms of sturdiness and strength, and in the reliefs of the Liṅgarāja (Figs. 104 and 106) and Brahmeśvara temples figures are fully rounded and the sensuous modelling of the volume is informed by a vigour born from within. The twelfth century retains this quality (the reliefs of the Kedāreśvara temple, Bhuvaneśvara, of the Jagannātha temple, Purī), but in a slightly coarser manner. The thirteenth century recaptures the grace and elegance and also the tough roundness of the eleventh and pushes them to their natural consummation in the reliefs of the Arka temple at Konārak. Indeed grace and elegance have ever been a distinguished quality of Orissa sculptures, but it was left to the artists of the Rājārāṇī, Liṅgarāja and Konārak to exploit them to the fullest limit.

Simultaneously, decorations in details of the temples in general and of the reliefs and figures in particular were steadily on the increase. Each succeeding century added to the profusion of details and ornamentations, both architectural and decorative, till by about the thirteenth century, grace and elegance were both suffocated to extinction, if not at Konārak, at least in other contemporary temples. Whether these devices are floral-vegetal, or geometrical, or stylised and patternised architectural elements like the *chaitya*-window, the Orissan artists' attempt to exploit them to the best advantage for the purpose of intricate display of light and shade, makes itself known even from such early temples as the Paraśurāmeśvara. Added to the deep contrasts in light and shade afforded by the decorative devices were the *pagas* and *rekhas* stepping out more and more on to open space so that all intervening spaces also were intricately alternated by deep contrasts of light and darkness. Such

interplay of light and darkness, accentuated further by the stepping out into open spaces of the figures as well, build up a consistency that is at once balanced and harmonised. It is this consistency of the interplay of light and shade that makes the Orissan temple a living organism and lends to the figure sculptures their intense liveliness. Taken out of their context the decorative devices and the figures lose much of their live reality.

Mediaeval trends in Orissa do not seem to make themselves felt earlier than the eleventh century, and when they do, as in certain reilefs of the Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara temples and also in certain reliefs now stored in the Konārak Museum, they may and often do occur side by side with reliefs, or even in the same relief side by side with figures that are frankly inspired by the classical tradition.

A word must be said in respect of the animal sculptures of Orissa. At Konārak we have some of the best elephant reliefs of Indian art, though in smaller dimension, on the walls of the immense base-structure. The large, almost life-size, ones are imposing and impressive more by their volume than by their inherent artistic quality. The huge and spirited caparisoned steeds that drag the twelve wheeled chariot forward, are equally impressive, more by their bearing and straining mood than by the concretised vision of their dynamic naturalism or by the sensitivity of their plastic volume. An antelope frieze on the walls of the Mukteśvara temple is, however, endowed with these very qualities and catches the animals in their essential form.

3. GAṄGĀ-YAMUNĀ VALLEY

Specimens of sculpture, belonging to the ninth and the three succeeding centuries, are extremely rare, so far as the Punjāb plains and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley are concerned. This is mainly due to devastation wrought by Muslim iconoclasts from the days of Mahmūd of Ghaznī to those of Aurangzeb. If a small (26 inches) Mathurā Vishṇu relief, datable towards the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, and a few broken or damaged pieces from Mirzāpur and Sārnāth can be relied upon as furnishing indications, it seems the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley belonged to the common denominator of the contemporary art of Bihār and Bengal, more closely of Bihār to which the region was geographically contiguous. These cult-images, mainly Brahmanical, are characterised by the same physiognomical type and form, the same precision of features, and the same almost metallic smoothness that distinguish the stone sculptures of contemporary Bihār and Bengal. An earlier,

perhaps early tenth century, version of the same East Indian tradition is reflected in a Vishṇu statue from Sultānpur (Etah District) characterised by a softer modelling and not so conscious elegance of eleventh century examples. Like the East Indian tradition again the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley remains throughout untouched by mediaeval trends (Figs. 107-110).

4. CENTRAL INDIA

Occupying, geographically, an intermediate position between the East and the West, Central India—extending from the borders of Rājputāna and Gujarāt in the west (roughly from Ujjayinī and Mandasor) to Allāhābād in the east—holds an intermediate position, artistically too, in the history of mediaeval sculpture. Her products, from the tenth to the thirteenth, turned out under the aegis and patronage of the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti and the Paramāras of Dhārā, reflect an admixture of both the East Indian tradition of Bihār and Bengal and that of Rājputāna and Gujarāt where the mediaeval trends found their most congenial home. While Garhwa, Mahobā and Khajurāho preserve the more important relics of the Chandellas, the Paramāra tradition is stored at Dhār and Mandor in Indore and Gwālior. Formally and psychologically they are different, though a common denominator is admissible.

Throughout, in Central India of the Chandellas and the Paramāras as in Mahākosala of the Haihayas, classical volume has become ampler, but grows increasingly stereotyped, which means a thinning down of the inner vision and consequent and corresponding loss of plastic sensitivity. But it reveals the sensuous charm that resides in the physical body (Figs. 111 and 116) and imparts to all figures a somewhat mechanical grace and conscious perfection. The modelling has definitely become stagnant, but has a smoothness that gives elegance to the somewhat dull volume. With increasing loss of plastic sensitivity and growing dullness of the ample and round volume, conscious movements and flexions of the body round its axis show a corresponding increase to create an impression of more and more intensity of feeling and life (Fig. 115). The living breath that endows the body with the dynamism of life has now ceased and the flesh moves no longer; instead the conscious flexions and movements, often violent and intense, of the body are now the only exponents of life consciously passionate and arduous.

This is nowhere more in evidence than in the Buddhist sculptures, all turned out presumably from the workshop of one *chitrakāra*, in this case, a sculptor, Śrī Satana, described in one of the inscriptions as *sakala-śilpa-vidyā-kuśalaḥ* (adept in all arts), of Mahot-

savanagara, modern Mahobā, associated with the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti, and known for long to have also yielded Brahmanical and Jain sculptures. A smooth and placid charm and a sort of mechanical grace and perfection worn round the balanced and full round contours of the body are unmistakable in the images of Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara (Fig. 119) and Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara, and also, though in a lesser degree, in that of Tārā. That this charm and grace are more in the *bhaṅgas* and *bhaṅgis, i.e.* in the flexions and modes, than in the plastic quality which is itself stilled into a placid sheet over the body, will be evident from a comparison of these figures with that of the Buddha seated in *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā.* In the latter case where there is no scope for presenting the body in flexions, the figure fails to catch the grace and charm of the other figures, yet it happens to be a work presumably by the same artist. But while in all such examples the character of the 'classical' volume and the amplitude of vision and form persist with vigour and meaning, in others, mainly Jain cult-images and decorative fragments, the specifically mediaeval trends of sharp outlines and pointed angles, formed by jerking limbs flung with vigour and by sharp noses and angular chins thrown forward, are equally potent and active and lend to the composition a somewhat different colour and meaning.

Garhwa sculptures are also characterised by the same grace and charm of a still, placid modelling, and of conscious flexions and movements of the body. But Chandella figure-sculptures can be seen at their best on the walls of the Brahmanical and Jain temples of the temple city of Khajurāho in Bundelkhand, a city which in the richness and magnificence of its architecture and sculpture, stands very near to the temple-city of Bhuvaneśvara. The temples of Khajurāho pulsate with human activity (Figs. 114 and 115) but the figures, including those of human beings and animals (*śārdūlas,* for instance), do not belong to the temples themselves in the sense the Orissan figures do. They are fully and roundly modelled, if not in the amplitude of dimension as in Orissa yet in large proportions, but are, for all practical purposes, independent of the flat ground of the temple. The outlines are deep and sharp, but have not the ample sinuosity of the Orissan outlines, an evident consequence of the 'mediaeval' grip into which Khajurāho found itself caught. The treatment of the plastic volume is generally tight and still, which is sought to be somewhat compensated by the sharp and pointed movements of the stiff limbs that are otherwise without any sensitiveness. Yet in the flexions and movements, there is a conscious intensity that is often violent and seems to turn the body in all its joints to their utmost breaking point, with an evident eye to emotional, frankly erotic provocation. The Khajurāho figures are

consciously and purposely erotic and sensuous; this they express suggestively and not by innocent and hence frank and unashamed libidinous acts as in Orissa. The coquettish languor of Khajurāho has nothing to compare with the innocent detachment of Orissa or with the creative and virile sensuousness of earlier Mathurā and Veṅgī regions of the post-Christian centuries.

Decorative ornamentations at Khajurāho, indeed in Chandella art in general, show an amalgam of 'classical' and 'mediaeval' grammar and composition existing side by side, often in one relief, some time separately, some time integrated into one complete pattern. Besides Khajurāho, there were other centres in Bundelkhand where the 'mediaeval' grip was equally, if not more, potent, as for example at Chāndpur in Jhānsi. Here, in some of the sculptures of the Mahādeva temple (twelfth century) the entire plastic context is broken up into rectangular and triangular fragments and the whole composition is sharpened by linear and angular movements. Evidently the mediaeval tendencies were gradually getting the upper hand. But in some examples from Khajurāho the persistence of the classical tradition is shown at its best and purest in the subtlety of modelling, in the sensitivity of the linear movement, and in the largeness and consistency of composition. Such examples are no doubt rare, but prove nevertheless the strength and vitality of the tradition.

Paramāra art was prolific in its sculptural output, but hardly did it ever reach a high tide of aesthetic achievement. Though bound geographically to what was known as Western Mālava, its products really belong to the contemporary Rājputāna idiom. The greatest builder and lover of art of the dynasty was Rājā Bhoja (c. A.D. 1000-1055). The image of Sarasvatī (Fig. 117), installed by him in the main hall of his Sarasvatī *Mandir* (temple), a sort of a university of learning at Dhārā, his capital, shows Paramāra sculpture at its best. Other specimens can be seen at Māṇḍu, at the local museum at Dhār, on the walls of the Nīlakaṇṭha or Udayaeśvara temple at Udayapur, built by Udayāditya Paramāra, within the enclosures of the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī, and other places including Indore.

Largely and vigorously conceived and modelled in ample dimensions, the figures are informed by 'classical' value of form. They are free from jerky movements and intense flexions, and do not seem to feel the weight of the heavy roundness which characterises their youthful body. The face, also fully and vigorously modelled, wears an expression of blankness and is lighted up neither by any pleasure of the senses nor by any inner experience, urge or inspiration. Despite youthfulness and vigorous round modelling, plasticity hangs in suspense or is stilled into stagnation; this

goes along with a pair of rigid and heavy legs equally lifeless. Mediaevalism touches ornamental devices and jewelleries; the latter are sharply cut and are just laid on the body with which they have no organic relation; 'classical' decorative ornamentations are also flattened and linearised as far as possible, while specifically northern patterns of sharp and flat contrast in light and darkness (as in chess-board and diamond patterns) are common.

5. VINDHYA AND MADHYA PRADESH

In the region extending from Allāhābād to Jabalpur, the temple-building activity was carried on on a considerable scale, under the aegis of the Haihayas of Tripurī, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, at Bherāghāt (near Jabalpur), Satnā, Dudhahi (Lalitpur District), Rānipur (Sambalpur), Rewa and other places.

It should be remembered that this entire region has ever been the home of a large segment of our aboriginal population, and it is significant that they have stamped a strong impress not only in the physiognomy but also on the form and medium of the mediaeval Haihaya art. On the ground of the common mediaeval denominator of north-Indian art the aboriginal element is deeply marked. Not in a few figure-reliefs a new facial type, squarish in cut, with swollen cheeks, big mouth and eyes closed as if in solemn pride in its own importance, goes hand in hand with a short-featured body that is swelled into heavy round masses as if by pressure from within, and which is borne on a still pair of legs. Though controlled by sharp outlines deeply cut, the bulging plastic mass, fully modelled, is frankly reminiscent of the 'classical' volume, but the sharp bends of joints of limbs, particularly at the knee and the elbow, of the main and subsidiary figures, and sharp facial profiles of the latter with their pointed noses and chins (Fig. 113) are clear manifestations of the specifically 'mediaeval' trends. Moreover, the subsidiary figures are conceived and executed in an altogether different manner, thinner and sharper in appearance and form, very much unlike the heavy and swelling roundness of the main figures. But the most distinguishing characteristic of Haihaya sculptures is the overcrowding of the reliefs with such a multitude of things as not to leave any space for breathing as it were. Indeed they are so many and so heaped one on the shoulder of another—men, women, architectural and decorative elements, all in heavy round volumes in high relief,—that the reliefs appear heavy and cumbersome. Crowded details seem to sit heavily on the composition and it looks as though the structure would fall to pieces by their very weight.

6. RĀJPUTĀNA

Mediaeval Rājputāna sculptures hail from such diverse sites as Vasantgarh and Devangana, both in the old Sirohi State, Pāltā (Bikaner), Osia Dilwārā (Mount Abu) (Figs. 118 and 121), Harshagiri (Jaipur), (Figs. 112 and 120), Chitor, and Mandor, among other places, and are spread over practically the whole of the mediaeval period, from the tenth to about the seventeenth century. In point of style they range from full recognition of 'classical' values side by side with acquiescence to 'mediaeval' pressure to complete negation of the 'classical' and full assertion of the 'mediaeval'.

At Vasantgarh, from the stylised sun-window of a temple of the tenth century, peeps out the head of a Buddha distinguished by a largeness of treatment and a sensitivity of modelling comparable only to similar faces from Khajurāho. The pure, organic and consistent quality of the face unmistakably betrays the debt it owes to the 'classical' vision and form as interpreted by contemporary artists in Central and Eastern India, including Orissa. A series of rich floral-vegetal designs encircles the face just referred to. These designs are evidently borrowed from the 'classical' store-house, but, at the same time, it is seen at once that they are not roundly modelled, but are flattened out on the surface with sharp perpendicular cuts at the edges. This flattening out of modelled volumes and deeply and sharply cut edges are directly traceable to 'mediaeval' pressure. Much more than anywhere else in Rājputāna, contemporary (*i.e.* tenth century) Osia sculptures adhere more closely to the classical tradition with its vigorous modelling of a youthful body spreading itself in the amplitude of its mass. The same vigorous and also tough modelling gives life and strength to the reliefs of the Purāṇa Mahādeva temple of Harshagiri, also belonging to the tenth century.

About this time, *i.e.* the tenth century, Chandrāvati, in the old Brijnagar state, in Eastern Rājputāna, seems to have become a great centre of artistic activity, where one can follow the history of the art of Central India and Eastern Rājputāna in its finest manifestations throughout the mediaeval period. A number of Chandrāvati-Patan sculptures, now in the Brijnagar State Museum, and a few *in situ*, can stylistically be assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries. By their heavy roundness of the weighty mass with hardly any suggestion of flexibility and linear movement, they belong more to contemporary Central Indian idiom than to that of Rājputāna. Impressive in largeness and amplitude of the plastic mass, they are somewhat stolid and withdrawn in their facial and physiognomical expression, due no doubt to the stagnated modell-

ing; but the outlines are less sharp and more flowing and sinuous than average contemporary Rājputāna products. Classical values persist in the following *i.e.* eleventh century Rājput sculptures, but while the pliability of the soft modelling continues, the linear element grows harder and stiffer so that the flexions of the body appear to be rigid, and an elaboration of jewelleries and decorations takes place. These are cut in sharp edges and are not plastically conceived, so that when the jewelleries are laid on and round the large round volumes, they do not become their integral parts. Thus the 'classical' and the 'mediaeval' tides enter into an incongruous combination. The reliefs of the original Mokalji's temple at Chitor, rich in sculptural wealth, are datable in the eleventh century.

In the twelfth century a conscious elegance sets in and makes the figures and their composition thinner and lighter by sharper outlines, deeply cut, and pointed lines and angles. The concave curve in the bodies and legs—a resultant effect of the 'mediaeval' pressure on the line—is also on the increase. The stele composition is also broken up into small fragments, with reference to the main figure, and loses thus the dynamic integration and co-ordination of 'classical' composition; undoubtedly this, too, has been due to the emphasis on the sharp linear arrangement.

In the thirteenth century this thinning down of the plastic context by an increasing emphasis on the sharp and pointed angularity of the limbs and features of figures and on the solely linear and fragmentary aspect of the composition, is in the ascending grade along with the increasing concavity of curves. An elaboration of details of decoration and ornamentation, very skilfully, delicately and minutely worked out, goes side by side with a cumbersome and crowdy composition. Nowhere are these characteristics so clearly and subtly brought out than in the ceiling reliefs of the Neminātha Temple (Jain) of Mount Abu, built by Tejaḥpāla in A.D. 1230 (Figs. 41, 118 and 121). It must be remembered that the entire temple and its decorations are worked out of white marble which made possible chiselling or scraping in such a delicate and minute manner. But when Coomaraswamy says that this minute and delicate decorative work is "one of those cases where exuberance is beauty", he pays a tribute that does not seem to be fully deserved. The exuberance of the Tejaḥpāla temple decoration is not the exuberance of fertile and dynamic nature that one sees at Sānchī, for example, essentially creative by its very nature and character. The very deeply undercut and delicately scraped designs with their sharp edges and deep contrasts in light and darkness result in a kind of

mechanical grace, and are clear evidence of very skilled workmanship, but are hardly any evidence of creative endeavour. The figure sculptures, too, are mechanically conceived and executed, and are hence thin in creative experience. Over-elaboration of details crowds and encumbers the compositional context, and the richness of design is not, in this case at any rate, born of an exuberant, vibrant life full to the brim and overflowing it.

The Mount Abu decorative and figure sculptures betray undoubted 'mediaeval' characteristics some of which persist in Rājput sculpture through the subsequent centuries, and in Rājput painting as well, in an altogether different context, till the nineteenth. The sharp emphasis on the line and its pointed angularity and on the concave curve can be witnessed in a Rāsa-līlā relief from the palace of Bir Singh Deo Bundela at Datia built in the early seventeenth century (A.D. 1605-27), appearing in the context of contemporary features and fashions.

But mediaevalism in the art of Rājputāna has a history earlier than even the tenth century, particularly in decorative devices, patterns and designs. Details of decoration, of an old temple at Mandor, show very clearly and pointedly how 'classical' themes and designs were made to shed off the rounded plasticity of their volumes and were gradually thinned and flattened out and sharpened in the edges, which human faces, turned in their sharp profiles, were made to thrust their beak-like noses into space. The Mandor temple and its decorations are datable in the eighth century.

7. GUJARĀT

Gujarāt has been one of the earliest targets of Muslim iconoclasm and throughout the late mediaeval period she suffered from periodic devastations of her numerous shrines. Almost all the older temples have been all but entirely destroyed; but from the ruins of temples and temple-cities, scattered all over Gujarāt and the adjoining territories, ruled over by the Chaulukyas from the middle of the tenth century, one can form an idea of the rich architectural and sculptural achievements of the region from about the eleventh to about the seventeenth century and later. The more important centres are Siddhapura, Moḍhera, Taraga which is not very far from Siddhapura, Girnār, Śatruñjaya, Dabhoi, and Jhinjuved.

Not much need be said about the mediaeval art of Gujarāt, for what has been said about the contemporary art of Rājputāna applies to a great extent to this westernmost branch of mediaeval Indian sculpture. Indeed part of Western Rājputāna, including Chitor and Mount Abu, really formed, culturally, a part of Gujarāt during the

mediaeval period (and even politically, at times, during the suzerainty of the Chaulukyas), just as Eastern Rājputāna formed a part of the West Mālava country.

Mediaeval features are perhaps more conspicuous in Gujarāt than in contemporary Rājputāna, but this is more manifest in contemporary book-illustrations than in sculpture. Indeed, in Rājput sculptures the line, though sharp, is still flowing in uninterrupted flux as a remnant of the classical tradition, and maintains the balanced poise of the same tradition, but the more one travels further towards the west, the more does one witness the line seized by a nervousness under the stress of which all curves tend to be angular and concave and the poise gets disturbed. A sort of nervousness and tension grips all figures despite their evident vigour and power expressed in the forward thrust of the trunk of the body and overdone movements of the round slender limbs. Due to the nervous sharpness of line and pointed angularity of movements, the composition is broken up into fragments not inherently related by any dynamic and integrated vision. Verticals, horizontals, and diagonals are spread out over the whole surface without much care for the plastic context. In appearance the figures are still endowed with grace and smoothness (Figs. 123 and 124) inherited from past generations, but without much corresponding feeling and understanding.

The decorative devices, jewelleries, etc. tend more and more towards flatness and sharpness, cut deeply and sharply in the edges, and grow increasingly rigid like the figure sculptures themselves, and also intricate and elaborate, without any integrated relation with the plastic body.

And thus finally in the seventeenth century this direction reaches a stage when both Rājputāna and Gujarāt seek a renascence of sculptural art through an unsuccessful appeal to the classical sources.

8. PUNJĀB HILL STATES

The Punjāb Hill States, sheltered by the Himālayas, were not as isolated from the main currents of North Indian life and culture as is often supposed. Chambā, Kāngrā, Kulu, and Kumāon have preserved sculptures of images and decorative patterns in relief that originally formed part of temples some of which are still extant, as for example at Brahmor and Chatrarhi in Chambā and Masrur in Kāngrā.

Reference may be made to the wooden door façade[232] of a temple exquisitely carved in relief in what remained of the classical Gupta tradition of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley as interpreted in these

remote hill states. Even a century or more later (ninth century), some traces of the suavity, grace and poise of Gupta classicism and its softer, not subtler, treatment of plastic volume in full round forms can still be seen in the reliefs of the monolithic temple of Masrur in the Kāngrā valley. The simple naïveté of the hill-people seems to have stamped itself in these reliefs in the attitude and expression of these short-featured figures as much as in the somewhat coarse and summary treatment of the modelling. In the following century, or somewhat later, classical qualities are given full value in a number of cult-images in stone from Chambā (Bhagavatī image in the village shrine of Svaim in Himagiri *pargana* and Śiva figures on the Chandraśekhara temple at Saho, for example). The masks of Muñjunidevī from Kulu[232a] and the Śiva from Harsar (Chambā) also belong to the same conception of form. Whether carved fully in the round or nearly so, these figures are powerfully, though coarsely, modelled, in heavy and stately proportions, fully expressive of concentrated energy to which the face responds with a calm dignified composure. The jewelleries and the decorations are as much integral parts of the modelled mass as of the stelae composition. Here in these images lineaments drawn from Hellenistic Gandhāra are clearly perceptible in the treatment of the drapery and in the proportion and treatment of some of the reliefs. Hardly a touch of the 'mediaeval' factor is perceived in these reliefs which seem to have stored up the classical values with feeling and understanding, and yet that in a manner very much different from what was happening in contemporary Eastern India.

But alongside, and earlier than anywhere else in the North, the 'mediaeval' factor makes itself felt in a number of inscribed metal images from Chambā. On palaeographical grounds most of them are datable towards the beginning of the eighth century, and a few in the ninth and tenth centuries. The eighth century images, executed by a craftsman (*karmiṇā)* named Gugga, and the tenth (or eleventh) century ones of Vishṇu and Kālī, from Sahu and Markuta, all in Chambā, are mechanically conceived and characterised by sharp outlines deeply cut and a hard petrified treatment of the plastic volume of a somewhat elongated physiognomy. Indeed, the emphasis on the sharp and incisive outline gives definitive character to these figures that register the 'mediaeval' impact, though in a very thin and subdued way.

Yet, from these hill states, particularly Chambā, have come down to us the biggest series of fountain stones cut into low flat reliefs showing abstract patterns and not so much icons, except in the later ones, or scenes of edification, enjoyment and activity. In-

deed such weaving of mere patterns in square and rectangular panels with floral, vegetal and geometric designs and human and animal figures (serpent forms playing an important part) is unknown to the 'classical' conception. This pattern-making, as we see in these fountain stones, seems to reflect a very ancient art-practice, and Kramrisch is right in assuming that "the earliest and simplest of these stones could be ancestors of the roundels of Bhārhut," although those that we have cannot be dated earlier than the tenth-eleventh century. The floral and vegetal designs, undoubtedly of 'classical' origin, are flattened out, sharply incised, and made to fit in with the flat geometrical designs of square and diamond shapes equally flat and sharply incised. The non-iconic and some of the iconic figures are also similarly treated. These low reliefs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are indeed the progenitors of later Rājput painting; and it is in these that we witness 'mediaeval' features in their relatively unadulterated aspect, particularly in the decorative patterns on the skirts of female figures on such fountain stones as those of Ajayapāla (A.D. 1225) at Sai Churah. They are on a par with almost similar designs on the contemporary Jain miniatures from Western India.

9. KĀSHMIR, NEPĀL AND TIBET

Kāshmir had intimate relations with the Punjāb Hill States, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, if not earlier still. Her geographical position made her amenable to influences from the Hellenistic west on the one hand and Tibet on the other. From about the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century Eastern India was also drawn within the orbit of her intimate relations. Her art therefore reflects the impressions that her people were able to receive from these historical associations. But very few of sculptural records of pre-Muslim centuries have survived the zeal of iconoclasts that were not always Muslims. The numerous idols of gold and silver installed by Lalitāditya, on which Kalhaṇa bestows so much praise, were all destroyed, more than two centuries before Muslim rule was established in the Valley, by Harsha, "that Turushka," as Kalhaṇa calls him, "who appointed a special official called *devotpāṭana-nāyaka* or 'prefect for the destruction of gods' ".

Recent excavations, mainly at Harwan, have unearthed terra-cottas and stucco fragments belonging to different periods, that frankly betray Gandhāra Hellenistic inspiration from the north-west side by side with such Gupta classical qualities as are witnessed in Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of the fourth and fifth centuries from Haḍḍā and Bāmiyān. All such earlier examples, including

Buddha-Bodhisattva figures from Pāndrethān, are explainable by the common denominator of contemporary Indian art.

It is very significant—a fact not yet sufficiently known and understood—that the Himālayan countries of Kāshmir, Nepāl and Tibet come out of their mountain seclusion and enter the arena of Indian history and culture, almost simultaneously, from about the seventh century onwards. Kāshmir maintained this intimate association till she was overrun by the Muslims, and Nepāl and Tibet, until very recent times. It is equally significant that all these regions, more particularly Nepāl and Tibet, for reasons well known, were in more intimate cultural contact with Eastern India than with other regions of this vast sub-continent. The seclusion and conservatism of the hills helped Nepāl and Tibet retain and store up whatever was received from Eastern India of the Pālas during the eighth and the three subsequent centuries and more, and carry on the East Indian mediaeval tradition of art, almost untouched and uninfluenced by any other element, till very recent times.

In mediaeval sculptures of Kāshmir (ninth to twelfth centuries), too, contemporary East Indian tradition stamps its strong impress, in form and treatment as well as in physiognomy. There is evidence to show that images from Bengal were imported into Kāshmir during these centuries.[233] But the East Indian elements of mechanical grace and elegance and metallic precision are interpreted in Kāshmir, at least in a few instances, in stolid and clumsier terms. Others are merely a local rendering of typical East Indian stone sculptures and bronzes, to such an extent that without a label or definite information it is difficult to say whether a particular specimen is Kāshmīrī or East Indian. The elegant bronze group of Padmapāṇi accompanied by his two Śaktis, with an inscription of the reign of Queen Diddā (A.D. 980-1003), is an instance in point. But even at this stage Gandhāran suggestion of Hellenistic drapery remains potent.

Side by side, mainly in the Brahmanical sculptures from Avantipura (Fig. 125), there runs a current of artistic tradition which reflects the contemporary art of the Punjāb Hill States, Rājputāna, and Gujarāt. A short-featured physiognomy, stiff and somewhat heavy in appearance, is treated in a manner not very far removed from petrification of its plastic mass. This is held by an equally heavy and coarse outline.

The excavations at Harwan have yielded large quantities of moulded tiles, datable in about the fifth century A.D., representing horsemen in northern caps and cloaks; men and women seated in balconies or standing in graceful poses, or moving with Gandhāran

cornucopias etc., or dancing and drumming; fighting cocks, running deer, lotuses and fleur-de-lys motifs etc. Reminiscences of Hellenistic Gandhāra are easily seen in some of the facial types, head-dresses and ear-ornaments, not the least in the drapery. But what is more interesting is the fact that all these are executed in very low relief with very little of modelling; the decorative devices, whether floral or vegetal, are linearised as far as possible, and pure geometrical designs are not also rare. Northern inspiration behind these designs and moulded decorations is perhaps undeniable, and it is not unlikely that they entered Kāshmir in the wake of the Yueh-chis, the Śakas, and the Kushāṇas, from Central Asia and China.

Nepalese stone sculptures of the ninth and the four succeeding centuries are rare but not altogether unknown. They belong frankly to the denominator of contemporary East Indian art and do not call for any special attention. What really counts are the metal images (cf. Fig. 126), generally of brass or copper, or some other kind of powerful alloy, of very competent craftsmanship and of refined elegance and precision. They are quite numerous and distributed in various museums and private collections in India, Europe and America. These images seem to have been turned out of workshops in considerable numbers in order to satisfy the demands of a growing Buddhist and Brahmanical laity. Stylistically they belong to the Pāla tradition of Eastern India, but are often of superior workmanship. From about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with increasing hierarchisation and stabilisation of Lamaistic Buddhism which Nepāl came to share with Tibet, a hieratic stylisation of artistic form set in; the sap exhausted itself and what was once organic and vital slowly degenerated into a mechanical and stereotyped form. But, as already pointed out, the seclusion and conservatism of the hills helped to store up to a very large extent the accumulated experience of centuries till very recent times, and this evidently accounts for those highly meritorious metal images of skilled workmanship, produced in considerably later periods, that meet our gaze from time to time. The number of such images is, however, very small, and the large majority of Nepalese metal images of later dates are mechanical and highly stylised.

Contemporary Tibetan art, too, is best known by its metal images, but it should be remembered that they are, for the most part, of Nepalese origin inasmuch as they happen to be works executed by artists brought from Nepāl. But the Tibetan metal images, even at their best, are qualitatively at a lower level than those of Nepāl. Stylistically, they too are inspired by, and affiliated to, the East Indian tradition, but those recently brought to light by Tucci

from Western Tibet, though formally East Indian, reveal nevertheless a vitality and strength that seem to be born of a living experience of the cult they professed and practised.

Till Tucci's explorations in Western Tibet our knowledge of Tibetan art was confined to the metal images alone, and to a considerable number of paintings of a later period. We now know of stone sculptures, terracottas, and paintings, besides metal images, that can be dated in the early mediaeval period, *i.e.* from about the ninth and tenth to about the thirteenth century. They all belong to the well-known East Indian tradition. The terracottas are almost all Buddhist seals and are so much like contemporary seals found at different sites of Bihār that some of them at any rate seem to have been imported from Eastern India. The stone sculptures are of the usual East Indian variety in style and form, but more coarsely executed and tend towards increasing stylisation of which the late mediaeval Tibetan metal images, despite violent gestures and movements and good craftsmanship, are typical examples.

10. DECCAN

By about the end of the eighth century all creative inspiration and effort in the Deccan sculptures had entered a stalemate after ceaseless activity of very deep and abiding significance for about three centuries. Yet temples were built and decorated with sculptures and images made for purpose of worship. In Ittagi and Gadag in the Dhārwār District, as well as in Hyderābād, under the aegis of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and at Somnāthpur, Belur, Halebid, and Palampet, all in Mysore, under the aegis of the Hoysalas, early mediaeval Deccan has left a crop of sculptural art by no means poor in output, but certainly so in creative achievement and potentiality.

What at Ellora, Aurangābād, and Bādāmi was conceived in immeasurable depth, strength and superhuman power, and formed in vigorous breadth and expansiveness, is now in Western Chālukyan art, conceived mechanically without any inner 'elan', that is, without any corresponding experience, and the broad expansiveness is just in space to suit decorative purposes. The decorative and ornamental devices that frame or encase such compositions are evidences of intricate and skilled craftsmanship no doubt, but are often overcrowded and cumbersome and seem to hang heavily on the figure-compositions as well. The figures are all in very high relief, in certain instances, in the round for all practical purposes, and deeply undercut, and also elaborately decorated. But life has gone out of them; the modelling has hardened to a considerable degree, poses

and attitudes are stiff despite traditional movements in appearance, and distended limbs and gestures lack the power and vigour of eighth century Deccanese composition. The bracket figures of many temples afford instances on the point; descendants of the early and well-known woman-and-tree motif they are intended to be sensuous, but their stiff and hard treatment as well as over-ornamentation render them lifeless, and they fail to convey any feeling of voluptuousness or even suggestive sensuousness. They are just appearances, not creative forms.

The skill, richness, and intricacy of decorative devices and ornamentations reach their fullest abundance in the temples of Balagāmi and Halebid. "....In the unfinished Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid the unstinted labour expended in carving a stone that is soft when quarried but hardens on exposure has clothed the entire building in an almost incredibly abundant *parure.*" The long and elaborate friezes of animals (Figs. 86 and 87), real and mythical, and of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and large panels of images (Fig. 122) and bracket figures, carved in high and frequently in altogether round relief, all appear as if pressed on to the surface, and are almost suffocated by elaborate and intricate, but stagnant and ponderous ornamentation. Despite gestures and movements of vigorous action the composition is static, absolutely uninformed by any inherent dynamism. A hardened modelling makes the plastic mass look heavy like a load, made heavier and more static by the unorganic relation with the body, of the intricate and heavy jewelleries formed by deep and sharp cuts. Indeed, the sharp and intricate carvings, certainly evidence of highly skilled craftsmanship, are artistically very poor and without any significance. Whatever plasticity was still left is choked by them. The end is not very far off.

11. SOUTH INDIA

South India, on the other hand, carries on the 'classical' tradition, as transmitted by the Pallava idiom, in a purer form, sounder conviction and a more vital manner; and this is done through centuries, save for slight and occasional intrusion by the 'mediaeval' factor, till as late as the end of the eighteenth century and even later. The inheritance, artistic skill and creative urge of the artists and craftsmen exploited the patronage of the Choḷas of Gaṅgaikoṇḍapuram (*c.* A.D. 850-1100), the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā (*c.* A.D. 1100-1300), the Yādavas and Tuluvas of Vijayanagara (*c.* A.D. 1350-1600), and the Nāyakas of Madurā (*c.* A.D. 1600-*c.* 1700 and later). The main centres of Choḷa activity were Gaṅgaikoṇḍapuram itself and Śrīnivāsanalur; the Pāṇḍyan monuments are principally situated at Śrīraṅgam,

Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and Kumbakonam; the Yādavas and Tuluvas built, among other places, at Kāñchīpuram, Vellur and Vijayanagara; and the Nāyakas concentrated chiefly at Madurā. The lofty and massive *vimānas* and *gopuras* of these magnificent temple cities are all covered with elaborate and sumptuous reliefs of figures deeply and roundly cut; and these figures constitute in the main the South Indian store-house of stone-sculptures during all these centuries.

All Choḷa sculptures of the tenth and eleventh centuries are endowed with a tough vitality and are modelled vigorously, but leave the surface as if in a state of animated flexibility. Plastically they have relation with contemporary Deccanese sculptures, but reach a much higher level which is maintained throughout successive centuries. The Pallava idiom is here given a new interpretation in tougher and more dignified rendering of plastic mass, treated in full roundness of form and arranged in graded relief. With their full weight on the ground, these figures of disciplined strength, marked by inner composure, and modelled with all the smooth tenderness of live flesh, are eloquent expressions of that natural dynamism of life that had ever been the aim of Indian sculpture. The same attitude is marked in the organic relationship of the body and the jewelleries which are treated as a part of the body-modelling itself,—a conception of form which was one of the planks on which the 'classically' Indian modeller took his stand.

Towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, in certain instances, somewhat slight hardening of treatment seems to have set in, and parts of the body are accented in modelling. But on the whole there is no lowering of artistic integrity nor any lessening of creative vision. Indeed, in some of the examples, said to be from the Karnātak which is evidently doubtful, and once belonging to the Loo collection of Paris (illustrated by Rene Grousset), Choḷa stone sculptures reach the highest level of 'classical' form in an age when 'classical' values everywhere else in India were rather at a very low ebb. Here is indeed what seems to be a renascence of the seventh-eighth century art of Māmallapuram and Ellora in a more soft and sedate version. A slender and elegant physiognomical form is here upheld by steadied curves; the powerfully built body is mellowed by the softness of the linear movement as well as by a slowly gliding outline defining the limits of the plastic mass treated with a subtle softness of touch. Indeed, South India since the days of the Pallavas had never experienced such noble conception of form, so happy and yet so supple. Rene Grousset dates them in the four-

teenth-fifteenth centuries; presumably they cannot be later than the twelfth.

The Vijayanagara stone sculptures of the fourteenth-fifteenth-sixteenth centuries have two different directions, and both can be met with on the walls of the monuments of the royal citadel. The rectangular panelled reliefs of the Amman shrine of the Hazāra Rāma Temple or the panel of the Throne Platform representing the *Holi* festival, for example, are deeply cut and the figures are all but roundly formed. They are still characterised by whatever was left of the modelled mass and mannered stiffness of the movements of the body and the limbs. But what is important is that there are compositions (e.g. the *Holi* scene) which are characterised by sharp angular movements that jerk the 'classical' rhythm, very much like the jerky movements in the Kathakali dance. Here is indeed a different vision creeping in or making itself felt, but is not fully co-ordinated yet. In other compositions, e.g. in the reliefs on the Amman shrine, the classical rhythm is continued with whatever plastic flexibility was still attainable. The reliefs on the Satī stones belong to this category, but reflect the folk-version of the same. The decorative devices are, as a general rule, flattened out and are cut sharply at the edges, a sure sign of the 'mediaeval' idiom.

But the specific 'mediaeval' factor is more conspicuous in the reliefs of the Throne Platform where all figures are flattened out in very low reliefs with sharp outlines. Especially in the human figures are the acuteness and pointed angularity of lines most marked and some of the female figures at any rate are but translations in stone, as it were, of contemporary Gujarātī miniatures. Compositionally, too, the figures lack plastic connectedness as in Gujarātī miniatures. Of all segments of South Indian art during all these centuries, it is in such Vijayanagara reliefs that the 'mediaeval' factor asserted itself, more or less in an isolated way.

The subsequent art of Madurā ignores the 'mediaeval' factor altogether and takes up the thread where Vijayanagara left it and brings it up to date. But already in the meanwhile ossification had set in, and now the plastic feeling increasingly becomes more and more deadened. Modelling becomes hardened and overstrained, outlines sharp and hard and yet more heavy in feeling, and the linear movement still and rigid. Side by side intricate over-elaboration of decorative devices and ornamentations and sharp and stiff rendering of jewelleries, as if laid on the bodies as separate volumes, are also on the increase. All these disturb and destroy the plasticity of form, and eventually pronounce the judgment of death on plastic creativity altogether. This is what happened in Madurā of the

seventeenth and the following century, at least so far as stone sculptures and wood carving were concerned.

South Indian art of the tenth and the six or seven subsequent centuries is particularly known, and deservedly so, by its metal images which, by virtue of their special importance, have to be discussed separately. They are mostly cast in copper or bronze, though rarely also in brass. Dated or datable Choḷa metal images are not hitherto known, but Coomaraswamy suggests that images of Śaiva saints, said to have been set up in temples by Rājarāja Choḷa, may have been really metal images, and Kramrisch dates at least one metal image of Kālī[233a] from Senniyanvidudi, Tanjore District, early in the tenth century. Coomaraswamy and Arunachalam date the great series of metal images in South Indian style found at Polonnaruva in Ceylon in the thirteenth century; Aiyangar places the series of Vaishṇava metal images of South India also in the same century. The great series of typical Naṭarāja images (Figs. 127 and 129) in metal seem to begin from about the eleventh or twelfth century during the Choḷa period, not earlier, and continued to be made till as late as the early nineteenth century. The main types represented in the remarkable galaxy of South Indian metal images are the various forms of Śiva (Fig. 133), especially the Naṭarāja (Figs. 127 and 129); Pārvatī (Figs. 128 and 131); the Śaiva saints, Māṇikkavāchakar, Tirujñā-sambandar, Appar, and Sundarar (Fig. 132), all of whom lived before the tenth century; Vishṇu and Lakshmī; Kṛishṇa; Rāma; the Vaishṇava saints called Āḷvārs; and figures of royal donors.

The question of dating and, necessarily also of stylistic evolution, of these figures, mostly cult-images, is relatively unimportant, for the simple reason that their artistic form and style throughout these long centuries hardly go through any process of evolution, but maintain a certain high level where they seem to have become fixed. And yet, generally speaking, quite a considerable number of images are informed by a vigour or fervour and an artistic efficiency which unmistakably reflect the mutual response the artist and the created object enjoyed between themselves. Standardisation certainly is there, but not stylisation of artistic form, and the objects are not just image patterns divested of creative urge. To maintain a fixed artistic form at high level, with relatively full creative urge, through almost a millennium of changing circumstances, is indeed a phenomenon in the history of art, as much in the history of human progress, which is worth consideration. Presumably it presupposes a life and society that maintained unimpaired their original faith and conviction in certain forms and feelings, emotions, and ways of

life, irrespective of the changing social and economic pattern into which their lives were set. But it is the more surprising, so far as South India is concerned, since while contemporary stone sculptures show signs of ossification and exhaustion, the metal images are wrought, not mechanically but with considerable amount of creative vigour and skill.

These images, being cult-images, are almost invariably presented in full frontal view, but are modelled fully in the round; the backs and sides receive almost as much attention as the front, and there is a definite tendency to twist the figures in slow and graceful flexions and round off the contours and volumes. The purity and smoothness of the body surface and the line add charm to the otherwise tight modelling of the plastic mass that seems to be disciplined by exercise. These qualities are maintained through centuries, though in later images of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is an attenuation of the physiognomical form and the outline grows more and more sharp; but, throughout, an elegant poise and a sort of dignified balance—both heritages of the classical tradition—are steadily maintained.

Two series of South Indian metal images may be singled out for special mention: the Naṭarāja series and that of Śaiva saints and Vaishṇava Āḷvārs. The Naṭarāja (Figs. 127 and 129) is the formal symbol, the visual image, of the cosmic dance of Śiva. In the most consummate realisations by the artists of the profound symbolism of the dance, there is a poise, rhythm, and balance that can only be compared with that of the Buddha images of Sārnāth and the monumental Maheśamūrti of Elephanta. But while the Buddha image symbolises the 'pure Being', the Naṭarāja symbolises the 'Becoming', as Coomaraswamy puts it. 'Becoming' connotes eternal flux which is in the dance itself, and yet, in the eyes of the artist and the devotee, it is held as rest that is within the divinity himself even while dancing. This very difficult and profound symbolism has been nevertheless concretely visualised by the South Indian artist and interpreted in terms of line and plastic volume. While compositionally the movement of the dance is spread out in space dynamically, the linear movement itself is gracefully and steadily poised and balanced, and the plastic treatment of the volume shows no accent or tension at any given point. Dynamic movement or eternal flux is thus admirably integrated with accentless, tensionless inner rest and calmness.

In the equally significant, if not equally spectacular, figures of Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints—also cult-images from the point of view of the artist and the devotees and actually worshipped—the element

of *bhakti* supplies the creative urge that endows these figures with a charm unique in character. These mortal beings, bathed in humility and devotion (cf. Fig. 130) and surrendered in body and soul to the One they held as the Supreme Being, came to be regarded as saints in later times, and inspire the same emotions of humility, devotion and surrender in the hearts and minds of multitudes who hold them in respect and adoration. It is these emotions of a pure heart that are interpreted in contemporary plastic terms, in suggestive and significant flexions and gestures and individualised expressions as reside in the eyes and the mouth and the general demeanour of the face.

12. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is now clear that the specifically 'mediaeval' factor was accepted and interpreted in different ways, according to the degree of consciousness of mental and emotional responses, or in accordance with the depth of impact felt and understood, in the various regions of this vast sub-continent. How it was done and what principles were followed in the respective provinces of art have been sought to be briefly laid bare in the foregoing pages.

It is further clear that the two storehouses of the classical values and tradition were Eastern and South India which, through centuries, drew upon their respective stores, the latter till the entire store was run out, the former till its career was cut short by the Muslims. Everywhere else in India the 'mediaeval' impact was felt in varying degrees, and it is significant that those were the regions where the northern ethnic stock was most potent, especially in Mālava, Rājputāna and Western India. But nowhere does the undiluted 'northern' or 'mediaeval' factor make an impress except in painting and textile designs, before the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Indeed, the creativity in the rich and complex structure of early mediaeval sculpture (till the thirteenth century) lies in the balance it is able to maintain between the flowing and plastic aspect of the 'classical' tradition and the linear and angular aspect of the 'mediaeval', and the degree of success or failure in this task is a sure measurement of the artistic merit of the sculptors.

The words 'classical' and 'mediaeval' have only qualitative, *i.e.* attributive significance, and are chronologically invalid in the present context. 'Classical' qualities of plasticity, *viz.* accentless distribution of rounded volume and a flowing naturalism, persist in South India for centuries even after the thirteenth, *i.e.* in a period labelled 'mediaeval' chronologically. Elsewhere also these qualities appear sporadically in different regions of India in the chronologically so-

called 'mediaeval' period, as for example, in a wooden figure of Kṛishṇa, the flute-player, now preserved in the Calcutta Asutosh Museum. On the other hand 'mediaeval' or northern qualities begin to be potent from about the eighth century in Rājputāna (sculpture) and the Deccan (painting), and become effective and pervasive by about the tenth and eleventh centuries, at any rate so far as North India is concerned, and as time pushes forward, assert themselves more and more, especially in painting and textile designs, though less in sculpture, sculpture being three-dimensional. Yet to what extent this three-dimensional art can be flattened out on to the surface, and interpret subjects in terms of sharp lines and angles and create a new vision and experience of life, may be seen in the terracottas of seventeenth and eighteenth century Bengal, in the Gujarātī book-illustrations of the twelfth and the following four centuries, in Rājasthānī and Pāhārī miniatures of the sixteenth and the following three centuries, in the textile designs of Gujarāt beginning from the thirteenth, and in those of Bengal (Murshidābād Baluchar *Śāḍīs*), Orissa (Sambalpur designs), and Madras (Calico prints), to cite only a few examples.

Except in the South of India, all creative utterance in plastic terms came practically to a standstill after the thirteenth century, and there have been no great and original formulations since then. The essentially humanist emotional movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Northern India (as for example, the Chaitanya movement in Bengal and of Kabīr, Dādu and Nānak elsewhere) and the *bhakti* movement of the South have been responsible for a considerable amount of plastic work of average standard in wood and terracotta and also in stone, but they are at their best informed by a lyrical quality and a homely warmth, not unoften monotonous in their repetition of themes and patterns. A cross-section of contemporary literature in the different provincial languages of India also shows that this, too, was characterised by similar emotional qualities and certain set themes and patterns. A stagnation in the fundamental life-process is perhaps undeniable, and this was presumably inevitable in a life essentially rural and agricultural in outlook and actual living. That the South retained its classical vitality longer than the North is perhaps due to the fact that the South, for historical reasons, successfully maintained, through her maritime trade, outside contacts that helped to keep her in a state of relatively more quickened consciousness. Literary works like the *Rāma-charita-mānasa* of Tulsīdās and *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* of Kṛishṇadās Kavirāja—the only two great North Indian works, both surcharged with the emotional contents of *bhakti*—are great so far as they are rich in classical values of dignity and

poise and largeness of proportion. But such works are rare and they have no counterpart in contemporary plastic art. Indeed creative plastic formulations of three-dimensional volume as a quest for expression and beauty have long ceased to be, so far as this vast sub-continent is concerned.

And here is a point in the history of Indian life and culture that does not yield to a sufficiently reasonable explanation. The plea of rural-agricultural life and outlook is only a tentative one and can hardly be emphasised even as a sufficiently important, far less determining, factor at the present state of our knowledge.

III. PAINTING

1. THE 'MEDIAEVAL' FACTOR

Plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic, as much of Indian painting up to the last phase of the work at Ajaṇṭā and cognate centres, as of Indian sculpture, till about the eighth century A.D. This is a quality which may legitimately be called 'classical', and this vision and tradition, we have seen, show themselves at their best at Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh and Bādāmi. The most essential formal characteristics of this tradition are: (a) the modelling quality of the line that brings out in full the three-dimensional rounded volume of the mass as well as its plasticity; (b) the modelling quality of colour obtained by the employment of colour-shades and colour-tones and by laying on high lights, wherever necessary, to suggest different planes; (c) the quality of brush work which is always free and firm and aims at bold, sinuous and rounded flexibility, especially at the outlines; and (d) a flowing and mellow linear rhythm. These are indeed the pivotal qualities of early Indian painting and they impart that sculpturesque plastic roundness which is such an essential characteristic of the murals of Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh and Bādāmi (fifth to seventh century A.D.). But these murals do not represent the total exhaustion or the end of the classical tradition. Under-currents of this tradition or its continuity, albeit within smaller range and in subdued intensity, can, for example, be witnessed in the paintings on the walls of the Kailāsa temple (eighth century A.D.) of Ellora in the Deccan, the Jain shrine at Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal (seventh century A.D.), the Vishṇu shrine at Tirumalaipuram (seventh century A.D.), the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram (eighth century A.D.) and the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore (eleventh century A.D.), all in South India, but more pronouncedly in the now well-known MSS.-illustrations of Bihār and Bengal, Nepāl and Tibet (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.).

The mediaeval tradition is more complex in character, more expansive in geographical connotation, and also more immediate in ethnic significance. The essential characteristics of this tradition are: (a) sharp, acute line without its modelling capacity, and also without the steady flow of the 'classical' period. This line—quickly and sharply drawn—is the main exponent of the 'mediaeval' tradition; (b) sharp, jerky, and pointed angles, particularly sharp and pointed limbs when and where they form angles—for example, at the elbow and the shoulder—, the sharp and peaked nose, the crescent lips with angles acutely turned upwards, the eyebrows, and long wide swollen eyes projected sharply and pointedly beyond their actual extension; (c) jerky movements, in angles and curves, of the body and its distended limbs, that produce a nervous animation quite different from the composed energy and latent dynamism of the 'classical' tradition; (d) total absence of colour-modelling and hence, also, of plasticity, which results in an appearance of flatness of the volume of the contour that resides entirely on the surface; (e) richness of variegated patterns, motifs, and designs, all gathered and adapted to the grip of sharp curves, angles, and points; and (f) an intense preference for designs and patterns of decoration that are basically and essentially geometrical and abstract, as distinct from decorative designs and patterns in steadily moving, swaying and deeply cut, modelled, and rounded curves, curls, scrolls, etc. of the 'classical' tradition, derived basically from the vegetal and animal world.

These specific characteristics were presumably being borne on the shoulders of the northern peoples, perhaps even from pre-Christian centuries, more particularly from the days of the Śakas and Kushāṇas, in recurrent waves of immigration, and are hence, for convenience' sake, called 'northern'. Modern researches, mainly by Strzygowski and his colleagues, have sought to show that the sharp curves and point pattern and the sharp-quick line of nervous agitation with their logical concomitants were widely prevalent among the nomads of Central Asia, especially among those of Turk and Mongol extraction. These Turk and Mongol nomads, at any rate, seems to have been the most active carriers of this aesthetic vision and artistic tradition. But the manner in which they reached India, the stages through which they passed, and the definite elements of which they were composed, can only be guessed, and not determined as yet with any amount of certainty. That the elements which we see in India were the accumulated results of a continuous ethnic fusion of northern racial elements that poured into the plains of India from the steppes of Central Asia, hardly admits of any doubt. The Śakas and the Yueh-chis (of whom the Kushāṇas

were only a *facet*), the Ābhīras, the Hūṇas and probably also the Gurjaras were all Central Asian nomads. By about the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. the Hūṇas came to disturb the social and political fabric of a large part of India and presumably to introduce certain elements of nomadic forms into India as well as into Afghānistān and Irān with which countries India, especially Western India, maintained intimate relations through centuries. It is most likely that the heterogenous elements of perhaps more than one tradition, brought in by repeated waves of immigration, spread over more than half a millennium, resulted in a very slow but steady fusion. Indeed, it must have been a long process of history for these peoples and their culture to send their roots deep down into the soil of the land where their lot was cast, and then grow from within, as a plant indigenous to the soil itself. The art forms that are most expressive of the specific 'northern' traits are not thus exactly what one sees in 'northern' nomadic art, but as modified by the impact of, and response to, the 'classical' measure that had hitherto been all-pervasive in India. Already in some of the reliefs of the fifth and sixth centuries one witnesses certain definite northern traits; but sculpture being essentially and intrinsically three-dimensional, and plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled mass having been the most important exponent of the 'classically' Indian tradition, it resisted for long the infusion of the 'mediaeval' or 'northern' emphasis on the linear accent, the stiff concave curves, and sharply cut edges and angles. On the other hand, the classical tradition had by the seventh and eighth centuries all but exhausted its potentialities and was now ready to welcome new conceptions of form. Those were ready by the hand and were already available in stray instances and isolated regions.

But, painting, which is two-dimensional, offered much less inherent resistance to the 'northern' conception of form. In the ninth century murals at Ellora we find these traits asserting themselves so emphatically and exuberantly as to indicate past practice over a considerable period of time. Here the gliding and modelling lines of Ajaṇṭā are replaced by sharp and thin lines, modulated curves by sharp and pointed angles and roundly modelled surfaces by flat coloured spaces. With Ellora, however, the 'mediaeval' tradition came to stay, and steadily through centuries built up within the confines of India and also outside—in Burma, Siam, and Java, for example—a history of its own. For some time after Ellora the tradition flowed as an undercurrent but nevertheless influenced and transformed the classical tradition by helping the gradual subsidence of the impact and consistency of its modelling and diminution of its volume by sharpening the modelled and rounded line, and by the

introduction of certain geometric forms and motifs. This stage is reflected in the mural paintings of the Jain shrine at Śiṭṭaṇṇavāśal and the first layer of paintings on the walls of the temple at Tirumalaipuram, both in the South. By about the eleventh century it begins to make itself felt in some of the miniatures of Eastern India (Nepāl, Bihār and Bengal); but from the twelfth to the fifteenth century the tradition is seen actively at work at different localities spread all over India. In murals, so far as extant examples go, it is registered in the earlier layer of paintings at Tirumaruttikunram and the second layer of paintings at Tirumalaipuram, both in South India, and in the Pañchatantra paintings on the ceiling of a *maṇḍapa* of a Vishṇu temple at Madanpur in the Lalitpur District of Central India,—to mention only a few examples. In book illustrations it was extensively in use in West Indian, mainly Gujarātī, miniatures, and in limited range, in East Indian MSS.-illustrations and copper-plate drawings. Simultaneously it makes itself felt in Javanese sculpture of Panataran temples, of which the later Javanese Wayang Beber is a lineal descendant, also in contemporary murals in Pagan, Burma, and in Siam. Textile surfaces offered a very rich field for the practice of this tradition, and at least from the thirteenth century onward West Indian textile designs, and later, those of the Deccan, the South, Orissa, and Bengal, register its import in clear unequivocal terms. In Rājasthān and Pāhāḍī miniatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this mediaeval tradition had been the most dominant inspiration and perhaps the most important stylistic determinant,—a fact which has not yet been sufficiently understood and recognised. This remark applies equally to the Deccanese and Orissan miniatures, roughly, and perhaps wrongly, designated as Deccani Mughal, and belonging to the seventeenth and subsequent centuries. That the large majority of terracottas and wood-carvings, and a very large segment of *pāṭā* (wooden book-covers) and *paṭa* (scroll) paintings of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries also belong to the same phase of Indian art has also to be remembered in this connection.

Here, then, is a new culture and civilization with a new vision and aesthetic creed which, basically, was ethnically conditioned, and must have coloured and transformed the Indian way of life and thought in other directions also than in art. But the lineaments of this integration have not yet been clearly and sufficiently made out. In plastic art, at any rate, classicism from now onwards is only a heritage which is certainly never forgotten altogether but which is no more informed by any creative urge at the same time, and surrenders its place to the 'mediaeval' or 'northern' factor which becomes the

common denominator, particularly in painting, drawing, and decorative designs. The factor no doubt feels the pressure and strength, in varying degrees in the various regions and schools of art, of the classical heritage; they interact, but at the same time each remains separately cognisable from now on, till the end of the nineteenth century.

2. ELLORA (*c.* A.D. 750-800)

A number of temples excavated from the living rock at Ellora (Kailāsa, Indrasabhā, Gaṇeśa and Laṅkeśvara temples, for example) have their ceilings painted in panels. There are also traces of painting left on the ceilings of the Daśāvatāra and Dhumar temples, on the lintel and door jambs of the Kailāsa temple and on the walls of the three storeyed excavation, as well as on those of the Indrasabhā temple, besides others, all at Ellora. There can be no doubt that these represent only a fraction of the paintings of a religious establishment of deep cultural significance, one of the richest in contemporary India.

While Ajaṇṭā affords a study in depth and solidity, and emphasises the diagonal direction of coming forward of the figures from the deep formless, and emerging on the surface as forms, the paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora present a study in surface and is a simple statement of collateral existence on the plane. In the latter case, figures are not born of any impact of coming forth from depths; they are just visible and look as if laid out weightlessly on or in between conglobulated cloud patterns (or aquatic decorative devices), equally thin and shallow and hence weightless. Not alone the clouds that form the ground of the paintings, but the figures, too, seem to float or swim or emerge or soar effortlessly and look as if all volume and heaviness and density have been pumped out of them and replaced by weightless vapour. The conglobulated clouds look so many weightless masses of carded wool or cotton bordered by globular or cusped, and thin or deep black outlines; the figures have legs that have not to carry the weight of the body, but bent in acute angles; they also soar or float like the arms and hands, and the slim weightless bodies look as if suspended in space. Whatever roundness of modelling and density the clouds or the figures have is only by way of inheritance or remembrance of a past practice; they are all thin and shallow in texture and lay-out, and do not reside in the dense, consistent and surcharged atmosphere of Ajaṇṭā. And, since the vaporous clouds, thin and shallow figures, decorative devices, and everything else reside on the

surface, practically without any modelling, the line in its varied rhythms becomes the most important exponent of these paintings.

The composition of these Ellora paintings is measured out in rectangular panels with thick flat borders; they have been conceived within given limits of frames that hold the paintings. In this matter, so far as the paintings on the ceilings are concerned, they followed the architectural scheme of the division of the ceiling into a large-size central lotus, on the four outer sides of which are two huge rectangles, an inner and an outer one. What was originally conceived as murals laid out on the limitless expanse of the walls, was thus made to fit in within bordered rectangular panels, not only on the ceilings but on the walls as well. Space in the sense of Ajaṇṭā does not exist at Ellora. In the former case all spaces are surcharged with a density born of the impact of the figures bodying forth from the depths; in the latter there is nowhere any density or consistency, and this is sought to be compensated by filling up the entire ground with all sorts of figures, men and women, decorative devices, clouds, fantastic animals, etc.

The technique of preparing the ground for these murals is the same as that of Ajaṇṭā, and the colours too are the same; black, white, yellow and earth reds (Indian red, terre-verte or buff earth) and buff, all applied rather thinly and without any modelling. In the first layer of paintings, however, the colours are darker than in the second. The outlines are drawn sharply in thick black or deep red.

The two layers of paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailāsa temple are separated in time by about a century; but the above remarks apply equally to both, despite stylistic variations in detail in one and the same layer, which shows, incidentally, that different styles commingled irrespective of the age of the two layers. This means that the two layers belong to one and the same tradition.

Two main varieties of stylistic form and treatment are clearly discernible in these paintings of the Kailāsa temple. The majority of the figures and movements belong to the classical tradition of Ajaṇṭā, that is, they are somewhat roundly modelled in colour and have also a modelled outline, but with considerable thinning down of the consistency of the modelling itself. Nor is there any sign of the impact of coming forward as in Ajaṇṭā. Correspondingly with the figures, the clouds in such panels are also roundly modelled masses with modelled outlines in deeper shade of the same colour or in deep red; coloured in dark or white they contrast sharply with the white or dark colour of the figures. But they have not the

density or consistency of Ajaṇṭā clouds and are considerably thinner. The paintings in the Laṅkeśvara, Indrasabhā and Gaṇeśa cave temples belong to this variety. The physiognomical type of the figures in such compositions is closely related to those of the Pallava rock reliefs of Māmallapuram and the reliefs of the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal. A slim attenuated body endowed with agile and smooth limbs and a longish face is lightly borne by a pair of long slender legs. The body and the supple limbs seem to be suspended from the strong pair of shoulders and the expanded chest wherein lies the centre of gravity. Despite the comparative roundness of the volume brought about by the livingness of breathing, the bodies seem to soar or float weightlessly and gracefully, as if poised in mid-air (compare the figures in the Gaṅgāvataraṇa relief at Māmallapuram) in the midst of the floating clouds which constitute their abode. Light and transparent draperies and flying scarves only emphasise this flying vision of the figures themselves. In one aspect at least some of the painted figures at Ellora (Kailāsa temple) try to emulate the corresponding type in stone sculpture; it is in the convex curve of the chest and abdomen brought about by the forward thrust of the chest. In sculpture, this curve, which reflects the energy and strength of the figures, is attained by modelling the plastic volume; in painting, which doubtless is slighter in total effect, it is the work of the outline drawn with zest and power.

The other form and stylistic variety is to be seen in a type of figures and clouds mainly linear in treatment and practically without any modelling of the plastic volume, *i.e.* bodies from which volume has all but evaporated. Such figures and clouds are defined by thick and desiccated outlines in black, and the clouds turn themselves on to edges formed of deep or shallow curves entwined by cusps, scrolls, and dots. It is in such compositions that the 'mediaeval' factor is comparatively more pronounced than in the other variety. In the latter also the general thinning down of the roundness of volume and outline has been due to the impact of the 'mediaeval' tendency. Indeed, at Ellora, the line is the main exponent and not the modelled mass, which can directly be attributed to the mediaeval grip.

Yet, the 'classical' tradition of modelling of the mass and the outline as well as the illusion of the impact of coming forward from the depths is not ignored altogether. They are, to begin with, accepted so far as they are remembered as a heritage, and then, stage by stage, they are caught by the 'mediaeval' grip that causes steady subsidence of the classical values.

For example, in the paintings in the inner rectangle of the

ceiling of the western porch of the Kailāsa temple (Fig. 134) there is the scene of a lotus pool on the wavy waters of which large-sized lotus leaves are tossed and turned upon themselves, and elephants madly sport in joy in their midst—a favourite theme in literature. Here the figures of elephants appear emerging somewhat from the depths; they are toughly and roundly modelled. The turning back of the cup-shaped lotus leaves is also treated in round but tight plasticity; their rims are round and heavy. Certainly the echoes of Ajaṇṭā are listened to with attention; but at the same time flatness of the human faces, the peak-pointed nose, the disposition of the arms and the palms on the surface and increasing disregard of foreshortening have all been due to the intrusion of the mediaeval factor.

In the paintings of the outer zone of the rectangle, however, there is practically an all but complete subsidence of the impact of the modelling of the mass as well as of the line. The latter is drawn sharply, fluently and incisively, and as outline to the cloud-formations it is fixed with curves and dots. Figures of Ajaṇṭesque affiliation are nowhere; they generally belong to the Pallava form, and in a few instances the local idiom of Ellora is employed. But the most characteristic features of these figures are the sharp twist of the head and pointed angular bends of the arms, both away from the body animated by jerky angular movements, the concave curve of the closed lips, the sharp peaked and projected nose, the long-drawn wide-eyes. Here is then a new vision of form, a new source of energy that not only transforms the figures in their lineaments, but transforms the composition correspondingly where everything else also responds equally fluently and vibrantly.

This 'mediaeval' grip slowly and steadily settles down and, stage by stage, not necessarily in chronological sequence, the different phases can be followed in the paintings on the ceilings and walls of the cave-temples of Ellora. The 'mediaeval' grip is not all pervasive, but it transforms the classical vision and is itself transformed by it.

There can be no doubt that despite the rich significance of a new creative vision that asserts itself with force and insistence, the paintings of Ellora do not, at any stage or in any of its phases, reach the level of those at Bāgh, Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmi, either aesthetically or intellectually. Ellora employs all the glowing colours and tones with subtle nuances known to Ajaṇṭā, but much of the charged density and consistency of the latter has evaporated, and a preference for conspicuous contrasts makes the paintings appear somewhat frolicky.

3. SOUTH INDIA (*c.* A.D. 1100-1300)

Remnants of Indian wall-paintings south of the Deccan plateau and belonging to this period are still to be found, for example, on the walls of the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara temple at Narttamalai in the old Pudukkoṭṭai State (*c.* A.D. 1100), of the Bṛihadīśvara temple (Fig. 135) at Tanjore (*c.* A.D. 1100), on the brick built walls affixed in front of the cave (*c.* A.D. 1100), and also on the cave walls (*c.* A.D. 1300-1350) at Tirumalai in North Arcot, on the walls of the Saṅgīta-*maṇḍapa* at Tiruparuttikunram, Kāñchīpuram (*c.* A.D. 1387-88), and the Uchayappa-*maṭha* at Anegundi of about the same date. It is not unlikely that paintings of the period, yet unknown to us, exist on the walls of other South Indian temples. Caves and temple walls were painted over as soon as they were excavated and built; and, generally speaking, the dates of paintings are roughly those of the monuments themselves. But in certain instances, as for example in the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara temple at Narttamalai where repairs had to be undertaken at a later period, or where the first layer was painted over by a second or more layers of painting, the fixation of dates of later paintings becomes a difficult problem, and one has to take recourse to the question of stylistic evolution and variation.

The Vijayālaya Cholīśvara temple at Narttamalai seems to have been built originally in the ninth century; subsequently it was struck by lightening, necessitating extensive repairs, presumably towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. To judge from their style, the paintings that are all spread on the walls of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of this temple, seem to have been executed not long after the repairs to the temple were carried out. From the meagre vestiges that are still preserved, it is clear that the temple was Śaiva; large-scale painted figures of Mahākāla, Devī, and Śiva Naṭarāja are still visible, along with other minor figures. Stylistically the figure of Mahākāla is stereotyped, but its affinity with the slightly earlier painting of Śiva as Tripurāntaka in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore is unmistakable. Later Choḷa characteristics are also evident in the form and shape of hair decoration, *karaṇḍa mukuṭa,* costumes, etc. of the Devī. Outlines of figures are invariably in red, and the colours extensively used are terre-verte, yellow and red of varied tones, green, black, and white; high lights in white are used on finger tips. Choḷa forms and physiognomy are apparent, and 'classical' values of full rounded volume are gratefully remembered, though with lessened consistency of colour-modelling. A flattening on the surface, clearly perceptible, is due certainly to pressure of the 'mediaeval' factor; but while the classical plastic form and treatment of modelling

persist in such examples as in a fragment of a standing female figure with folded hands, the finger tips of the hand being touched by high lights (to the right, in the second recess from entrance), the mediaeval form makes itself felt nowhere so strongly as in another fragment of two rows of flying figures whose faces and busts, flattened out on the surface, are shown in three-quarter profile, and noses, eyes, and mouths are drawn in sharp, pointed angular lines (in the second recess, to the right, from the entrance). Undoubtedly the latter is more vital and vibrant in its diction and mood. The former, that is the classical type or whatever residues are left of it, is closely related to the almost contemporary (eleventh century) wall-paintings in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore built by the great Rājarāja I.

The paintings of the Bṛihadīśvara temple are tucked away under its 190 ft. high *vimāna* in a dark passage around the main cella of the temple. There are two layers of paintings on the walls, of which the upper layer is slowly peeling off, exposing to view the lower, *i.e.* the earlier one. To judge from style, there does not seem to be a long lapse of time between the two layers of paintings. Like that of the Narttamalai, the subject matter of these paintings is frankly Śaiva, and the scenes representing Śiva in his abode of Kailāsa, with his saintly devotees, as Naṭarāja and Tripurāntaka, in the company of *gaṇas, gandharvas, apsaras,* and so on, are laid on the walls in large and forceful compositions. The technique, as usual, is that of tempera, and the paintings are executed on a surface of soft lime plaster—presumably composed of powdered conch-shell or mother of pearl—of uniform thickness of an egg-shell. The outlines are drawn in light red or brown, later on deepened by black or reddish browns. Pigments used for contours, backgrounds, and decorations are yellow ochre, red ochre, terre-verte, brown earth, white, black, and lapis lazuli blue. Much of the 'classical' consistency and depth of colour application have somewhat evaporated, making the figures look flatter and thinner in the context of volume. Nor, compositionally, are the figures connected in any inherent relationship; some of the groups are schematically arranged in horizontal panels, one below the other. Exceptions are rare, as in the two panels representing Śiva and saint Sundara, and Śiva as Tripurāntaka, respectively.

But, as in those of the Narttamalai, the classical volume is still remembered and there is a conscious attempt at giving it as much value as possible, with the help of broadly modelled lines, ample curves and colour tones. Seated figures have still their graceful, though conventional, *bhaṅgas,* and dignified movements; but the

standing figures are devoid of any inner plasticity and look stiff and inelastic. The grip of the 'mediaeval' factor is, however, unmistakable in the treatment of the face, shown invariably in three-quarter profile, with fish-shaped eyes drawn sharply to pointed angles in both directions, long beak-like sharply pointed nose and pointedly angular chins—all set on a squarish face and contrasting sharply with a pair of roundly modelled, fully plastic lips drawn in double curves. The two modes and visions, 'classical' and 'mediaeval', thus commingle in these paintings and, acting and reacting on each other, transform themselves. But, on the whole, the South adheres more tenaciously to the former than adopt and integrate the latter.

Almost contemporary with the Narttamalai and Bṛihadīśvara (Tanjore) temple paintings are those of the first layer on the brick walls of the outermost chamber on the second storey of the Lakshmīśvara *maṇḍapa* at Tirumalai. But stylistically they belong to a slightly different diction and variety than those of the Narttamalai paintings. The subject matter of the Tirumalai paintings is Jain in inspiration. In the preserved vestiges on the back wall and the adjacent one, against dark black background, Devas, Devīs, Gaṇadharas, and nuns, animals, etc. are arranged in panelled sectors bordered by rows of *haṁsas*, festoons and lotuses, and surrounded by *gandharvas* and *kimpurushas*. Full frontal or three-quarter faces with eyes wide open look out intently towards a definite point; the hands of figures are held in *añjali* pose. But whether the subject is human beings, demigods, animals, or vegetation, the treatment is invariably flat, and volumes are gathered on the surface; hardly anything is left of the body-shaping colour modelling of the classical tradition. The lines, too, have lost much of their modelling quality, and despite good draughtsmanship, also much of their bold vigour. The mediaeval grip is evident in the sharp lines and angles, beak-like pointed noses, up-line curves, and flat treatment of ornaments. White has been extensively used at Tirumalai along with different varieties and grades of ochre and terre-verte, also grey and red; use of mixed and impure colours, mainly in ochre and terre-verte, and black background seem to have been a special feature at Tirumalai. The paintings on the outside of the brick façade also belong to the same category.

The second layer of paintings at Tirumalai is still visible on the ceiling of the outermost chamber, referred to above, and on the walls of the adjacent rock-cut cave. Here the volume has thinned out further and the figures are completely gathered on the surface. The lines have become further sharpened and the *bhaṅgas* have all lost their plastic flexibility.

4. WESTERN INDIA (c. A.D. 1100-1300)

From all that we know of the settlements of 'northern' peoples from the beginning of the Christian era to about the eighth century A.D., their impact seems to have been strongest in Western India, mainly in Gujarāt and West Rājputāna, and to an extent, also in Western Mālwā. It is thus in the nature of things that 'northern' or 'mediaeval' traits are most marked in those regions, especially in Western India and Rājputāna, and this is true more in the realm of painting than in that of sculpture. But, despite isolated examples of earlier date, the 'mediaeval' conception of form does not become general and all-pervasive before the twelfth century A.D.

The geographical position of Gujarāt and the adjoining territories made them centres of great international trade, whence the arterial routes to the heart of Northern India lay through Mālwā and Rājputāna. The inland trade was mostly in the hands of the Jains who had always been zealous guardians of past traditions and great patrons of their religion, art, and culture. Their monastic establishments of which *bhāṇḍāras* or libraries were invariable integrals, especially those of Mārwār on the one side and Kāthiāwār on the other, were not only important centres of artistic activity, but also provided, at a later date, much needed asylums to artists and others who fled from other parts of Gujarāt in the worst days of Muslim invasion and oppression, and enabled them to organize new art-centres and continue the tradition more or less uninterruptedly. Even before the Muslim invasion of Gujarāt, the fertility of her central alluvial plains and the wealth of her trade and commerce helped the growth of a rich art under the aegis of the Chaulukyas. Indeed, Chaulukya sculpture and architecture are much more elaborate and sensitive than those patronised and brought into existence by the Paramāras or the Chāhamānas. Quantitatively also the Chaulukyas seem to have reared up monuments far greater in number and richer in the profusion of sculptural and decorative details. Their political and cultural suzerainty in the twelfth century extended to Kutch and Saurāshṭra on the one hand and Mālwā and Mārwār on the other, and the Chaulukya art spread in Rājputāna as far as Chitor, Bikaner, and Osia. In A.D. 1222 the Chaulukyas were superseded by the Vāghelas who, so far as Rājputāna is concerned, continued the Chaulukya tradition, though somewhat decadent by now. The invasion of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak in A.D. 1197 and the conquest of Gujarāt by the Khaljīs a century later led to the disintegration of the Chaulukya and Vāghela art-centres of the country, and fleeing of artists to such places as Kāthiāwār, Idar, Mt. Abu, Achalgaḍh, Dungarpur, and Pāwāgadh where

local Hindu rulers offered successful resistance to the Muslims up to the fifteenth century. In these localities and particularly in the Jain monasteries and temples, the rich heritage of Chaulukya art, mainly Jain in religious inspiration, was given a new span of life, though in a rather degenerate and complicated manner. Sheltered within the monasteries and cut away from the general life of the people, the art was stylised and increasingly influenced by hieratic conventions.

The first thing that arrests one's attention in the Gujarātī paintings is that these are all invariably MSS.-illustrations in miniature, executed on palm-leaf, and later, from about the middle of the fourteenth century, on paper which was gradually supplanting palm-leaf as a writing material. But palm-leaf was not altogether given up till the beginning, at any rate, of the fifteenth century. A connected sequence of these paintings is available in a large number of MSS. both dated and undated (to which approximate dates can be ascribed on stylistic considerations), that range from about the beginning of the twelfth to about the end of the fifteenth century.

More than four centuries of these MSS.-paintings in miniature, despite a common denominator that belongs to the strong 'mediaeval' factor, do not, however, represent one integrated style in a regular process of evolution. The common denominator is easily known by the sharp, pointed lines flatly laid in thin or thick strokes, by the almost flat laying of colours in two-dimensional effect with but the slightest suggestion of modelled plasticity, by the treatment of the eyes, nose, and body-joints that are given an accentuated appearance and effect by an emphasis on sharp pointed angles and lines, by the flat treatment of all decorative and architectural devices, and no less by certain geometrical decorative designs that are typically 'northern'. It is needless to point out that all these stylistic characteristics and the flat, essentially two-dimensional, aesthetic vision and treatment are 'mediaeval'.

Despite this common denominator, the long and rich series of West Indian miniature painting shows varieties of style that merit consideration. There is one class of painting the compositions of which are relatively simple, with but few figures set against a background which is also simple and without any accessory details of architecture, room-hangings or other decorations; details of jewellery and intricate designs of costumes being rather suggested than actually worked out. The line-strokes in such examples are relatively thick, the curves are full and steady, and the drawing sure and unfaltering. Of human figures, profiles and three-quarters are given preference, and eyes, noses, chins, beards, costume-hangings

or frills, finger-points, etc. are all drawn in sharp pointed angles. A very characteristic feature is the treatment of the eyes which are drawn in two parabolic curves with sharp pointed sides set on the same level, the eye-lashes being drawn in sharp and extended bow-like curves. Even in profiles or almost profiles both eyes are shown, with one eye drawn projectedly somewhat out of its context. Earliest examples of this class are a couple of paintings in a palm-leaf MS. dated in A.D. 1127 (Śāntinātha Temple Bhāṇḍār, Cambay; MS. No. 6.2). In this version the West Indian miniatures have certain parallels with contemporary East Indian miniatures, especially in poses and attitudes of figures, the quality of the line, and slight suggestion of plastic modelling of the body-contour.

There is yet another style of West Indian miniature painting, known already from about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., which reflects the 'mediaeval' tendency in a still more pronounced manner. In the examples of this style the lines are equally sharp but have not the fineness of the class just referred to above. They are moreover broken and somewhat desiccated, not drawn in one sweep; they are also joined in pointed angles which do not integrate. Nor is there any attempt to crowd the composition with too many details; the few accessories that fill the spaces as well as the main figures themselves are all summarily and perhaps somewhat roughly worked out. There are also definite evidences, in some examples, of shading which is done by the use of colour and a shaded line. In the poses and attitudes as well as in the formal appearance and treatment there is unmistakably a conscious vigour which seems to be partly traditional, partly drawn from some submerged folk style. A peculiar treatment of the eyes seems to be characteristic of this class of miniatures. They are drawn not horizontally on one level, but separately on different levels; this is clearly noticeable at the nose where the corners of the eyes meet, one inside corner placed considerably below the level of the inside corner of the other. Earliest examples of this class of paintings can be seen in a MS. (No. 1155), dated A.D. 1161, belonging to the Vīravijayajī Śrī Jaina Śvetāmbara Jñāna Mandir Bhāṇḍār at Chavi, near Baroda.

To whatever class of the common denominator these paintings belong, and despite their pictorial and decorative quality, their glowing colours of red, yellow, blue, and gold, West Indian miniature painting is highly stylised and conventional, cold and mechanical. They are intellectually conceived and despite their bright and glowing pigments there is little of emotional warmth in the general effect. But technically they are examples of perfect craftsmanship and of pure pictorial significance. In their generally cold and mechanical

effect they perhaps reveal the inner meaning and psychology of Jainism to which the majority of the paintings owe their origin and inspiration.

5. EASTERN INDIA (BENGAL, BIHĀR), NEPĀL AND TIBET

Specimens of painting datable earlier than the Pāla culture-period have not yet been found anywhere in Eastern India or Nepāl. Extant specimens of early paintings in Eastern India, up to the thirteenth century at any rate, are illuminations on palm-leaves and paper of MSS. and on wooden covers of MSS. Besides, so far as Bengal is concerned, we have at our disposal at least three engraved drawings on copper-plates that may be said to belong to about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The MSS.-illuminations are almost all, with but rare exceptions, of Vajrayāna Buddhist inspiration; but the engraved drawings are all Brahmanical.

Since there is hardly any appreciable major stylistic difference between the illuminations of Bihār and Bengal or Bengal and Nepāl, at least till as late as the thirteenth century A.D., they may conveniently be studied as belonging to one and the same school. These miniatures, it is important to remember, do not represent a separate style of book-illustration; they are, in fact, mural paintings in reduced dimensions, and can in no way be compared with the truly characteristic phase of book-illustration that constitutes a fascinating chapter in the history of painting in Persia, China, mediaeval Europe and late mediaeval India. Nor can they be said to have anything to do with primitive or folk-painting; in fact they reveal an already developed form and technique intimately linked with an art practice and tradition that must have existed in the form of large wall-paintings or MSS-illuminations that carried the earlier tradition of Bāgh and Ajaṇṭā in an uninterrupted sequence. These small-scale paintings, executed within the narrow dimensions of a MS. page, may easily be thrown mechanically on the wall in any magnified scale and yet would not suffer in the least in either the movement of the line, for example, or the compactness of the composition. Truly speaking, these paintings are large scale murals in reduced dimensions.

The colours used are orpiment yellow, white, indigo blue, Indian ink-black or *kajjal*, cinnabar red, and green which appears to be a mixture of orpiment and indigo, unlike the green of Ajaṇṭā. All these colours are used in different shades. The general colour arrangement, on the whole, of the divinities at any rate, is mostly determined by iconographic requirements. Neither Indian red or any ochres nor ultramarine seems to have been used. Tonality of colours is

practically unknown, but high lights are given by the application of white. The outline is drawn either in black or red, and seems to have been sketched out first and later on filled in with colour.

Usually the composition of these illuminations follows certain well-known schematic principles of balance. In most of them the main divinity, always relatively larger, stands or is seated in the centre, against a background either of an architectural design or of an oval or semi-round aureole, or inside a terraced temple decoration, flanked evenly on two sides by lesser divinities of the *maṇḍala*, in single or double, straight or circular, rows as their number may require. When the main divinity occupies one side, the lesser ones of the *maṇḍala* occupy another. Vacant spaces are filled by flying semi-divine beings, vegetal and ornamental decorations, architectural motifs, or similar other devices.

With the help of dated MSS. it is possible to arrange these miniatures in a rough chronological sequence, but such a sequence would be hardly worth while, for it hardly shows any stylistic evolution. Formally and psychologically they are conventional, and inevitably betray a traditional outlook. Indeed, the trend and tendencies seem to have remained fixed, more or less, during the three centuries beginning from the eleventh. Life seems to have remained stagnant all the while within the confines of the monasteries.

East Indian miniature paintings are, stylistically speaking, painted equivalents of contemporary plastic art of the Pālas and Senas, both in outer form and inner meaning. So far as the plastically modelled mass is concerned, what the sculptor achieves by gradations in three dimensions at his disposal, the painter does with his colours applied with varying degrees of thinness or consistency, as well as with the help of linear inflexions. The modelled mass is held by definite but sinuous lines, flowing steadily and modelled; the flowing curve of the contour of the body and the lower abdomen as well as the sensitivity of the finger curves are unmistakable heritages of the classical tradition. The best specimens of this tradition can be seen, for example, in the illuminations of two *Prajñāpāramitā* MSS. executed in the 5th and the 6th year of king Mahīpāla (Cambridge Univ. Coll. No. Add. 1464 and ASB. Coll. No. 4713—Figs. 140 and 141—respectively), the *Gaṇḍavyūha* MS. (Fig. 136) in the possession of Roerich, and another *Prajñā-pāramitā* MS. (ASB. Coll. No. A. 15) dated in the Nepālese era 191 (A.D. 1071). In the best examples, subtle transmission in the modelling of colour is fully valid (Fig. 142); equally valid is the modelling quality of the sinuous line increasing and decreasing in thickness in accordance with the degree of the surging roundness of the contour. But even in such

examples there are indications of increasingly thinning down of the plasticity or stagnation of the plastically modelled treatment. The modelling quality of the line in such examples may or may not be left untouched. In the Cambridge MSS. referred to above, the faint and stereotyped colour modelling does not, however, affect the line which is still vital in its modelling capacity. The illuminations of a MS. in the Boston Museum (No. 20589) dated in the 4th year of Gopāla (III ?), of the well-known Sawamura MS. and of the Vredenburg MS. (Fig. 137), for example, belong to this category. But in certain illuminations, for example, in the Cambridge MS. No. Add. 1643 dated A.D. 1015, the lines are weak, brisk and faltering; they seem to be broken or desiccated and have lost their steady uninterrupted flux. In some examples they are even sharp and hectic. Also, whatever modelling in colour is evident, is desiccated and disintegrated. But in the same MS., *e.g.*, the one with the label *"Samataṭe Jayatuṅga Lokanātha,"* the line is not so crisp and short-featured, but is equally unrefined by any grace or sentiment. Modelling in colour is also faint and thin (*cf.* Fig. 138). This is equally evident in the illuminations of another MS. (ASB. No. 4203) dated in the Nepālese era 268 (A.D. 1148). They seem to have a distinctly Nepālese flavour and idiom which is marked by the absence of any trace of modelling in the coloured surface, the upward stiffening of the pale-like erect bodies, and the curt and broken, almost stagnant, character of the line. In certain examples, even of earlier date, the tendency towards linearisation is unmistakable, and this tendency appears side by side, sometimes even in the same painting, with the thoroughly 'classical', *i.e.* plastic treatment—undoubtedly an evidence of the 'mediaeval' interpenetration into the 'classical' conception. An illumination, reproduced on pl. XXXIII (right topmost panel) of Coomaraswamy's *Portfolio of Indian Art*, illustrates, even better than those already referred to, this 'mediaeval' element in East Indian painting. But the clear character of this 'mediaeval' factor can best be seen in a few twelfth and thirteenth century copper-plate drawings, those from Sunderbans and Chittagong, for example.[234] In both these drawings the modelling quality of the line is fully valid; it is still flowing, alert and sweeping; but wherever there is the slightest pretext, it loves to indulge in brisk curves and pointed angles. The lines of the face, when shown in profile or three-quarters, form angles or sharp curves in a beak-like nose or in an almost angular chin, and the bow-like curves of the brows or rims of the upper lips are extended as far as they would permit, much in the same manner as in contemporary West Indian miniatures.

It is easy to discover a superficial resemblance between this

linear tradition of East Indian miniatures and drawings and that of Western India and Rājputāna. Certainly both belong to the 'mediaeval' conception and manner of treatment, but there is yet a marked difference. The line in the Western tradition is flaming and pointed, angles are sharp almost to a geometrical point, and though there is the same predilection for brisk and extended curves, they are not unoften broken and are drawn without any warmth of feeling or emotion. On the other hand the East Indian line is sensitive and emotional, and has a melodious lyricism even in its sharpness and desiccation. The 'Western' line has nothing but flat and hardened surface to control within its limits, but the East Indian line, with its sensitiveness, tempered lyricism, and short or extended curves as the case may be, shows off the roundness of the mass that is confined within its boundaries. The rich and glowing and summarily laid colours of West Indian miniatures have nothing to compare with the subdued tones and modelled plasticity of East Indian colours, thinly or consistently applied.

East Indian manuscript-illuminations refer to the regnal years of the Pāla kings, but those from Nepāl are invariably dated in the Nepālese era, and Nepālese paintings comprise not only MSS.-illuminations but also *prabhās,* painted banners, and painted wooden MSS. covers. Dated and illuminated MSS. are known onwards from the eleventh century and dated banners from the sixteenth, though painted Nepālese banners, ascribed to dates onwards from A. D. 900, were discovered at Tun-huang.

The Tun-huang painting banners are but painted counterparts of contemporary East Indian sculpture, and that in an inferior version. The figures are thin, as if without a substance. The line is alert, round and sweeping, but there is hardly any modelling of colour which is usually massed together in blotches or distributed on flat surfaces. Whatever the postures, the attitude of the figures has hardly any inner meaning—or even an artistic significance. Indeed, these are some of the essential features that characterise Nepālese paintings from the very outset.

These features are also evident in the MSS.-illuminations; in the earlier ones (eleventh century A.D.) the line has a largeness, a simple vivacity, and some kind of an emotional quality. At this stage Nepālese painting is but a component of contemporary East Indian MSS. painting. The paintings of the ASB. MS. No. A. 15 (Fig. 139) and Cambridge MS. Add. 1643, for example, belong to this phase. But already in the twelfth and succeeding centuries there is a progressive desiccation of colour-modelling, and a lessening of the modelling capacity of the line which, moreover, has a tendency to-

wards becoming crisp, dry, and brittle; curves, too, become shorter and clipped. Sharp and hectic 'Western' lines and pointed angles also make their intrusion. Not only do Nepālese paintings at this stage throw aside the refined elegance and exuberance and the continuous, sensitive flux of the 'Eastern' line, but compositionally, too, they bid good-bye to the continuous and sweeping rhythm of the East Indian composition and adopt one that is clipped and divided in single units. The figures stiffen increasingly; they are erect and vigorous, and yet without any substance, accentuating their angles whenever they bend sideways. These are characteristic Nepālese tendencies that are evidenced till as late as the sixteenth century, as applied to Indian themes and formulations. The paintings of the ASB. MS. No. 4203 (dated N. S. 268 = A. D. 1148), of the Durbar Library MS. of the *Nityāhnikatilaka* (dated N. S. 515 = A.D. 1395), and that on the wooden cover of a MS. of about A.D. 1200, for example, belong to this phase.

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1. *Mayamata,* Chaps. XIX and XXI; *ISGDP,* Paṭala XXX; *Tantra-samuchchaya,* Paṭala II; *Suprabhedāgama,* Chap. XXX (*Kesara* of this text is apparently a mistake for *Vesara*); *Kāmikāgama,* Paṭala XLIX; *Kāśyapa-śilpa,* Chap. XXV; *SR,* Chap. XVI; *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra,* Chap. LVII (this text replaces *Vesara* by *Varāṭa*); *Ap.-p.* (MS. in S. K. Roy collection, Fol. 51) omits *Vesara* and mentions, along with *Nāgarī* and *Drāviḍī, Lāṭī* and *Vairāṭī;* an inscription from Holal (Bellary District) adds *Kāliṅga* to the list of *Nāgara, Drāviḍa,* and *Vesara (Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for Epigraphy, for 1915,* pp. 40-90).
2. *Sarvāṇi sarvadeśeshu bhavant-ityapi kechana (ISGDP); Sarvaṁ sarvatra sammatam (Kāmikāgama).*
3. *ISGDP; SR; Kāśyapa-śilpa; Kāmikāgama.* The *Ap.-p.* confines the *Nāgarī (Nāgara)* style to Madhyadeśa (*Nāgarī Madhyadeśe tu*) and mentions *Lāṭī (Lāṭī Lāṭe prakīrtitā)* and *Vairāṭī (Vairāṭī tu svadeśajā),* evidently of Lāṭa and Virāṭa regions, as separate styles, along with the *Nāgarī* and *Drāviḍī.* On the evidence of the monuments *Lāṭī* and *Vairāṭī* should be considered as ramifications of the *Nāgara* style. *Kaliṅga* of the Holal inscription is, likewise, a regional manifestation of the *Nāgara* style.
4. *ISGDP; SR.*
5. *Kāmikāgama; ISGDP; SR.* The interchange of the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara* regions, as we have in the *Kāśyapa-śilpa,* is evidently a mistake.
6. *SR; Tantra-samuchchaya.*
7. *Kāmikāgama; Mayamata.* Here *stūpī* means the top of the *śikhara* and should not be confused with the domical crowning member (technically called *stūpī* or *stūpikā*) of the *Drāviḍa* temples.
8. *Chaturasrāyatāsraṁ yan-Nāgaraṁ parikīrttitam—Kāmikāgama; Mayamata.*
9. *IC,* VII, pp. 74-75.

9a. Cf. Volume III, p. 514.

10. *Drāviḍī dakshiṇe bhāge — Ap.-p.*
11. *Draviḍasyochito deśo Draviḍaḥ syānna chānyathā — ISGDP; SR.*
12. *Kṛishṇādi-Kanyāntam—Kāmikāgama.*
13. *Mayamata; ISGDP; Suprabhedāgama; Tantrasamuchchaya; SR; Kāśyapa-śilpa.*
14. *Kāmikāgama; Mayamata.*
15. The description of the *ISGDP* that a *Drāviḍa* temple may also be square below the neck and octagonal above has a general likeness with the early mediaeval temples of the Dravida country.

15a. Vol. III, pp. 501-7, 514.

16. *HIIA,* figs. 116 and 117; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India,* p. 68, pl. IV, 2.
17. J. Fergusson, *HIEA,* II, p. 92.
18. N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture,* Calcutta, 1932.
19. M. Ganguly, *Orissa and her Remains—Ancient and Mediaeval,* p. 307.

20. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, pp. 338-39.
21. *JRASBL*, XV, pp. 109-14.
22. *HIEA*, II, p. 97.
23. R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 91.
24. *JRASBL*, XIII, pp. 63-73. See above, p. 211.
24a. Another temple of this type may be seen in the Ḍākrā Bhīmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara.
25. Cf. *HIIA*, p. 115. This date is usually accepted by scholars.
26. The author is indebted to Sri N. K. Bose, Calcutta University, for this information.
27. *JASB*, VII, pp. 828-29, pl. XL.
28. Information kindly supplied by Sri N. K. Bose, Calcutta University.
29. *ASI*, 1928-29, p. 16, pl. IV(a).
30. *JBORS*, XV, 65-68, pls. IV and V; *ASC*, XIII, 118-19.
31. Sri N. K. Bose, Calcutta University, kindly supplied the information.
32. *ASI*, 1904-05, pp. 116-20, pls. XXXVI and XXXVII.
33. For a general account of the Orissan temples the following may be consulted:
    R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 2 vols.;
    HIEA, II, pp. 92-111;
    R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, chapter on Architecture;
    Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), pp. 122-32.
34. *ASC*, XVII, p. 28; *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 11-14; 1922-23, pp. 49-50.
34a. See *Classical Age*, Fig. 32.
35. *ASC*, II, pp. 201 ff.; *ASI*, 1909-10, pp. 15-16; 1924-25, p. 33.
36. *ASC*, XVII, p. 8; *ASIWC*, 1903-04, p. 50; *ASI*, 1909-10, p. 16.
37. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 61-62, pl. XVIII (b).
38. *Ibid.*, p. 66, pl. XVIII (a).
39. *HIEA*, II, pp. 133-34.
40. *JDL*, XXIX, Article No. 8.
41. For temples at Amarkantak, *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 53-60, pls. XIII-XVI.
42. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 48-53, pls. X-XII.
43. *HIEA*, II, p. 141; *HIIA*, p. 104; *Br. I.A.*, p. 133.
44. It should be remembered, however, that the *sāndhāra garbhagṛiha* and *aṅgaśikharas* on the main tower do not always go together, the former being recognised only in a few temples of the group. Temples of the *sāndhāra* class are also found in Western India.
44a. Vol. III, pp. 501-507.
45. Stella Kramrisch, *KHT*, II, p. 367.
46. *Ibid*, p. 372.
47. *ASC*, II, pp. 427-28, 430-31.
48. *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 32-35, 41, pls. I and VI.
49. *ASC*, XI, pp. 46-47; *ASI*, 1908-09, pp. 17-18.
50. *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.
51. *Ibid*, p. 20.
52. *ASC*, VII, pp. 160-62.
53. *Ibid*, pp. 199-200.
54. *Ibid*, IX, pp. 60-74.
55. *ASI*, 1915-16, pt. 1, p. 18.
56. *HIEA*, II, p. 51.
57. P. C. Mukherji, *Report on the antiquarian remains* in the *Lalitpur district*, pl. 39.
58. *ASC*, XIII, pp. 132 ff.
59. *HIEA*, II, p. 51.
60. *HIIA*, p. 110.
61. *KHT*, II, p. 348.
62. For a general account of these temples reference may be made to *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 42; 1908-09, pp. 100-115. The site was known as Ukeśā, as known from a fragmentary inscription in the Mahāvīra temple at Osia. For the date of the Buchkala Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II, see *EI*, IX, 199.
63. *KHT*, II, p. 404.
63a. The Mahāvīra temple seems to have an interesting history covering a period of several centuries. According to a fragmentary inscription, the original shrine of Mahāvīra seems to date back to the period of Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratīhāra king in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Subsequently it fell into disrepair and a certain amount of renovation work was undertaken by a merchant, named Jinodaka, in Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1013 (A.D. 956). Finally,

in Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1075 (A. D. 1018) the ornamental *toraṇa* was set up by two individuals whose names are lost. The style of the temple with the *śikhara* of the sanctum surrounded by clusters of *aṅga-śikharas* belongs to the eleventh century A.D., though the evidences of the earlier history of the shrine are fully supported by the varied forms of the pillars of the *maṇḍapa,* of the porch and of the *toraṇa* in front. The *śikhara* itself was put together with old materials about a century back, but it essentially retains the form of the eleventh century A.D. The original shrine of Sachiyā Mātā may go back to the eighth century A.D. But the present temple can hardly be earlier than the twelfth when, according to an inscription, dated Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1234 (A.D. 1177) the *jaṅghāghara* was furnished with certain sculptures by a banker of the name of Gayapāla.

64. *Br. I.A.*, p. 148.
65. *KHT,* II, pl. LXXVI.
66. Stella Kramrisch, *Art of India,* pls. 132-33.
67. *Ibid,* p. 210.
68. For a general account, reference may be made to *HIEA,* II, pp. 36-43; Henry Cousens, *AAWI,* pp. 46-49; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 147-48, 149.
69. Henry Cousens, *AAWI,* p. 46.
70. *Ibid,* p. 47.
71. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* p. 37.
72. The author is grateful to Sri N. K. Bose, Calcutta University, for this information.
73. Henry Cousens thinks they were made of stone—*Somnath,* p. 37.
74. *Ibid,* p. 6.
75. *HIIA,* p. 82.
76. *Br. I.A.*, p. 159.
77. James Burgess, *Report on the antiquities of Kathiawar and Kach,* p. 7; *HIIA,* p. 82; *Br. I.A.*, p. 159. Recently a radio-carbon test of the wood fragment, found in the Gop temple, was conducted by Dr. Syamadas Chaterji in the physics Laboratory, University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta. According to the test, Dr. Chaterji reports, the wood fragment is approximately 1400 years old. The view of the archaeologists, who place the temple in the sixth century A.D., is thus confirmed by a scientific method of dating objects. H. D. Sankalia (*AG,* p. 59) is inclined to ascribe the temple to the fifth century A.D.
78. H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* pp. 57-59.
79. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pp. 6-7.
80. *Ibid,* pl. XLVIII.
81. *Ibid,* pp. 44-45.
82. *Ibid,* p. 40.
83. *Ibid,* p. 40; H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* pp. 59-62.
84. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pp. 38-39; H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* pp. 60, 63.
85. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pp. 7, 41; H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* pp. 59, 62; *Br. I.A.*, p. 159.
86. H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* p. 60.
87. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* p. 40.
88. *Ibid,* p. 40.
89. *Ibid,* p. 41.
90. James Burgess, *AANG,* p. 109.
91. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pl. XC.
92. *Ibid,* pp. 53-54, pl. LVI.
93. H. D. Sankalia (*AG,* pp. 83-84) is inclined to include the Ranik Devī temple at Wadhwān and the above-mentioned temple at Sandera among the examples of the Solāṅkī temple. But the above distinctive features, characteristic of the early *Nāgara* temple, are too emphatic, and it is difficult to class them otherwise.
94. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pp. 51-52, pls. LII, LIV.
95. *Ibid,* p. 51.
96. *Ibid,* pl. LI.
97. *Br. I.A.*, p. 145.
98. H. D. Sankalia, *AG,* p. 74.
99. James Burgess, *AANG,* p. 88, pl. LXVII.
100. *Ibid,* p. 109.
101. Henry Cousens, *Somnath,* pp. 69-70, pl. LXXXVIII.
102. James Burgess, *AANG,* p. 107.
103. Henry Cousens. *Somnath,* p. 62, Pl. LXXI.
104. *HIEA,* II, pp. 133-34, Fig. 281. Triple-shrined temples, though rare in con-

ception, are found over a wide region, as for example, in Central India, in Khāndesh, and in the Kannaḍa districts.

105. James Burgess, *AANG*, p. 110. Only the *maṇḍapa* is now left. From three entrance porticos H. D. Sankalia is inclined to class it with the triple-shrined group (*AG*, p. 43). But neither the plan, nor the character of the remains would warrant such an assumption.
106. James Burgess, *AANG*, p. 11.
107. Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, p. 63.
108. James Burgess, *AANG*, pp. 75 ff; *HIIA*, p. 111; Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, pp. 37-39; Percy Brown, *Br.I.A.*, pp. 145-47; H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, pp. 73, 84 ff; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 178.
109. Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, p. 39.
109a. An individual feature of the typical Solāṅkī temple is the beaded *āmalakaśilā* surmounting the *śikhara*. That such a member was also the crowning element of the *śikhara* of the sanctum of the Moḍhera temple is indicated by the fragment of a huge *āmalaka* found among the ruins that lie scattered round about.
110. Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, p. 36; *AAWI*, p. 42; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 148.
111. Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 57-58; *AAWI*, pp. 42-43; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 148.
112. James Burgess, *AANG*, pp. 60-69 and pls.; Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, pp. 36-37; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 148-49.
113. James Burgess, *AANG*, p. 84 and pls.; *HIEA*, II, p. 136; Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, pp. 36, 37.
114. Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 1 ff; *AAWI*, pp. 40-42; *HIEA*, II, p. 134-35.
115. Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pls. XII-XIII.
116. *HIEA*, II, Fig. 281.
117. James Burgess, *AANG*, p. 115.
118. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, p. 92, pl. LXXXVII.
119. *Ibid*, pp. 41-44, pls. XIII-XV, XXII.
120. *Ibid*, pls. IX, XI.
121. *Ibid*, pls. XII, XIII.
122. *Ibid*, pls. XL, XLV.
123. *Ibid*, pp. 72-73, pl. LII.
124. *Ibid*, p. 73, pl. LII.
125. *Ibid*, p. 73.
126. *Ibid*, p. 72.
127. *Ibid*, pp. 68-70, pls. XLIX, L; Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, pp. 24-25; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 83, pls. XLV, XLVII.
128. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pl. XXVI; Stella *Kramrisch, Art of India*, p. 203, pl. 57.
129. *Ibid*, p. 205, pl. 76.
130. For mediaeval monuments of the Dakhan reference may be made to Henry Cousens, *MTD; AAWI*, pp. 51-57; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 152-55.
131. Stella Kramrisch, *KHT*, I, pp. 218-19.
132. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, p. 7.
133. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, II. p. 147; Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 13-18 pls. III-V, IX; *AAWI*, pp. 52-54, pl. 43; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 153-54, pl. XLV.
134. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 23-24, pls. XVI, XXI, XXII; *AAWI*, p. 57, pl. 46; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 154.
135. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 24-25, pls. XVIII, XXI; *AAWI*, p. 57; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 154.
136. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 28-29, pls. XXV, XXVII, XXVIII.
137. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, II, pp. 144-46, pl. XXV, Figs. 343, 344; Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 36, 39, pls. XLII, XLIII, XLVII, XLIII; *AAWI*, pp. 54-55, pl. 44; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 154, pl. XCIX.
138. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, pp. 41-43, pls. LIII, LV; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pl. XLV.
139. Henry Cousens, *MTD*, p. 55, pl. LXXX.
140. *ASC*, VII, pl. VI; James Fergusson, *HIEA*, II, p. 147; Stella Kramrisch, *KHT*, I, p. 256, II, pp. 389-96, pls. XLIII-LII.
140a. See above, p. 68.
140b. Percy Brown (*Br. I.A.*, p. 139) thinks that the Udayapura temple shows "by its style an affinity to the Chandella group of temples at Khajurāho." But none of the temples at Khajurāho exhibits this characteristic design which is pre-eminently Dakhanese.
141. Stella Kramrisch, *KHT*, II, p. 391.
142. *Ibid*, p. 391.
143. *ASR*, 1912-13, pt. 1, pp. 27-29; 1915-16, pp. 39-48.

144. *ASR*, 1905-06, pp. 17 ff.
145. For Chambā temples reference may be made to *ASC*, XIV, pp. 109-114.
146. *ASR*, 1909-10, pp. 18-24.
147. *JISOA*, II, pp. 135-36, *HBR*, I, pp. 499-500, figs. 82, 84, 104.
148. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pls. XIX(b), XC(a), XCIV(b).
149. *ASC*, VIII, p. 154; *JISOA*, I, pp. 125-27, pl. XXXVI; *HBR*, I, p. 499, fig. 81.
150. *ASR*, 1934-35, p. 43, pl. XIX(a); *HBR*, I, pp. 500-01, fig. 85.
151. *ASC*, VIII, p. 202; *ASR*, 1921-22, pp. 84-85; 1922-23, pp. 58-59; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Fig. 213; *JISOA*, II, pp. 139-40; *HBR*, I, p. 501, fig. 86.
152. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 108.
153. *ASR*, 1927-28, p. 41.
154. *JISOA*, II, pp. 140-41; *HBR*, I, p. 501, fig. 88.
155. *JISOA*, II, p. 141; *HBR*, I, pp. 501-02, fig. 89.
156. A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture* (*MASI*, No. 17); James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 331-38; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 96-97; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, pp. 180-81; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pp. 102-104.
157. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, p. 362; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 105; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 98-99; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 183.
158. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 98.
159. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 357-59; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pp. 104-05; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 99-100; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 183.
160. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 100.
161. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I. pp. 359-60; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 100.
162. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 100.
163. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 105.
164. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 100.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Ibid.*
167. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 352-57; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 61-66; *AAWI* pp. 22-23; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 95; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 83-85; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 168.
168. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 29-32; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 95; above. Vol. III, p. 506.
169. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 60-61.
170. *Ibid*, pp. 66-68.
171. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 342-46; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pp. 104-05; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 89-90; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, pp. 183-86.
172. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas* (2nd Edn.), pp. 699-700.
173. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 102-03; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, pp. 705-06.
174. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 103.
175. See above pp. 234 ff.
176. Sastri, *Colas*, p. 184.
177. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 362-64; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 122; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 103-04; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 189; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, pp. 710-13.
178. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 104.
179. *Ibid.*
180. A. K. Commaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 122; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 104-05; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, pp. 713-14.
181. *Colas*, p. 713.
182. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 105.
183. *Ibid*, p. 108; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*, pp. 717-19.
184. *Colas*, pp. 720-22.
185. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 109 ff; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, pp. 190-91.
186. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, p. 17.
187. The only exception is the Sarasvatī temple at Gadag (Dhārwār District). See *Ibid*, pp. 110-12; pl. CXX.
188. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 426-27; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 75-76; *AAWI*, p. 28; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 175-76.
189. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 77-79; *AAWI*, pp. 27-28; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 176.
190. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, p. 77.
191. *Ibid*, pp. 83-84; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 176.
192. Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, p. 83.
193. *Ibid*, pp. 85, 87.

194. *Ibid*, p. 89.
195. *Ibid*, p. 88.
196. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 428-29; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 79-82; *AAWI*, pp. 29-30; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 176-77.
197. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I. pp. 424-25; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 100-02; *AAWI*, pp. 30-31; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 177.
198. Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, p. 30.
199. Cousens speaks of the hall as having sixty-eight pillars. Percy Brown also follows his description. But the published plan (Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pl. CV) shows only fifty-six pillars, twenty-six of which support the roof, while the remaining, over the *kakshāsanas*, carry the eaves.
200. Meadows Taylor, *Architecture of Dharwar and Maisur*, p. 47.
201. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 429-31; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, p. 103; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 177-78.
202. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 429-31; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 109-113; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 178.
203. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 431-32; Henry Cousens, *CAKD*, pp. 114-15; *AAWI*, p. 32; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 178.
204. Henry Cousens, *AAWI*, p. 32.
205. Percy Brown would class the Hoysala temple as "distinct from all others" because of this conformation. *Br. I.A.*, p. 168.
206. *Ibid*, p. 170.
207. James Fegusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 437-38; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 170-71; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, p. 193.
208. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 438-441; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 171.
209. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 444-50; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 171-73.
210. *Ibid*, p. 171.
211. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 442-43; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 172.
212. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, p. 443.
213. Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, p. 173.
214. James Fergusson, *HIEA*, I, pp. 251-72; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 143; Percy Brown, *Br. I.A.*, pp. 185-94; Benjamin Rowland, *AAI*, pp. 119-20. For detailed accounts of the Kāshmir monuments reference may be made to R. C. Kak's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*.
215. *ASI*, 1922-23, pp. 116-23; 1925-26, pp. 107-13, 141; 1926-27, pp. 140-149, 119; 1927-28, pp. 38-39, 144-45, 101-11; 1928-29, pp. 97-98; 1930-34, pt. I, pp. 113-18; *Paharpur*.
216. *ASI*, 1930-34, pl. xvii; *Paharpur*, pl. I.
217. *Ibid*, p. 7.
218. *ASI*, 1935-36, pp. 55-66, pl. xix-xxi; 1936-37, pp. 47-50, pl. xxi.
219. *Paharpur*, p. 25, pl. xx(b).
220. *Ibid*, p. 8.
221. Dikshit uses the word 'outline' (*Ibid*, p. 7) which pre-supposes an earlier structure that served as the nucleus for additions and amplifications at different periods. As it stands now, the temple belongs wholesale to a single period of construction and if any earlier structure existed it served as a model for the present monument, which was conceived on a much grander scale, and not as a nucleus for later additions and accretions.
222. *JGIS*, IX, pp. 5-28.
223. The problem of the occurrence on the basement of stone sculptures of varied style, a few of the earlier dates, has been discussed in detail by the present writer in *IC*, VII, pp. 35-40 and sketch, and also in *HBR*, I, pp. 508-09.
224. *Illustrated London News*, January 29, 1927, p. 160.
225. *ASI*, 1925-26, p. 109.
226. *Brihat-saṁhitā*. LII. 36 also relevant commentary; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 269, 34-35; *JISOA*, II, p. 137.
227. *ASI*. 1925-26, p. 113.
228. *JGIS*, IX, pp. 5-28 and plates.
229. *ASI*, 1927-28, p. 39.
230. *OZ*, 1930, Pl. 33.
231. See above, pp. 536 ff.
232. Brahmor wood-carving of Chambā, c. A.D. 700. Cf. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, Pl. VII, etc.
232a. *HIIA*, Fig. 273.
233. Cf. Vol. IV. p. 134.
233a. *KIS*. Fig. 112.
234. *HBR*, I, 555.

TEXT FIGURES

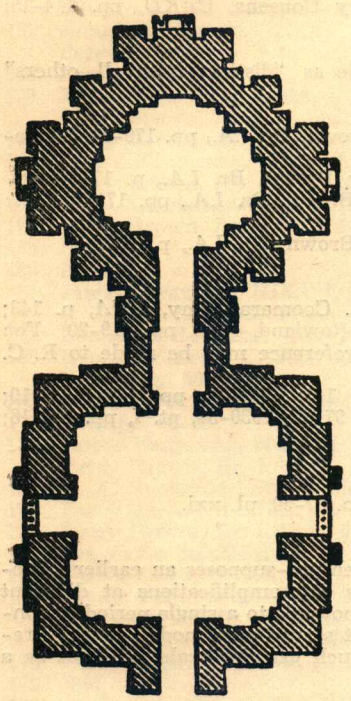

Fig. 1
Bhuvaneśvara, Rājārāṇī Temple: Plan

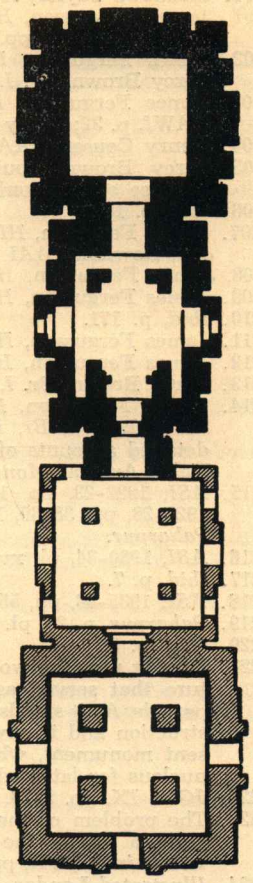

Fig. 2
Bhuvaneśvara, Liṅgarāja Temple: Plan

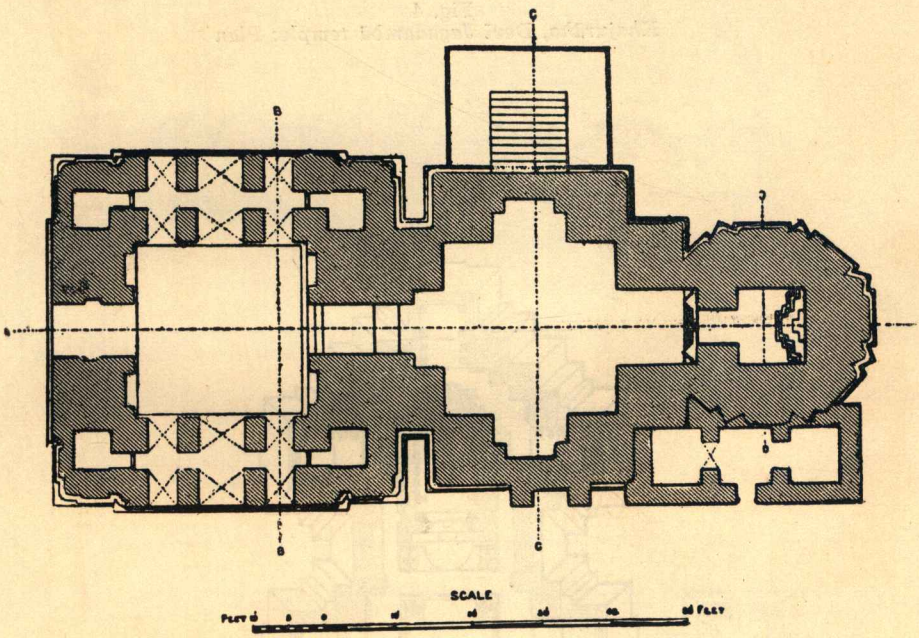

Fig. 3
Nurpur Fort, Temple: Plan

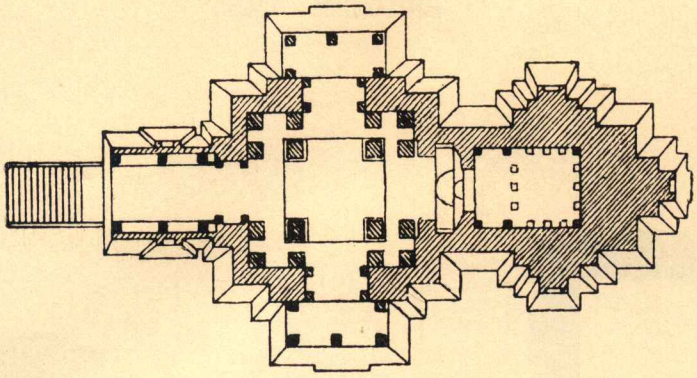

Fig. 4
Khajurāho, Devī Jagadambā temple: Plan

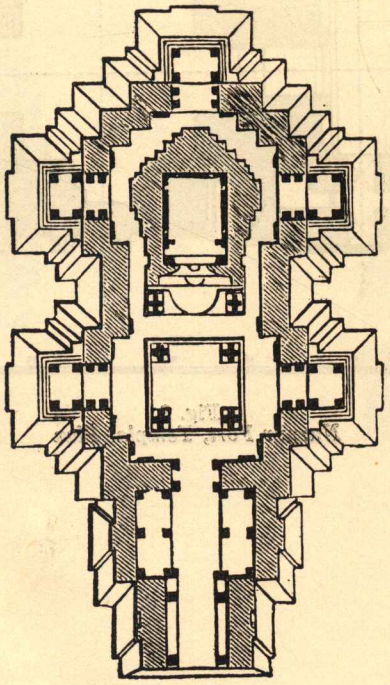

Fig. 5
Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo temple: Plan

Fig. 6
Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo temple: Section

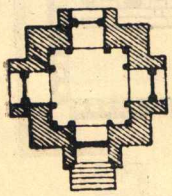

Fig. 7
Khajurāho, Brahmā temple: Plan

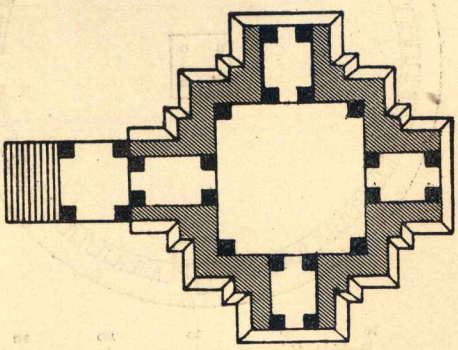

Fig. 8
Khajurāho, Mritaṅg Mahādeo Temple: Plan

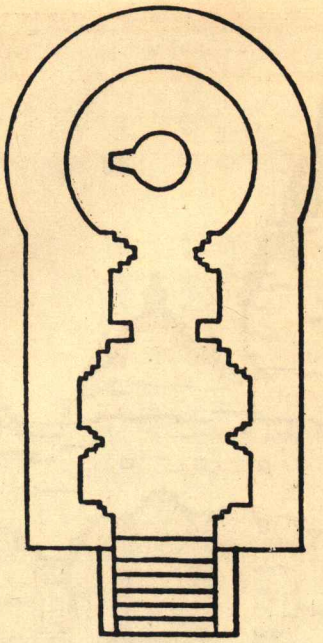

Fig. 9
Chandrehe, Circular temple: Plan

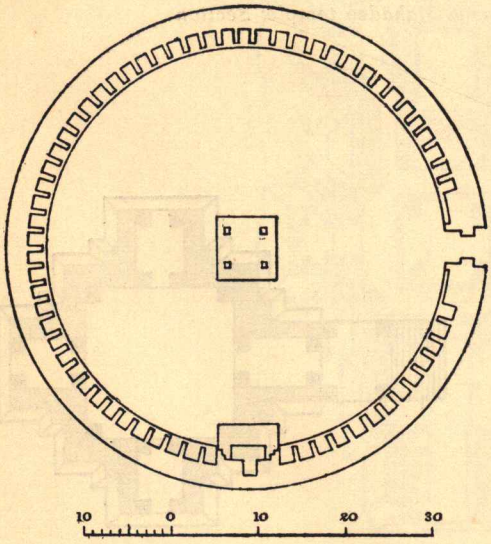

Fig. 10
Rāṇīpur Jhariāl, Circular Yoginī temple: Plan

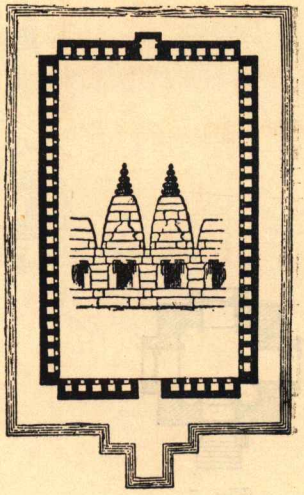

Fig. 11
Khajurāho, Chauṅshaṭ Yoginī temple: Plan

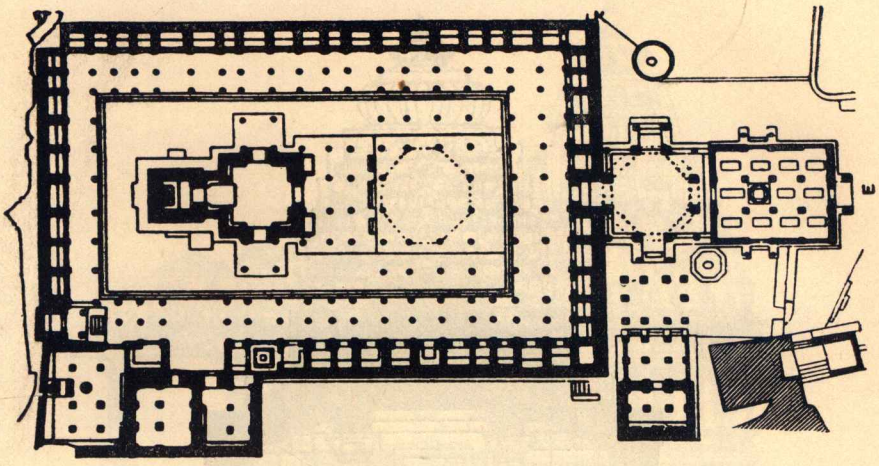

Fig. 12
Dilwārā, Vimala's temple: Plan

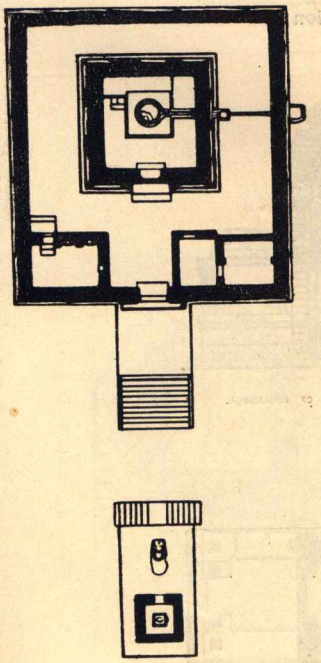

Fig. 13
Villeśvara, Śiva temple: Plan

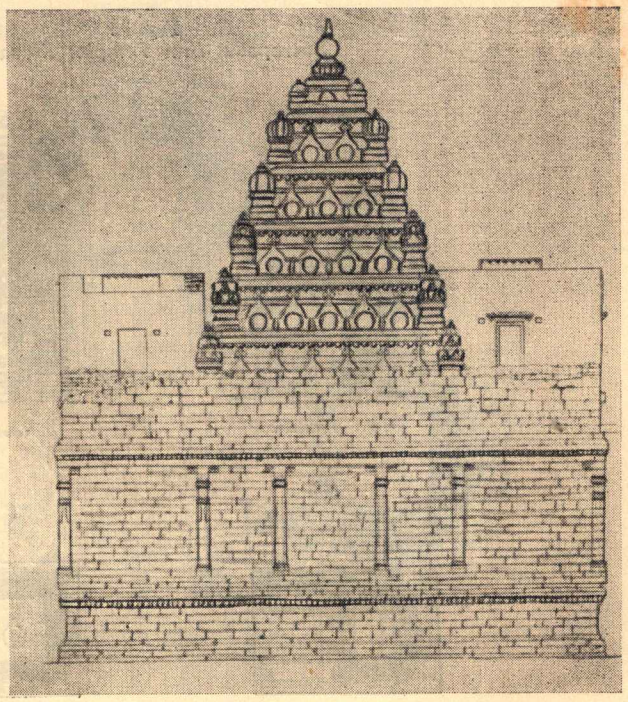

Fig. 14
Villeśvara, Śiva temple: Elevation

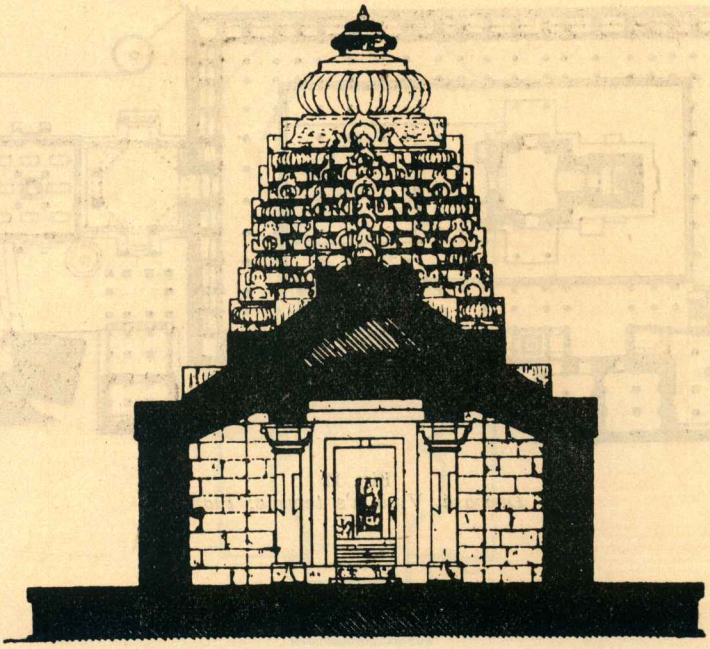

Fig. 15
Sutrapada, Sun Temple: Elevation

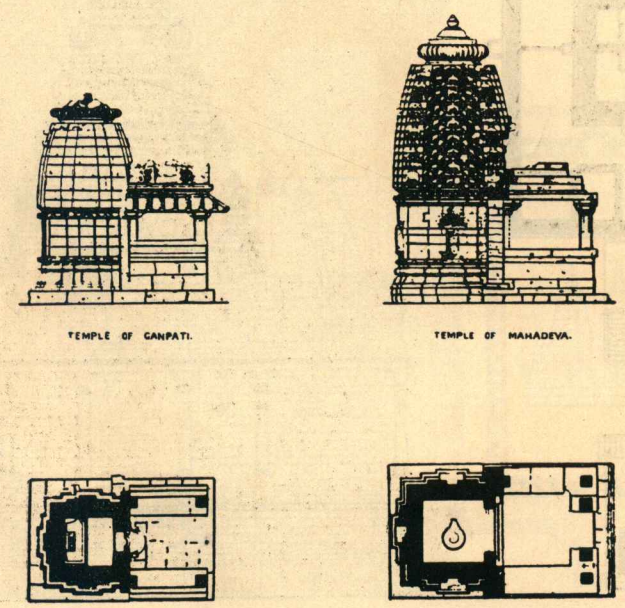

Fig. 16
Miani, Gaṇapati and Mahādeva temples: Plan and Elevation

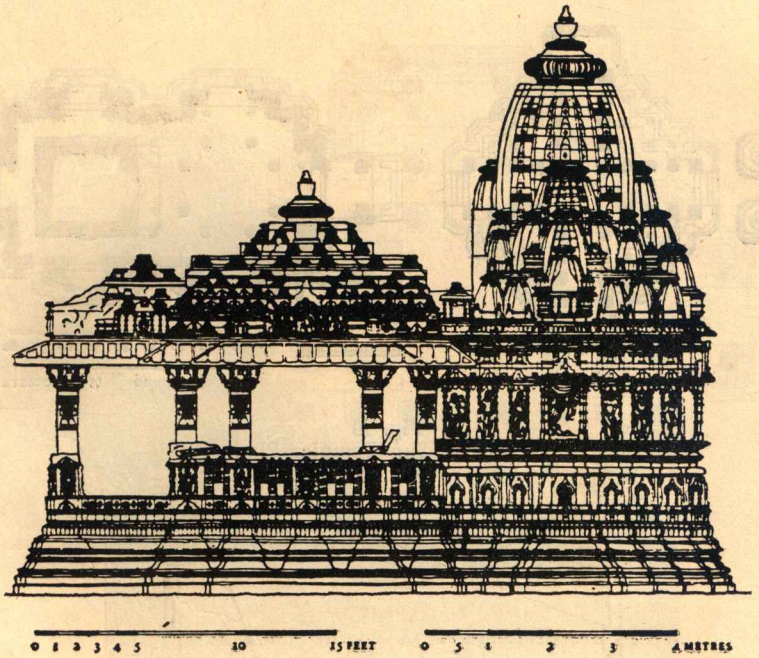

Fig. 17
Sunak, Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple: Elevation

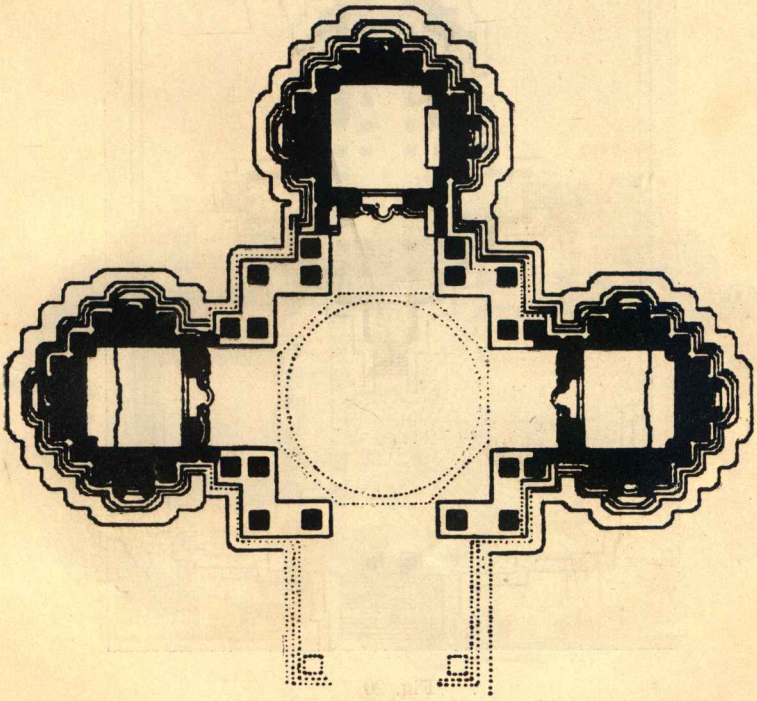

Fig. 18
Kasara, Triple-shrined temple: Plan

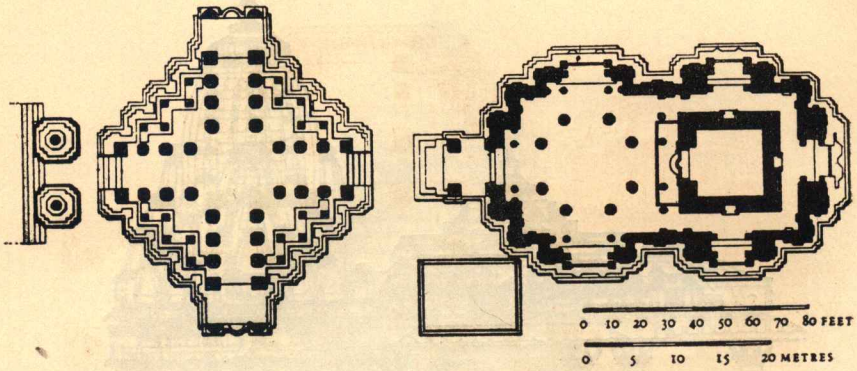

Fig. 19
Moḍhera, Sun Temple: Plan

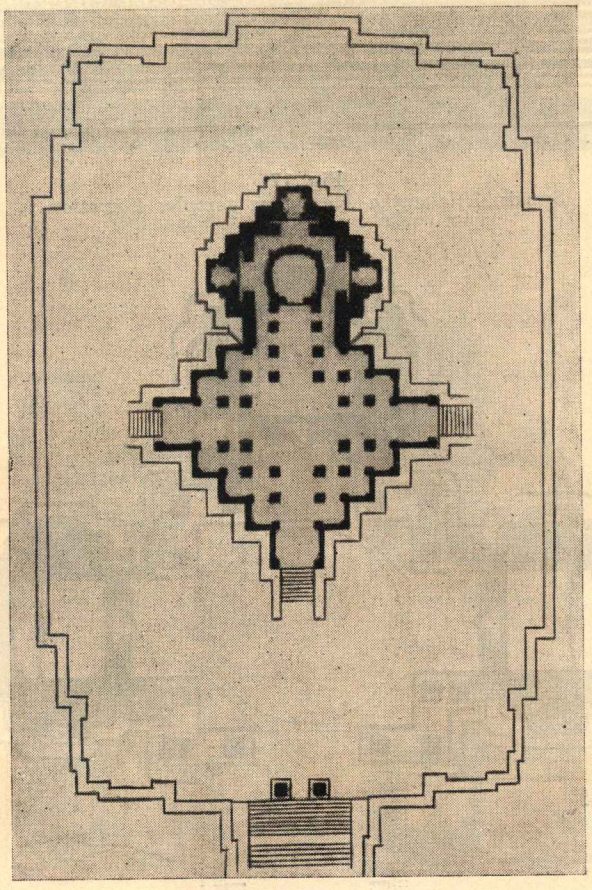

Fig. 20
Ghumli, Navalākhā temple: Plan

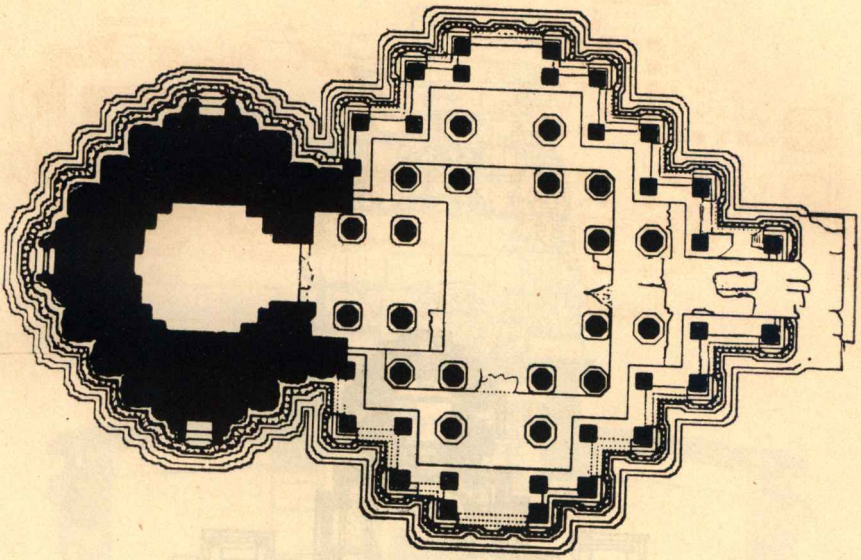

Fig. 21
Sejakpur, Navalākhā temple: Plan

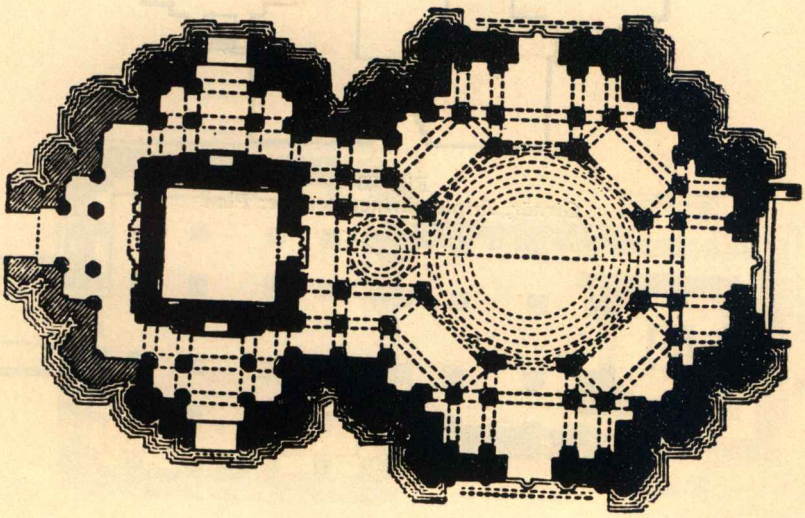

Fig. 22
Somanāthapattana: Somanātha temple: Plan

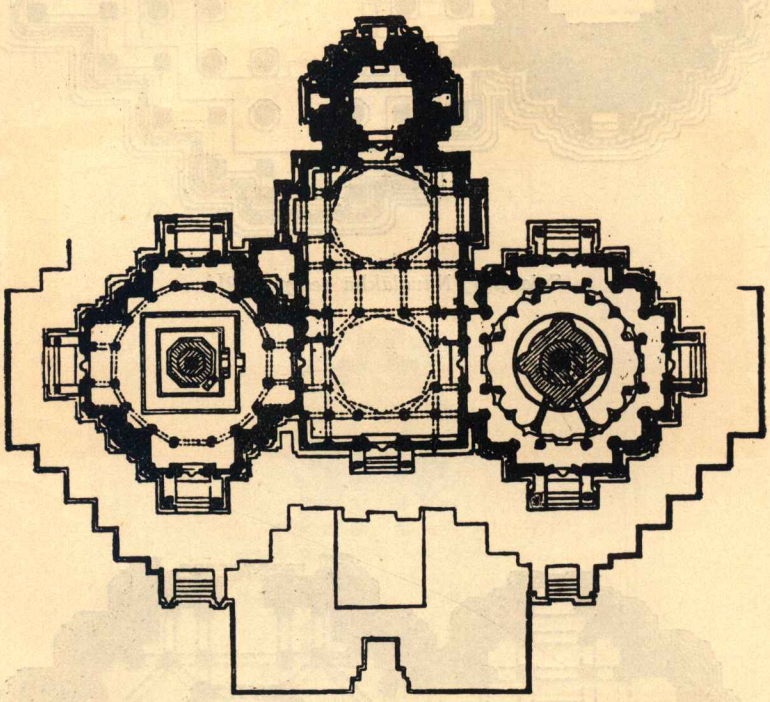

Fig. 23
Girnār, Triple-shrined temple: Plan

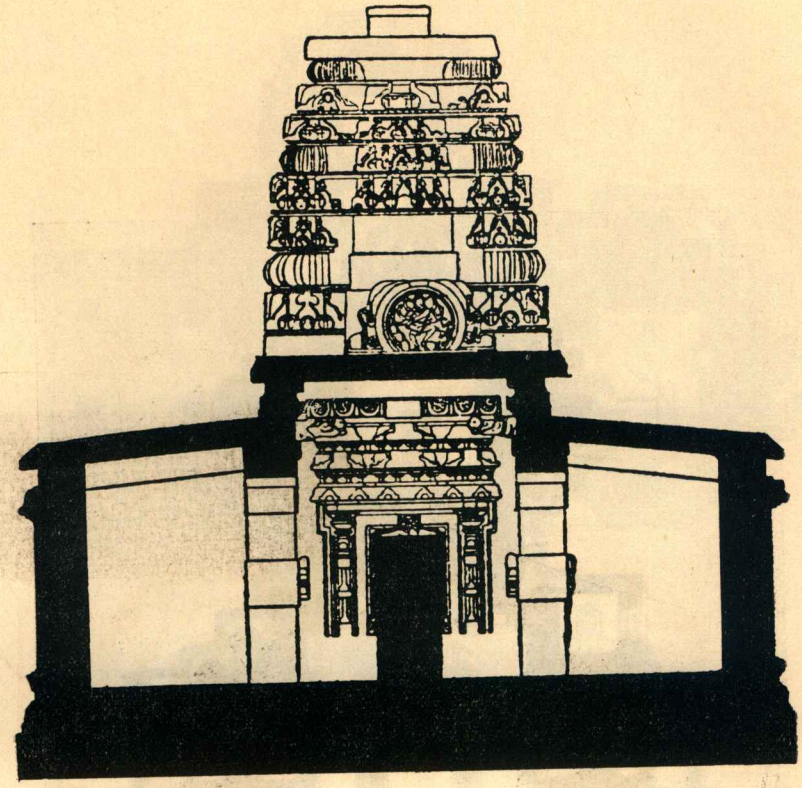

Fig. 24
Aihoḷe, Temple No. 9: Elevation

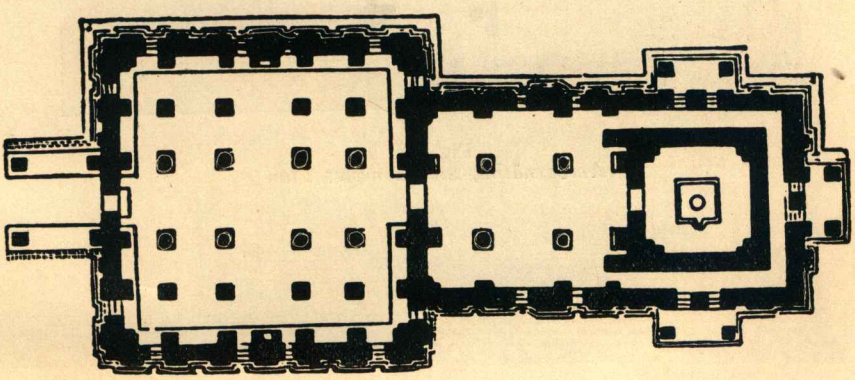

Fig. 25
Paṭṭadakal: Pāpanātha temple: Plan

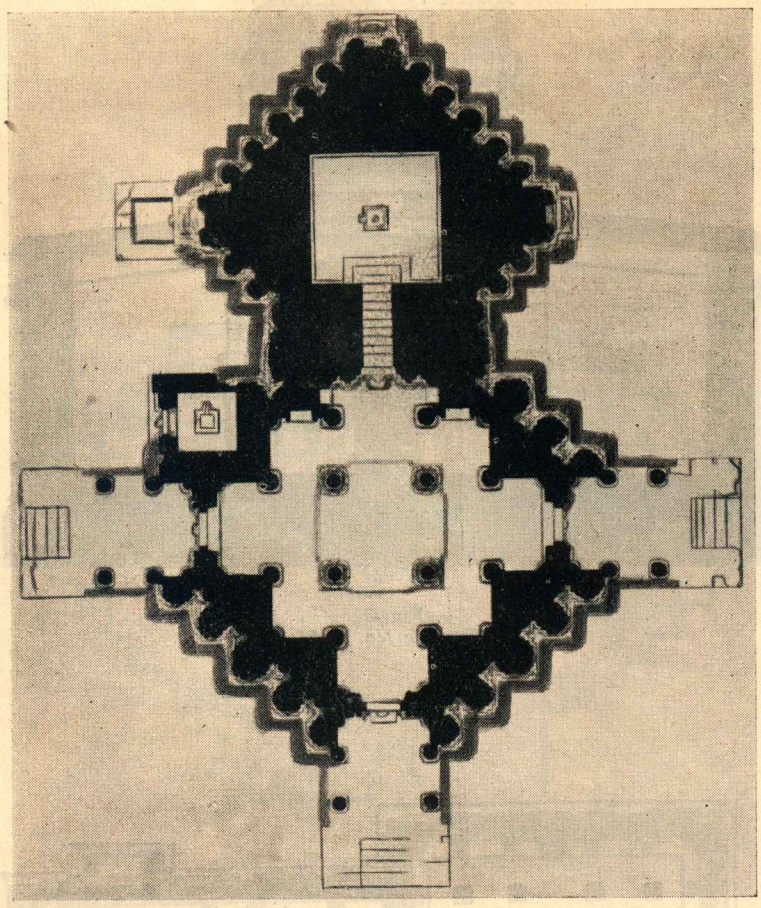

Fig. 26
Ambarnātha, Śiva temple: Plan

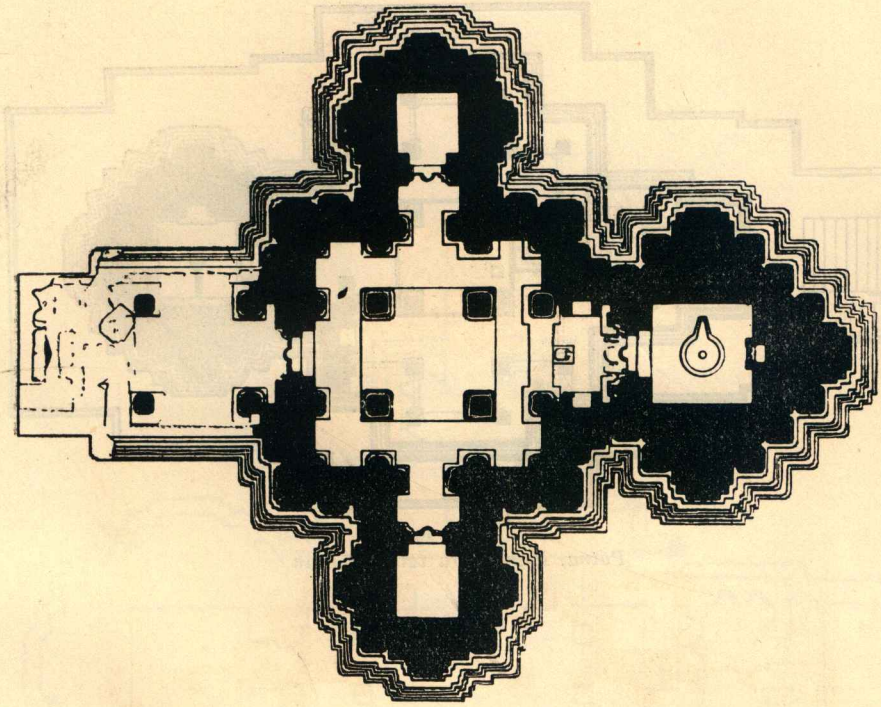

Fig. 27
Balsane: Temple No. 1: Plan

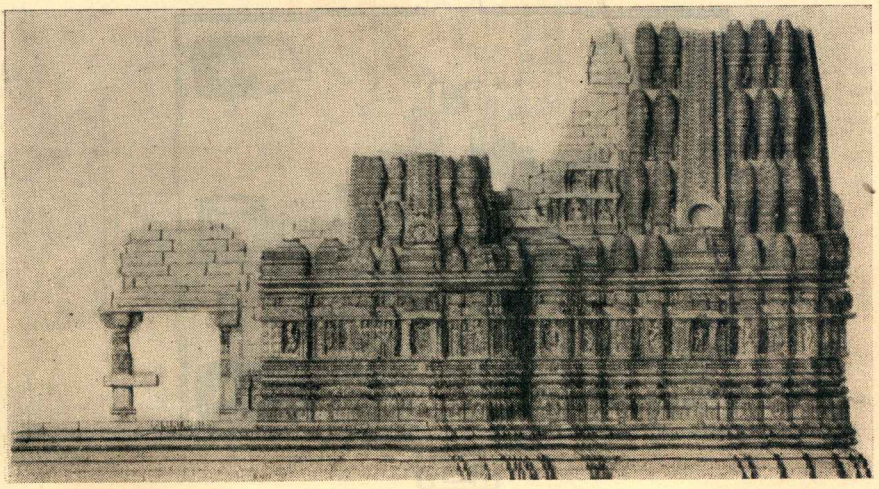

Fig. 28
Balsane, Temple No. 1: Elevation

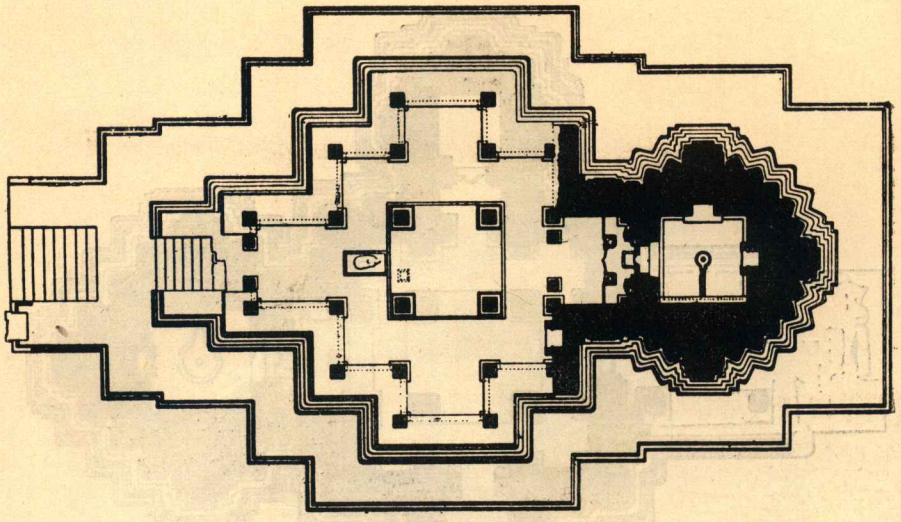

Fig. 29
Patna, Maheśvara temple: Plan

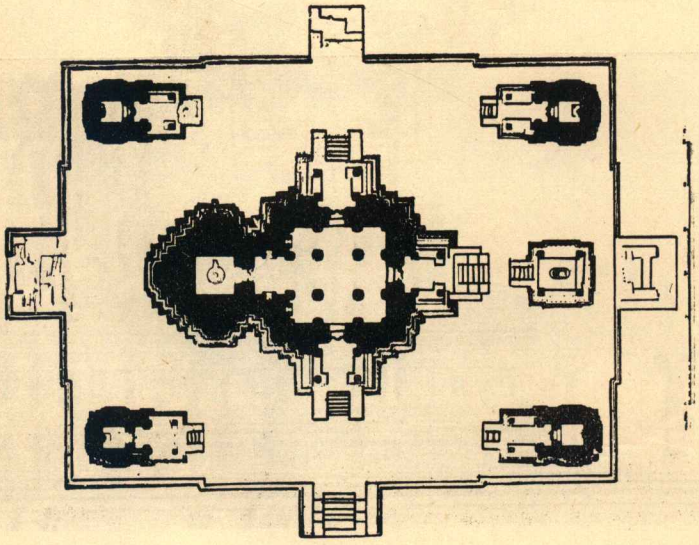

Fig. 30
Sinnar, Gondeśvara temple: Plan

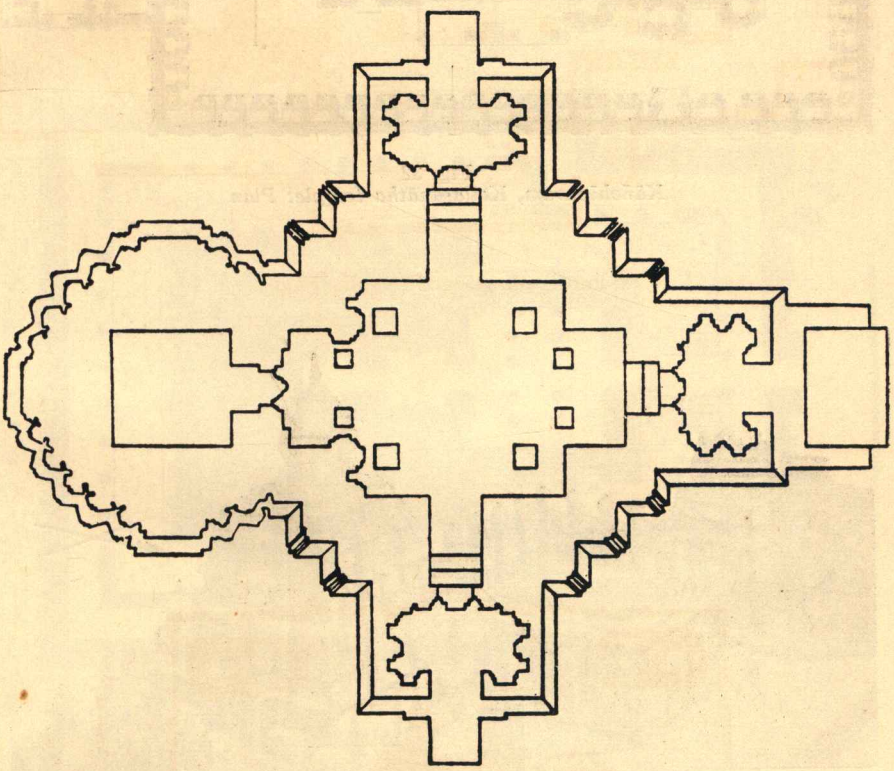

Fig. 31
Udayapura, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple: Plan

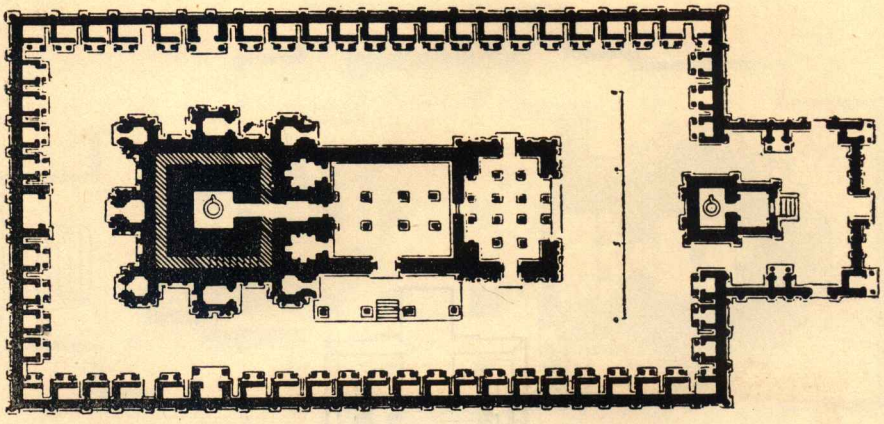

Fig. 32
Kāñchīpuram, Kailāsanātha temple: Plan

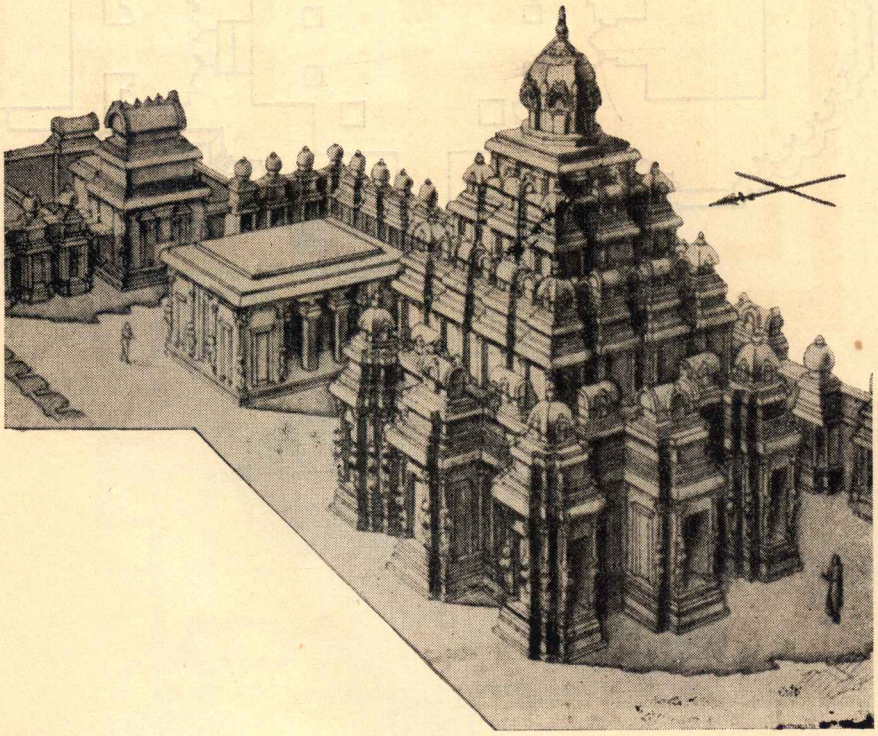

Fig. 33
Kāñchīpuram, Kailāsanātha temple: Section

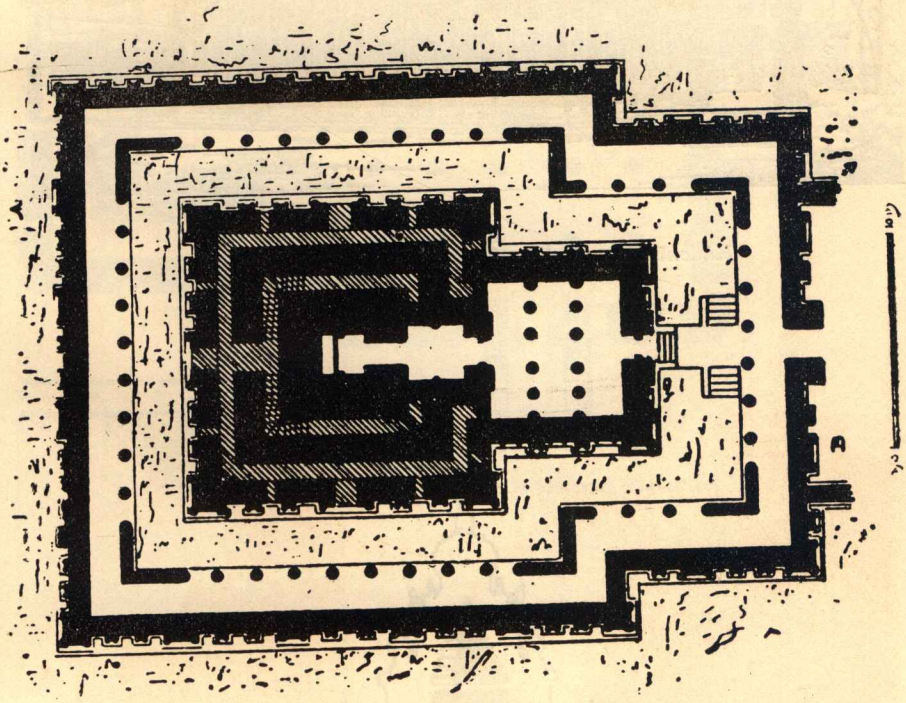

Fig. 34
Kāñchīpuram, Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple: Plan

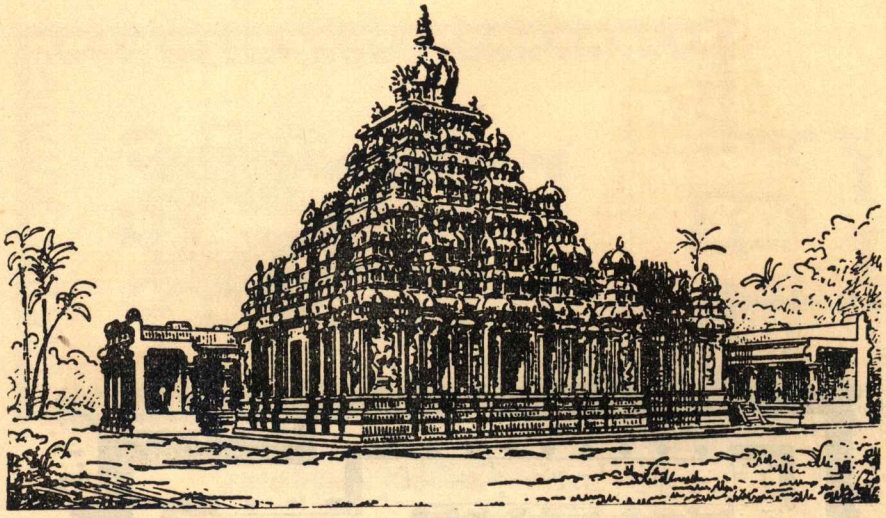

Fig. 35
Kāñchīpuram Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple: Section

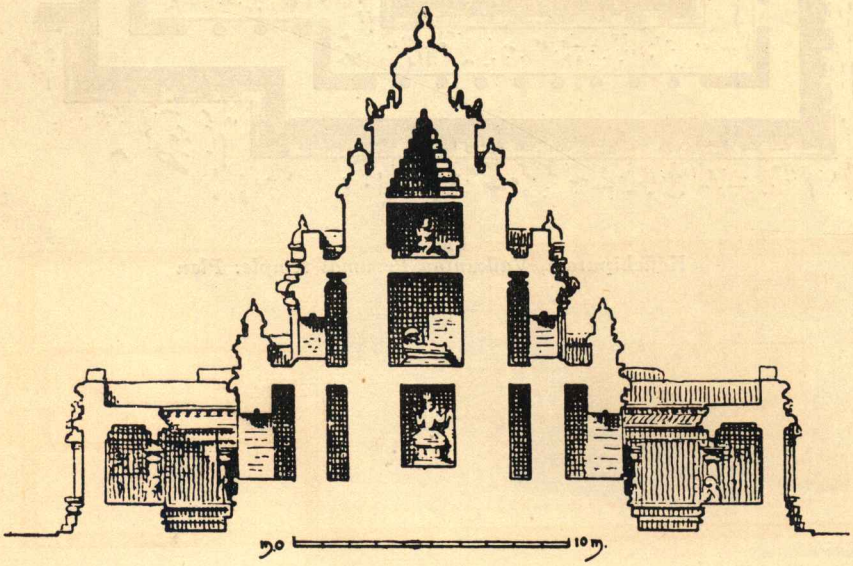

Fig. 36
Kāñchīpuram Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple: Section

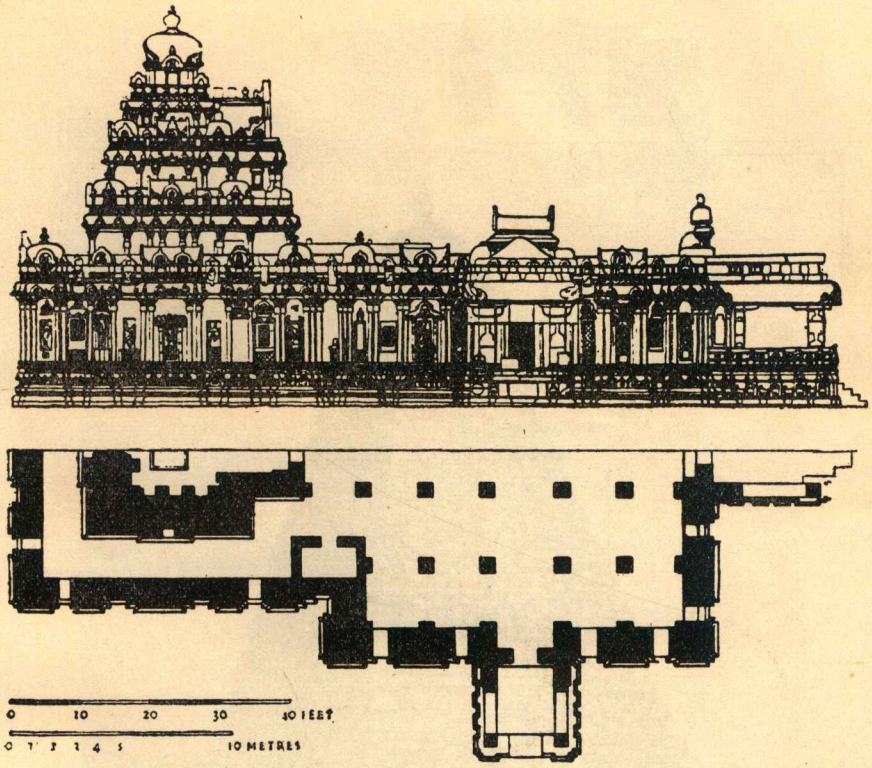

Fig. 37
Paṭṭadakal, Virūpāksha temple: Plan and Elevation

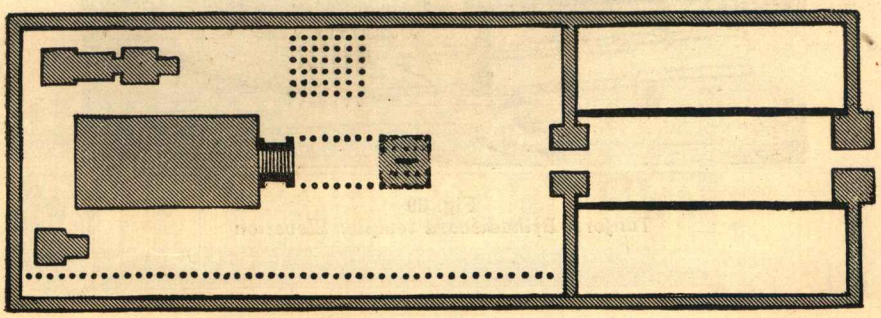

Fig. 38
Tanjore, Bṛihadīśvara temple: Plan

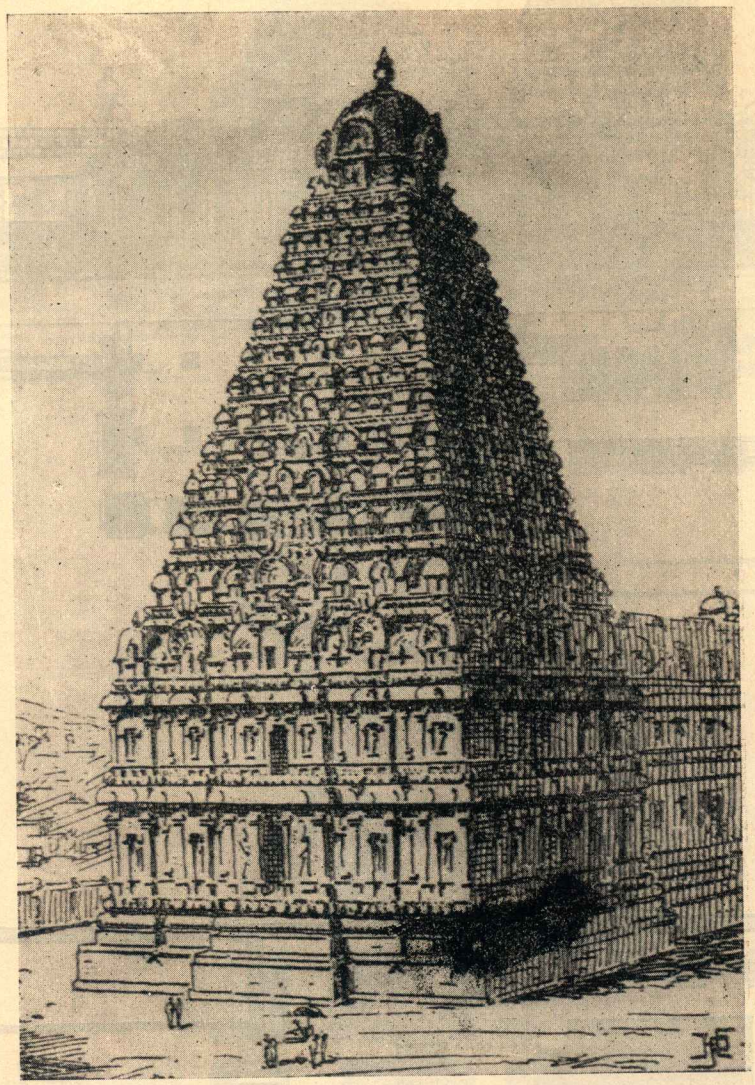

Fig. 39
Tanjore, Bṛihadīśvara temple: Elevation

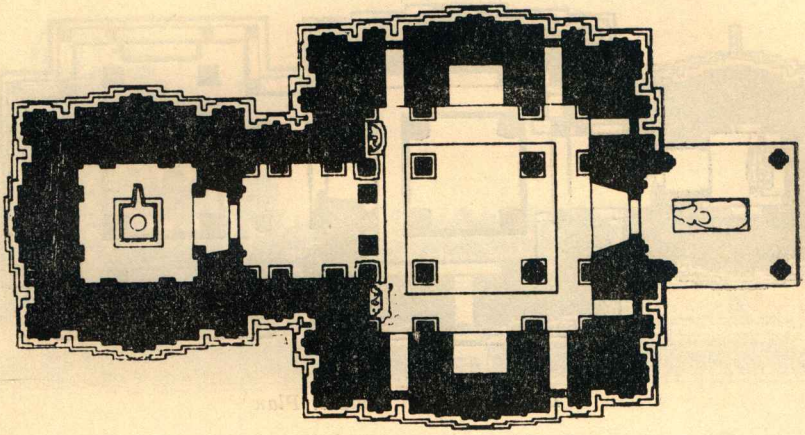

Fig. 40
Kukkanur, Kalleśvara temple: Plan

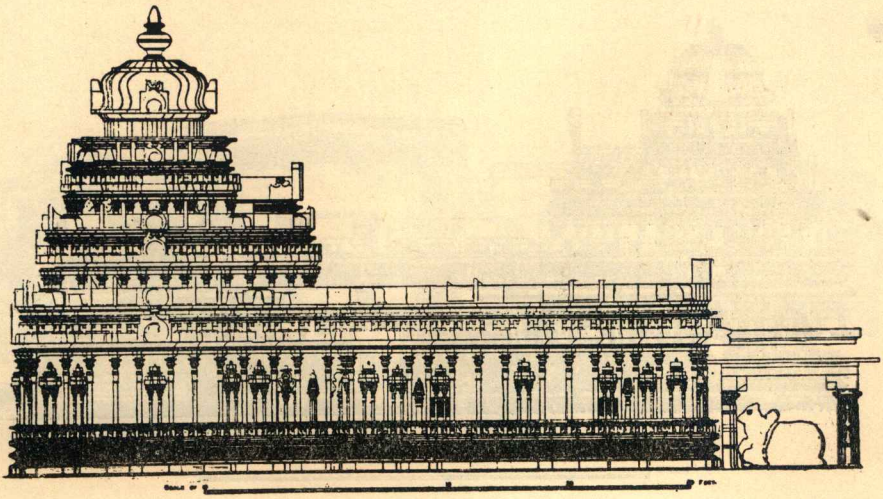

Fig. 41
Kukkanur, Kalleśvara temple: Elevation

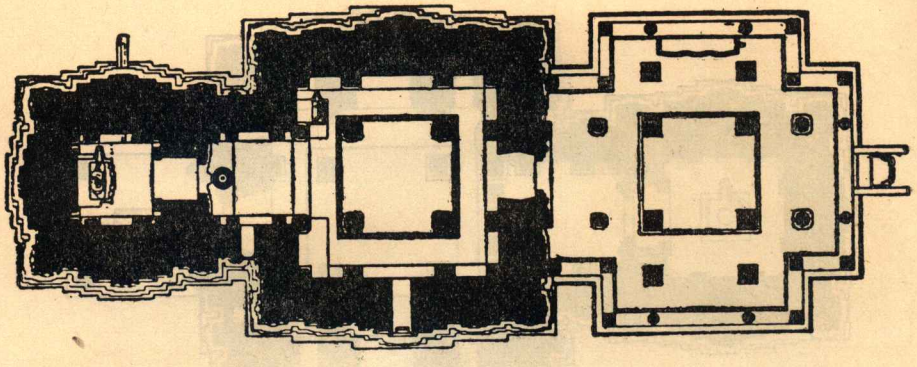

Fig. 42
Lakkundi, Jain temple: Plan

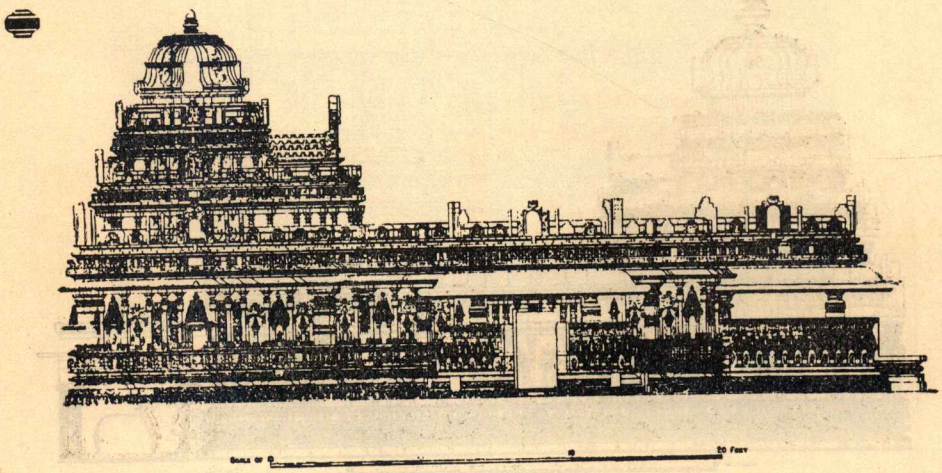

Fig. 43
Chauddadampur, Mukteśvara temple: Elevation

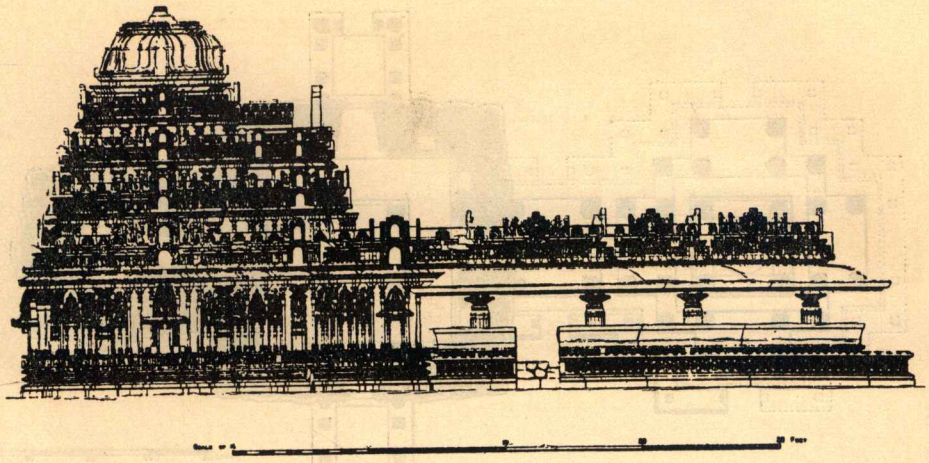

Fig. 44
Haveri, Siddheśvara temple: Elevation

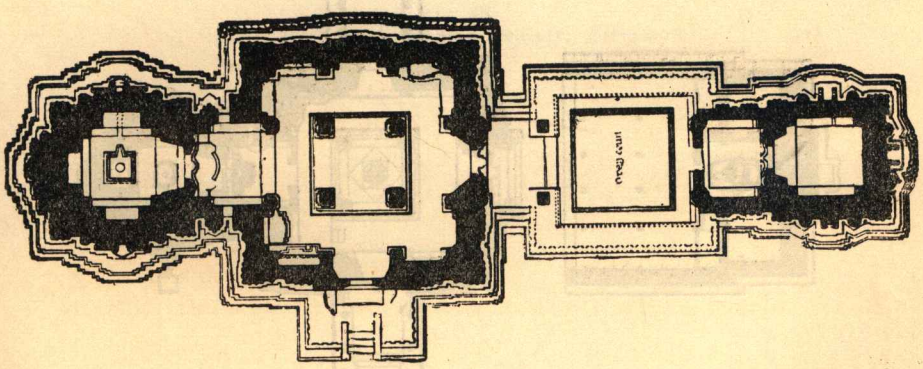

Fig. 45
Lakkundi, Kāśiviśveśvara temple: Plan

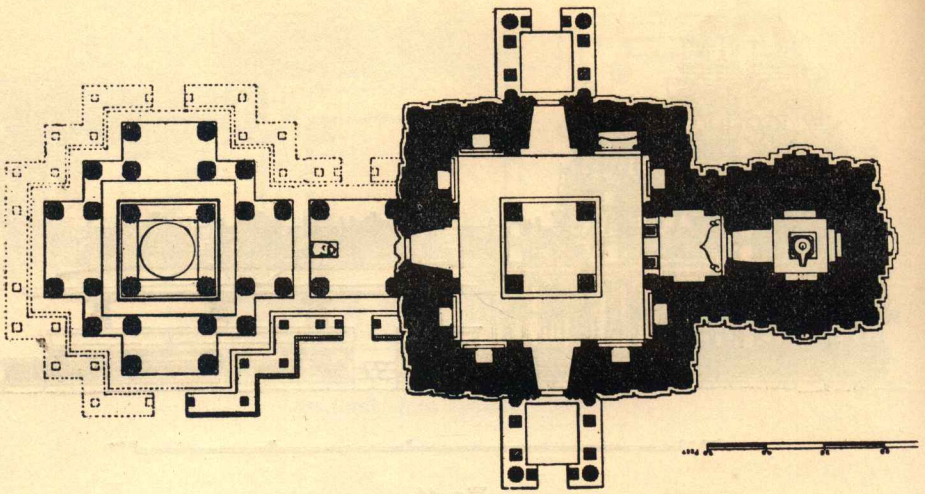

Fig. 46
Ittagi, Mahādeva temple: Plan

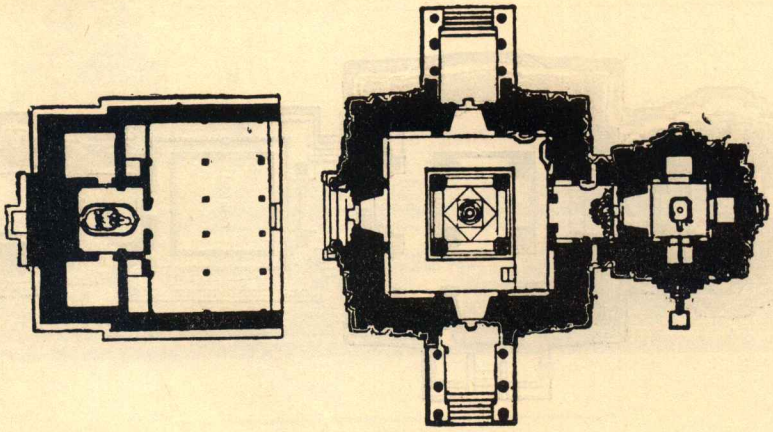

Fig. 47
Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple: Plan

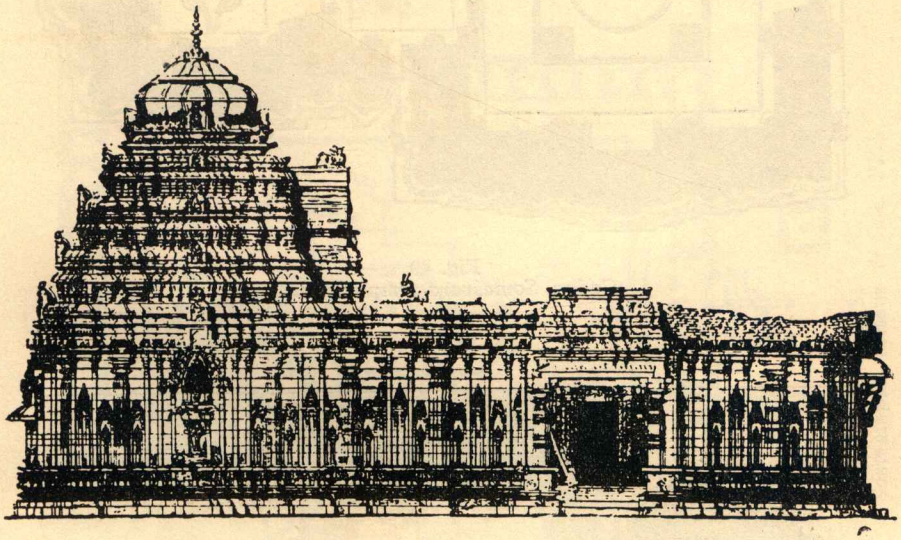

Fig. 48
Kuruvatti, Mallikārjuna temple: Elevation

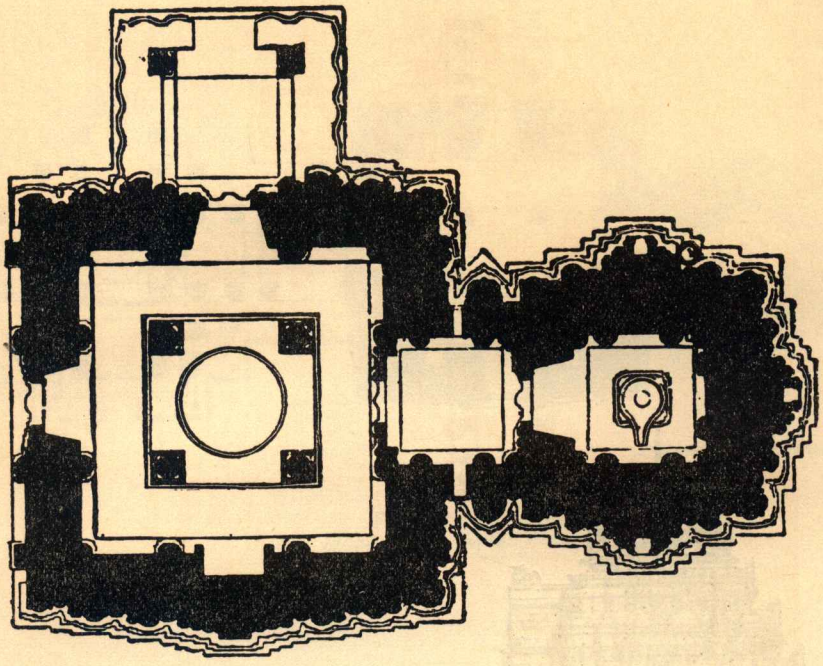

Fig. 49
Gadag, Someśvara temple: Plan

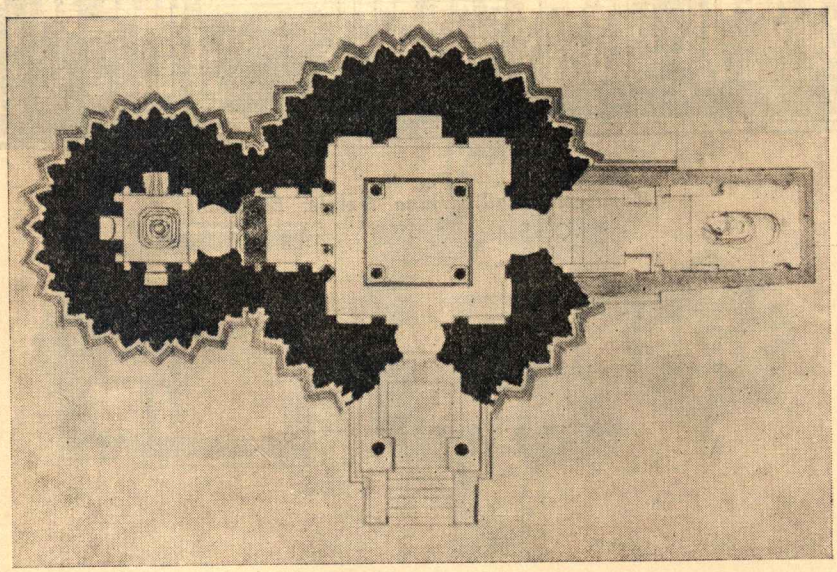

Fig. 50
Ḍambal, Dodda Basappa temple: Plan

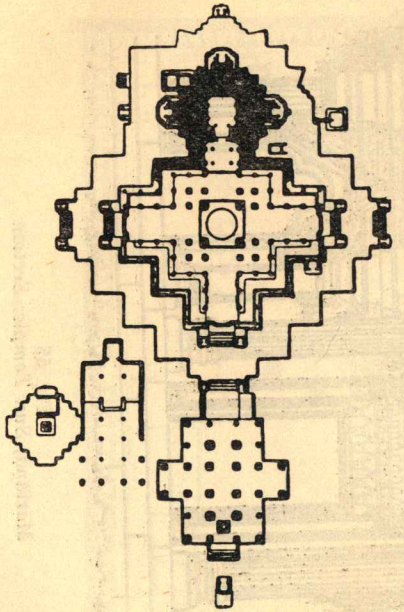

Fig. 52
Belur, Chenna Keśava temple: Plan

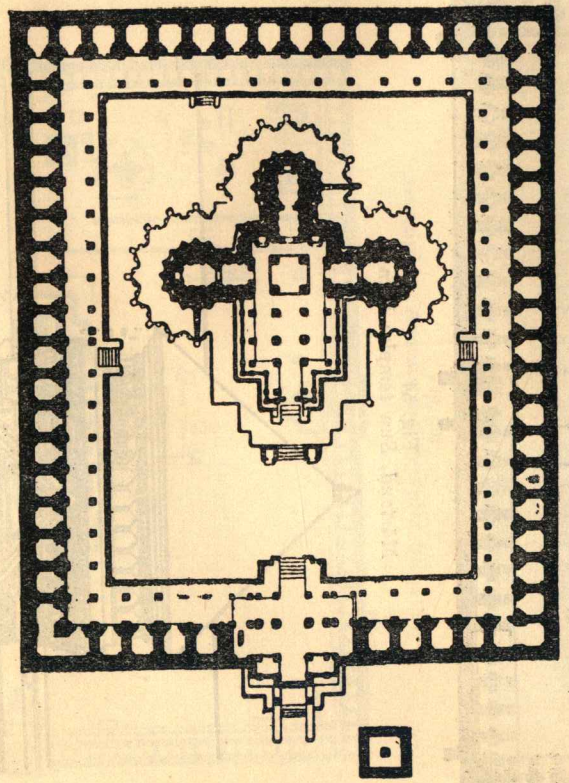

Fig. 51
Somnāthpur, Keśava temple: Plan

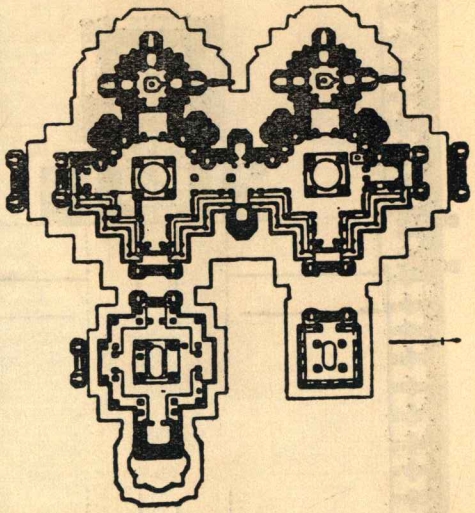

Fig. 53
Halebid, Hoysaleśvara temple: Plan

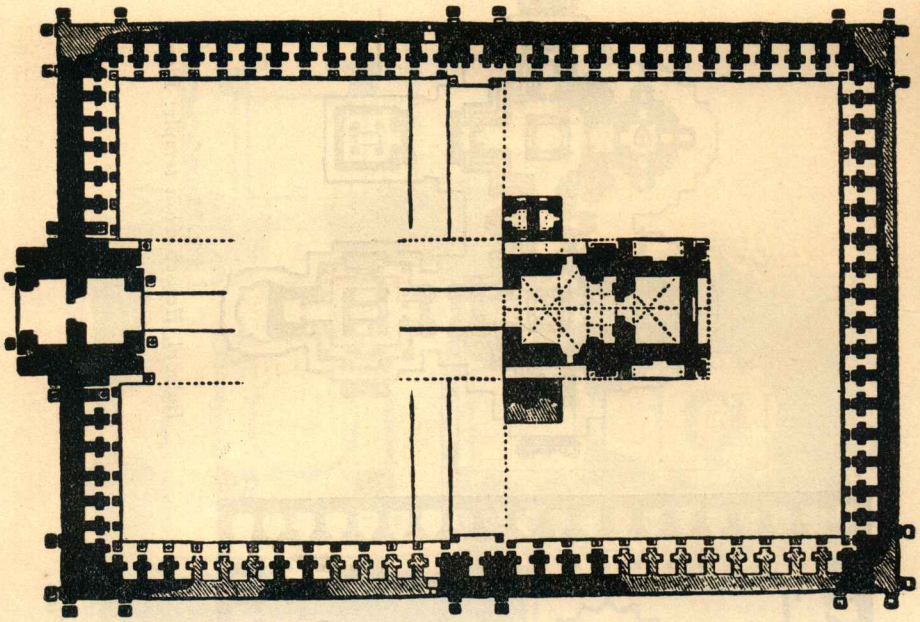

Fig. 54
Mārtaṇḍ, Sun temple: Plan

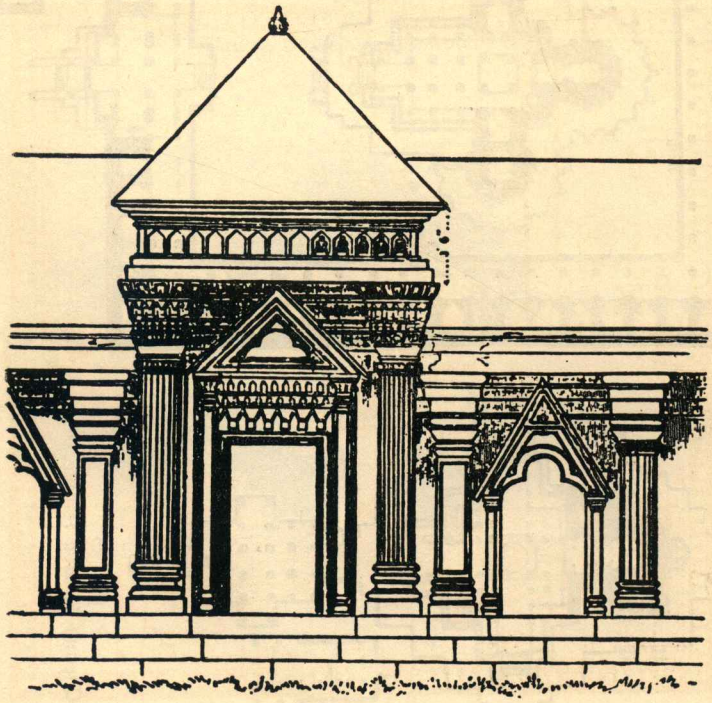

Fig. 55
Mārtaṇḍ, Sun Temple: Section

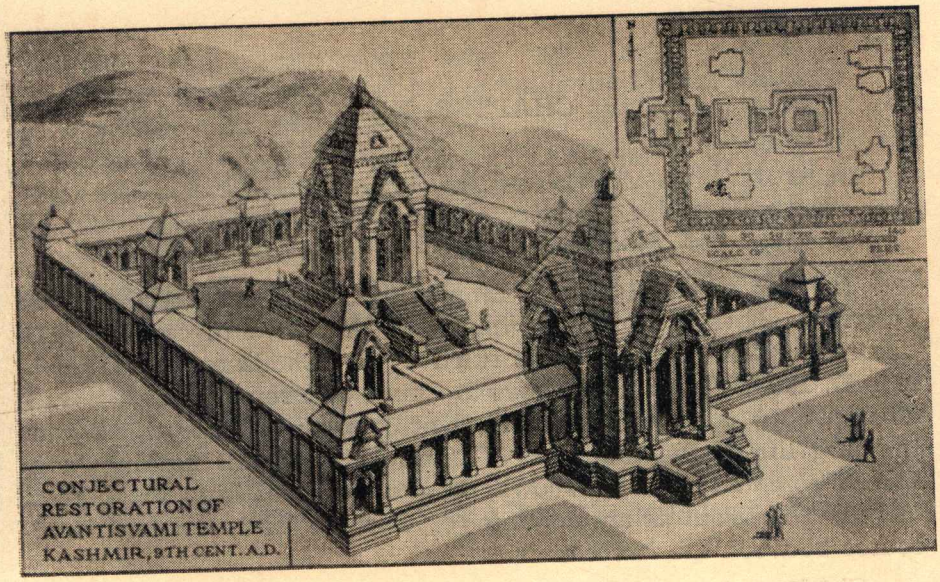

Fig. 56
Avantipura, Avantīsvāmī temple: Elevation

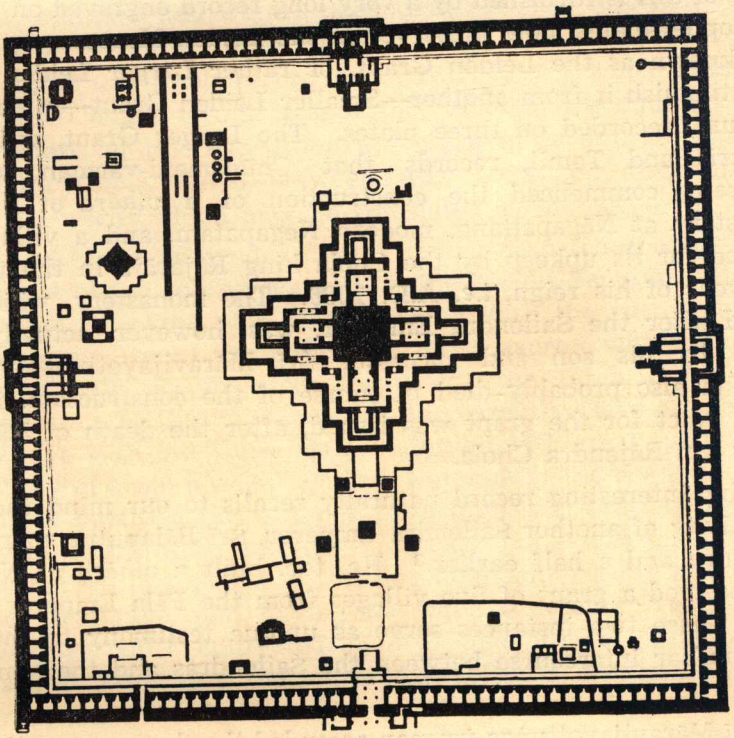

Fig. 57
Pāhārpur, Great temple: Plan

CHAPTER XXI

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

1. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

The rise of the Śailendra Empire in South-East Asia has been described above.[1] At the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. this mighty empire was being ruled by Śrī Chūḍāmaṇi-varmadeva. In A.D. 1003 he sent two envoys to China who reported that a Buddhist temple had been erected in their country in order to pray for the long life of the Emperor. This probably means nothing more than a common courtesy shown by one Buddhist king to another, but may be taken as an evidence of friendly and frequent intercourse between the two countries.

Chūḍāmaṇi-varman also maintained friendly relations with the great Choḷa Emperor Rājarāja the Great.[2] An interesting evidence of this is furnished by a very long record engraved on twenty-one copper-plates, now preserved in the Leiden Museum, and therefore known as the Leiden Grant, or rather Larger Leiden Grant, to distinguish it from another—Smaller Leiden Grant—in the same Museum, recorded on three plates. The Larger Grant, written in Sanskrit and Tamil, records that Chūḍāmaṇi-varman, king of Kaḍāram, commenced the construction of a *vihāra* or Buddhist monastery at Nāgapaṭṭana, modern Negapatam, and a village was granted for its upkeep by the Choḷa king Rājarāja in the twenty-first year of his reign, *i.e.* A.D. 1006. The monastery, which was named after the Śailendra Emperor, was, however, actually completed by his son and successor Śrī Māravijayottuṅga-varman. Rājarāja also probably died in course of the construction, for the actual edict for the grant was issued, after the death of Rājarāja, by his son Rājendra Choḷa.

This interesting record naturally recalls to our mind the similar activity of another Śailendra Emperor, Śrī Bālaputra, more than a century and a half earlier.[3] He, too, built a *vihāra* at Nālandā and received a grant of five villages from the Pāla Emperor Devapāla. These two instances serve as unique testimony to the long and familiar intercourse between the Śailendras and their motherland.

Śrī Māravijayottuṅga-varman ascended the throne some time before A.D. 1008 when he sent three envoys to China. The Larger

Leiden Grant has preserved some particulars about him. It informs us that he was 'born in the Śailendra family, was the lord of Śrī-vishaya, had extended the suzerainty of Kaṭāha and had *Makara* as the emblem of his banner.' Śrī-vishaya is undoubtedly the same as Śrī-Vijaya, mentioned before[4], and Kaṭāha—written as Kaḍāram in the Tamil portion—is now represented by Keddah in the Malay Peninsula. As Chūḍāmaṇi-varman is referred to as the ruler of Kaḍāra only, it may be concluded that Keddah was the main seat of the Śailendra Empire which included Śrī-Vijaya.

The friendly relation between the Śailendra Emperors and the Choḷas is proved not only by the Leiden Grant, but also by references in old Tamil poems to the commercial relations between their countries. An old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kāḷagam to the great port situated at the mouth of the Kāverī river. Kāḷagam, which a later commentator equates with Kaḍāram, is almost certainly to be identified with Keddah.

In view of all this it is somewhat strange that ere long war broke out between the Śailendras and the Choḷas. The cause of this war is unknown and we are dependent for such information as we possess of it on the Choḷa records alone. The earliest reference to it occurs in a Choḷa record, dated A.D. 1017-8, which tells us that Rājendra Choḷa's forces crossed the ocean and conquered Kaṭāha. Full details of this expedition are given in several inscriptions of Rājendra Choḷa, dated between A.D. 1024 and 1043, in almost identical words which may be translated as follows:—

'And (who) (Rājendra Choḷa) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāmavijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, along with the rutting elephants of his army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) the (arch called) Vidyādhara-toraṇa at the "war-gate" of the extensive city of the enemy; Śrī-Vijaya with the "Jewel-gate," adorned with great splendour, and the "gate of large jewels;" Paṇṇai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyūr (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Māyiruḍiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat: Ilaṅgāśoka undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappāḷam, having abundant (deep) waters as defence; Meviḷimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Vaḷaippandūṟu, possessing (both) cultivated land(?) and jungle; Talaittakkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamāliṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmurideśam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); Māṇakkavāram whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymphs) of the southern

region; Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea.'

Most of the conquered countries, mentioned in the above passage, cannot be definitely identified, but Malaiyūr is undoubtedly the same as Malayu (or Jambi) in Sumatra,[5] Māṇakkavāram is Nikobar Islands, and Kaḍāram is of course Kaṭāha or Keddah. As to the rest, most of them have been located with great probability either in Sumatra or in Malay Peninsula. The passage seems to indicate that Rājendra Choḷa first conquered various subject-states of the Śailendra Empire, and then concluded his campaign by taking possession of Kaḍāra itself. It is probable, but by no means certain, that there was an encounter at the very beginning, between the main forces of the Śailendra Emperor and Rājendra Choḷa, in which the former was defeated. This defeat was followed by the other Choḷa conquests which extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra and the Central and Southern parts of Malay Peninsula, including the two capital cities Kaṭāha (or Kaḍāra) and Śrī-Vijaya. The view that the conquered countries were vassal-states of the Śailendras is confirmed by the fact that many of these are included in the list of subject-states of the Śailendra Empire by the Chinese writers of a later date, such as Chau Ju-Kua, to whom reference will be made later.

As the detailed account of this oversea campaign occurs for the first time in an inscription dated A.D. 1024-25, which otherwise repeats the accounts of the (inland) conquests given in earlier records, it is probable that the great and decisive victory took place not long before that date. This may appear to be inconsistent with the fact that the conquest of Kaṭāha is already referred to in a record dated A.D. 1017. But it is just possible that the war was a prolonged one. It commenced in or shortly before A.D. 1017 with a successful Choḷa naval attack against Kaṭāha in that year and ended with the decisive victory, mentioned above, five or six years later. We learn from a record of Vīrarājendra, a successor of Rājendra Choḷa, that the latter burnt 'Kaṭāha, that could not be set fire to by others'.

It is as difficult to account for the sudden outbreak of the war as for the almost complete collapse of the Śailendra power. But a few salient points may be noted. In the first place, the Choḷas had completed the conquest of the whole eastern coast of India up to the mouth of the Gaṅgā, before sending the oversea expedition on a large scale. Secondly, the geographical position of the Śailendra Empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between Western and Eastern Asia. Perhaps the dazzling prospect of securing this rich volume of trade for himself prompted

Rājendra Choḷa to undertake the hazardous conquest, as soon as the possession of the naval resources of the entire coast of India placed at his disposal well equipped ships and sailors necessary for this purpose.

But whatever may be the cause, the Choḷa success was complete for the time being. But it could hardly be of long duration. Apart from the inherent difficulty of maintaining hold upon distant lands beyond the sea, the internal troubles of the Choḷas referred to above[6] made the task almost an impossible one. Nevertheless, the successors of Rājendra Choḷa tried hard to maintain, at least the nominal suzerainty, if not effective power over these lands. Thus Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1063-70) claims to have conquered Kaḍāram. But this very fact shows that in spite of the great victory of Rājendra Choḷa and his claim to have destroyed Kaḍāra, that kingdom did not cease to exist and must have shaken off even the nominal suzerainty of the Choḷas. According to the record of Vīrarājendra, he conquered Kaḍāram, but 'was pleased to give (it) back to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet.' But this did not end the struggle. For Kulottuṅga Choḷa (A.D. 1070-1120) again claims to have destroyed Kaḍāram, while a Chinese account represents the Choḷa as a vassal of the Kaḍāra kingdom or its succession state in the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. These contradictory statements indicate the continuance of the struggle with alternate success and reverse of both the parties.

But even during this period occasionally there was quite friendly relation between the two. The Smaller Leiden Grant dated in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga Choḷa (A.D. 1089-90) says:—

"At the request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kulottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Śailendra-Chūḍāmaṇi-varma-vihāra (*i.e.* the one established by king Chūḍāmaṇi-varman as referred to in the Larger Leiden Grant)".

After Kulottuṅga Choḷa we have no further evidence of any pretension of the Choḷa rulers over their oversea empire. The internal history of the Choḷas during this period, sketched above,[7] also does not make it likely. We must therefore admit that after fruitless efforts of a century the Choḷas finally abandoned their claims over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. Thus ended the first and the last enterprise of an Indian ruling family to maintain suzerainty over countries beyond the sea.

The Chinese evidence leaves no doubt that the kingdom of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram continued and soon became again very powerful.

But although we can trace the existence of this kingdom, called San-fo-tsi by the Chinese, for nearly three centuries more, we hear no more of the Śailendra dynasty. It is true that the kingdom of the Śailendra rulers, noted above, is called San-fo-tsi by the Chinese, and Zābag by the Arab writers, and these names figure continuously in the Chinese and Arab documents from tenth to fourteenth century A.D. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Śailendras continued to rule over it in the twelfth century or even later, but of this we have no positive evidence. The name Śailendra occurs only in the records of India, Java and Malay Peninsula, but as these sources fail us, so far as the history of this kingdom is concerned, we cannot be sure if the rulers still belonged to the Śailendra family. It would be, however, convenient to designate the kingdom of San-fo-tsi or Zābag as the Śailendra Empire up to the very end in order to emphasise the continuity of the State of which there is no doubt. The Arab writers Edrīsī (A.D. 1154), Kazwīnī (thirteenth century), Ibn Sa'īd (thirteenth century) and Dimaskī (fourteenth century) all refer to the power and glory of Zābag, but it is not certain whether they refer to conditions in their own time or merely quote from old writers. The Chinese chronicles are more helpful. Reference is made to two embassies in A.D. 1156 and 1178 showing that San-fo-tsi still maintained diplomatic relations with China. Some time about A.D. 1225 a Chinese official named Chau Ju-Kua wrote a very interesting account of this kingdom, based exclusively on oral information furnished by Chinese and foreign traders. According to him San-fo-tsi was a great centre of trade and the seat of a powerful empire. The possession of the Strait of Malacca enabled it to control the maritime trade between the Eastern and the Western World. Chau Ju-Kua also gives a list of fifteen States which were dependent upon San-fo-tsi. These were mostly in Malay Peninsula, but a few were situated in Java and Sumatra. We may thus hold that at the end of the twelfth century A.D. and the beginning of the thirteenth, San-fo-tsi was a rich and powerful kingdom. The name of a king of this period Mahārāja Śrīmat-Trailokyarāja-mauli-bhūshaṇa-varma-deva is known from an inscription, dated A.D. 1183, found at Chaiya in Malay Peninsula. The names of the Śailendra kings also ended in varma-deva, but it is difficult to say whether Trailokyarāja was a remote descendant of Chūḍāmaṇi-varma-deva.

Another king Chandrabhānu is known from an inscription at Chaiya, dated A.D. 1230, and the Ceylonese chronicle *Chūlavaṁsa*. We learn from the latter that a king of Jāvaka, called Chandrabhānu, sent two expeditions against Ceylon between A.D. 1236 and 1256. On the first occasion he devastated the whole island but

was forced to withdraw. On the second occasion Chandrabhānu's army was reinforced by a large number of Pāṇḍya, Choḷa and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial success Chandrabhānu was completely defeated and fled with his life leaving his family and treasures behind.

There is no doubt that Jāvaka is the same as Zābag, the Arab name of the Śailendra Empire. It is to be noted that Ceylon is included among the vassal states of San-fo-tsi by Chau Ju-Kua, and however incredible it might appear at first, the above account of the Ceylonese chronicles offers a satisfactory explanation. It may be presumed that Chandrabhānu's success, grudgingly admitted by the Ceylonese chroniclers, was more substantial at least for some time, though it ended in a disaster. In any case, the strange episode preserved in the Ceylonese chronicles testifies both to the substantial accuracy of Chau Ju-Kua's account and of the great power of the Śailendra Empire in the first part of the thirteenth century A.D.

But the foolish enterprise of Chandrabhānu must have cost the empire dear. In an inscription, dated A.D. 1264, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya[8] claims to have defeated and killed the Sāvaka king, and in another, dated the following year, he includes the king of Kaḍāram among the host of rulers conquered by him. There is hardly any doubt that the Sāvaka, or the Jāvaka, king and the king of Kaḍāram refer to one and the same ruler, and he is most probably Chandrabhānu himself or his successor. It is also very likely that the enmity between Chandrabhānu and the Pāṇḍya ruler was not unconnected with the ill-fated expeditions to Ceylon. The defeat and death of Chandrabhānu also most probably took place in India, after his disastrous retreat from Ceylon, for had Jaṭāvarman sent a naval expedition against Malay Peninsula there would have been more explicit references to it.

It appears from the Chaiya Inscription that Chandrabhānu was originally the ruler of a vassal state of San-fo-tsi and seized supreme power by a successful rebellion. Similar defection of another vassal state about the same time is noticed by Chau Ju-Kua. The disruption thus begun was hastened by the catastrophic end of Chandrabhānu, and full advantage was taken of it by the two rising powers—the Thai state in Siam and the kingdom of Malayu, backed by Java. Hemmed in between these two powerful neighbours in the north and the south, San-fo-tsi lost its position of supremacy and sank into a local power. It continued this inglorious existence till its conquest by Java some time before A.D. 1377. From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San-fo-tsi

passes from our view. But the Annals of Keddah, ancient Kaḍāram or Kaṭāha, the homeland of the Śailendra Emperors, have preserved the traditional account of seven Hindu rulers of the State, the last of whom adopted Islam in A.D. 1474. Such was the ignoble end of the great maritime empire which was established by the Hindus in the eastern sea and ruled in glory for more than five hundred years.

2. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE KAMBUJA EMPIRE

The death of Jaya-varman V in A.D. 1001 was followed by civil war among several rival candidates to the throne till Sūrya-varman I finally triumphed over his rivals about A.D. 1010. In order to prevent a similar situation in future the king made his district officers, numbering more than four thousand, to take an oath, in the presence of the sacred fire, the Brāhmaṇas and the *āchāryas,* offering unswerving and lifelong homage and allegiance to the king and dedicating their lives to his service.

The king probably adopted Buddhism, for his inscription contains invocation to Buddha as well as to Śiva, and he had the posthumous name Nirvāṇapada. He is also described as a great scholar, versed in Bhāshya, Kāvya, six Darśanas (systems of philosophy) and Dharmaśāstras.

The precautions adopted by this scholarly king against civil war and revolution proved illusory. Troubles broke out immediately after his death in A.D. 1049. He was succeeded by Udayāditya-varman who "was crowned emperor by his ministers". In other words there was no legitimate or peaceful succession, but an influential party in court placed its nominee on the throne. Revolutions broke out almost throughout his reign, and there was a disastrous invasion by the king of Champā. In the midst of all this tragedy the king died in A.D. 1066, and the royal *guru* (preceptor), along with the ministers, placed his younger brother Harsha-varman on the throne.

Harsha-varman's reign is chiefly noted for his two unfortunate foreign expeditions. On an invitation of the Chinese Emperor he sent an army in A.D. 1076 to help the Chinese military expedition against the Annamite kingdom in Tonkin. But it had to retreat after the defeat of the Chinese. Some time before A.D. 1080 he sent an army to invade Champā, but it was defeated and its commander fell into the hands of the enemy.

These disasters probably worsened the internal political situation in Kambuja, and we find a rival king Jaya-varman VI ruling

in the north and north-east in A.D. 1082. This political division continued till Sūrya-varman II, the second successor of Jaya-varman VI, again brought the whole kingdom under his authority.

Sūrya-varman ascended the throne in A.D. 1113. The Kambuja inscriptions refer to his great victories in general terms and add that he marched into the countries of the enemies. Although very vague, the claim was not without foundation, for details of his several expeditions to Annam and Champā have been preserved in the records of those countries.

Sūrya-varman's efforts to conquer the kingdom of Annam, to the north of Champā, however, proved disastrous. We learn from the Annamese Annals that between A.D. 1128 and 1150 he sent no less than four armies with auxiliary fleet, which also received help from the Cham army. But they had all to retreat with serious loss. At last when Champā made a separate peace with Annam, Sūrya-varman decided to punish her and, to make amends for his failure in Annam, invaded Champā. His early expeditions were successful, and the northern part of Champā was made a vassal state of Kambuja, known as the kingdom of Vijaya. But his attempt to reduce the southern part of Champā proved a costly failure. He sent two expeditions, in A.D. 1147 and 1148, but both were defeated by king Jaya Hari-varman of Champā. Then the latter took the offensive and defeated the Kambuja forces. The Kambuja ruler of Vijaya, a brother-in-law of king Sūrya-varman II, as well as a number of Kambuja generals fell in the battle.

But in spite of these reverses Sūrya-varman must be regarded as a powerful king ruling over a vast empire. He resumed diplomatic relations with China which were interrupted since the eighth century A.D., and sent two embassies in A.D. 1117 and 1121. The Chinese Emperor conferred high titles on the king of Kambuja whose dominions are said to have extended from Champā to Lower Burma and included the northern part of Malay Peninsula up to the Bay of Bandon. He is also said to have maintained 200,000 war elephants. The Chinese account thus shows that in spite of internal troubles the Kambuja empire had been growing in power and extent since the eleventh century A.D.

The great glory of the empire stands today before the world in the shape of its monuments. Sūrya-varman II has earned undying fame by constructing the famous temple known as Angkor Vat, which is justly regarded as one of the wonders of the world. We know a great deal of the religious life of the king. He was initiated into the mysteries of Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret), probably a Tāntrik cult, by his *guru* Divākara Paṇḍita and performed

various sacrifices including Koṭi-homa, Laksha-homa and the Mahā-homa.

The last known date of Sūrya-varman is A.D. 1145. The history of Kambuja during the next 35 years is very obscure. There were revolutions at home and disasters abroad. Several expeditions were sent against Champā, but in spite of initial successes they ended in costly failures. Then the king of Champā, Jaya Indra-varman VII, took the aggressive and invaded Kambuja with a big army. For seven years the war went on without any decisive result. At last the Cham king equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedition in A.D. 1177. He seized the capital city, plundered it, and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him. The king of Kambuja, Tribhuvanāditya-varman, was killed in course of this conflict or shortly after, and was succeeded by Jaya-varman VII in A.D. 1181.

Jaya-varman VII was the last great ruler of Kambuja, and fortunately we know a great deal of his military campaigns, religious foundations and works of public utility.

The most notable event of his reign was the long-drawn war with Champā. In A.D. 1190 Jaya Indra-varman VIII, king of Champā, invaded Kambuja. The Kambuja king sent against him a strong army under Śrī Sūrya-varma-deva, a refugee from Champā living in his court. The Kambuja general obtained a complete victory and even captured the king of Champā. Champā now lay prostrate before the victor. Jaya-varman VII divided the kingdom into two parts. He appointed his own brother-in-law, Sūrya Jaya-varma-deva, ruler of the northern part with Vijaya as its capital, while the victorious general Sūrya-varma-deva was placed in charge of the southern part with his capital at Rājapura.

But soon a successful revolution in the north placed a local chief Rasupati on the throne of Vijaya. Jaya-varman VII sent an expedition against Vijaya, and desiring probably to conciliate the Chams by making the captive king of Champā ruler of Vijaya, sent him along with the expedition. The Kambuja troops were joined by Sūrya-varma-deva, and under his leadership won a complete victory. Rasupati was defeated and killed and Vijaya was captured. But Sūrya-varma-deva now ascended the throne of Vijaya and united the whole of Champā under him. The disappointed Cham king Jaya Indra-varman VIII advanced against Sūrya-varma-deva but was defeated and killed.

In A.D. 1193 and 1194 Jaya-varman VII sent two expeditions against Sūrya-varma-deva who had so flagrantly flouted his autho-

rity, but the latter gained an easy victory. For nearly ten years he was left in peace. But a third expedition was sent under Dhanapatigrāma, an uncle of Sūrya-varma-deva, who also was a refugee in Kambuja court. Dhanapatigrāma defeated his nephew and became the ruler of Champā in A.D. 1203.

But the new ruler had a hard time before him. Revolutions broke out in various parts of the country, and as soon as these were put down war broke out with the Annamites in A.D. 1207. A series of battles followed during the next eleven years or more in which victory more often inclined to the Annamites.

The almost continuous series of wars in Champā since A.D. 1190 must have proved a great burden to Kambuja and at last, in A.D. 1220, the Kambujas evacuated the country. Most probably Jaya-varman VII was not alive at this time and the defeat and disgrace of Kambuja, both in Annam and Champā, followed a few years after his death. But in any case he is entitled to the credit of conquering Champā and making it a vassal state, thereby extending the frontier of the Kambuja empire to the China Sea on the east.

On the west also Jaya-varman VII seems to have attained conspicuous success. For according to the Chinese chronicles Pagan was annexed to Kambuja towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. Pagan was at that time the seat of a powerful kingdom including nearly the whole of Burma. It is not likely that the whole of it was conquered by Jaya-varman VII, and he probably annexed only the southern part of it, adjacent to Siam, which was then subject to Kambuja. Jaya-varman VII thus ruled over a vast empire which touched the Bay of Bengal on one side and the Sea of China on the other, and included the central regions of Indo-China and the northern part of Malay Peninsula.

The religious foundations and works of public utility undertaken by Jaya-varman VII were on a scale befitting the mighty empire over which he ruled. The account of royal donations contained in the Ta Prohm Inscription makes interesting reading and reveals the magnitude of the resources and depth of religious sentiments of the king. It concerns the Rājavihāra, *i.e.*, the temple of Ta Prohm and adjuncts where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajñāpāramitā. It is not possible here to record all the details but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 persons were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 Professors and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1409, whose food and other daily necessaries of life were supplied. There were

altogether 566 groups of stone houses and 288 groups of brick. Needless to say that the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion, and they included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. All these relate to a single group of temples. The inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 *khārikās* of rice, each *khārikā* being equivalent to 3 *maunds* 8 *seers*. In conclusion the king expresses the hope that by his pious donations, his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births.

Of the 102 hospitals mentioned above, the site of 15 can be determined by means of inscriptions which record their foundations. These inscriptions are almost identical and lay down detailed regulations about the hospitals. They give us a very good idea of the system of medical treatment organised by the state, but require separate treatment and cannot be discussed here.

An inscription in the temple at Pra-khan also supplies similar details. It refers to the establishment of 121 *vahni-gṛihas* for the convenience of pilgrims and other travellers. These were evidently of the nature of *dharmaśālās* in India. Reference is made to the images of deities, 20,400 in number, made of gold, silver, bronze, and stone; the royal endowments for their upkeep including 8,176 villages and 208,532 slaves; and 514 separate temples and 2,066 minor or accessory constructions. It is said that the water for ablution in the annual festival of the temple was carried by Sūryabhaṭṭa and the other Brāhmaṇas, as well as by the kings of Java and Annam, and the two rulers of Champā.

A very interesting reference is made to the queen of Jaya-varman in one of his inscriptions. When the king first went to Champā she showed her conjugal fidelity by performing hard austerities of diverse types and of long duration. She was then initiated to Buddhism by her elder sister. It is said that the queen performed a ceremony by which she could see before her the image of her absent husband. After her death the king married her elder sister and asked her to teach the Buddhist doctrine in various convents.

The reign of Jaya-varman VII marks the end of the most glorious period in the history of Kambuja which may be said to have comprised the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. It was during this period that the Kambuja empire reached its widest extent and produced the most notable monuments which still extort the admiration of the whole world. These will be discussed elsewhere in this chapter. It will suffice here to state that Jaya-varman VII made no small contribution in this direction, if, as is now generally held,

he really built the famous capital city of Angkor Thom whose ruins cannot fail to evoke, even today, a mixed feeling of awe and reverence in the minds of the visitors.

As noted above, the date of the death of Jaya-varman VII cannot be fixed with certainty. He was succeeded by Indra-varman II who died in A.D. 1243. The next king known to us is Jaya-varman VIII who abdicated the throne in A.D. 1295-96 in favour of his son-in-law Śrīndra-varman. The son of Jaya-varman VIII made an attempt to seize the throne, but was defeated by Śrīndra-varman who mutilated and imprisoned him and ascended the throne in A.D. 1296. This king also abdicated in A.D. 1308 and was succeeded by Śrīndra-Jaya-varman the same year. Another king Jayavarma-Parameśvara ascended the throne in A.D. 1327. He is the last king referred to in the Kambuja inscriptions. The subsequent history of Kambuja is only known from Khmer chronicles of a late date which cannot be regarded as trustworthy sources.

The history of Kambuja during the thirteenth century is thus veiled in obscurity. The withdrawal from Champā and defeats in Annam undoubtedly indicate the loss of power and authority, while frequent abdications, struggle for succession, and paucity of information suggest a troublesome period. The occupation of Siam by the Thais, to which reference will be made later, also tells the same tale. As a matter of fact the growing power of the Thais on the west and the Annamites on the east ultimately spelt ruin to Kambuja. But, nevertheless, Kambuja remained a powerful kingdom down to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. When Kublai Khan, the great Mongol Emperor, conquered Champā and sent envoys demanding allegiance of Kambuja, she had the courage to resist. Next an ambassador was sent to Kambuja in A.D. 1296, evidently with the same purpose. Cheu Ta-Kuan, who accompanied the ambassador, and wrote a very interesting memoir on Kambuja, says that the embassy achieved its object. But this may be doubted, for a Chinese historian, writing in A.D. 1520, positively asserts that neither Java nor Kambuja paid homage to the Imperial court even once during the Mongol period. Cheu Ta-Kuan's description of the capital city and of the wealth and splendour of the king and the nobles leaves the impression that Kambuja was still a powerful kingdom with a well-organised administrative system. But the palace intrigues and conspiracies which were particularly rife in his time exercised a baneful influence on the government. All this will be evident from Cheu Ta-Kuan's graphic account of the king (Śrīndra-varman) which may be summed up as follows:

"I have heard it said that formerly the kings seldom went out of their palace; for they were afraid of assassins. The new king is the son-in-law of his predecessor, who was very fond of his daughter. She stole the golden sword (insignia of sovereignty) and carried it to her husband. Her brother revolted but was defeated by the new king who cut off his toes and kept him confined in a dark dungeon. The new king always covers his body with a coat of mail which neither knife nor arrow could pierce. Thus clad he dares go out of his palace. During my stay for more than a year I have seen him come out only on four or five occasions. When he goes out the procession is led by a body of horsemen, followed by flags and music. Then come a troop of palace-girls, 300 to 500 in number, clad in embroidered clothes and with flowers in their hair. They carry big torches (or candles) which are lighted even in day time. These are followed by two other troops of girls, one carrying precious vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and the other, the body-guards of the king, carrying lance and shield. Then follow carriages, decorated with gold, drawn by goats and horses, princes, mounted on elephants, queens and royal concubines in palanquins and carriages or on elephants. Lastly comes the king on elephant, holding the precious sword by his right hand and surrounded by a large number of men on elephants and horses to protect him. The elephants have golden trappings, and hundreds of white and red parasols, decorated with gold, and some of them, with staff of gold, add to the beauty of the procession."

Cheu Ta-Kuan mentions that in the recent wars with the Siamese the region round Angkor was utterly devastated. As we shall see later, this refers to the growing power of the Thais, who had conquered Siam and, under their great king Ram Kamheng, carried their victorious arms to Lower Burma on the west and to the heart of Kambuja on the east, toward the close of the thirteenth century A.D. The Annamites also gradually conquered nearly the whole of the kingdom of Champā by the fifteenth century. Being hard pressed by these two pitiless aggressive neighbours Kambuja was gradually shorn of power and prestige and sank into a petty state. At last the king of Kambuja threw himself under the protection of the French in A.D. 1854 and the once mighty kingdom became a petty French Protectorate.

3. FALL OF CHAMPĀ

For nearly half a century Champā enjoyed the respite from Annamite invasions brought about by the conciliatory policy of Hari-varman II.[9] Regular embassies were sent to China, and though

in A.D. 1021 the Annamites made a sudden raid on the camp of Bo Chanh which protected the northern frontier of Champā, the relation between the two countries was on the whole a cordial one. But there could be no doubt that the Annamite court was a source of potential danger to Champā. When civil war broke out in Champā during the reign of Vikrānta-varman IV, at first his son, and then the entire garrison of Bo Chanh sought refuge with the Annamite Emperor (A.D. 1038-39). But the final rupture was brought about by the insolent aggression of Jaya Siṁha-varman II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1041. In A.D. 1043 he harassed the Annamite coast with his navy but was forced to retreat. Phat Ma, the Annamite Emperor, now sent a joint expedition by land and sea which completely routed the Cham army. The king lay dead on the battlefield with 30,000 soldiers and the capital city was ravaged by the victorious army. The Annamite Emperor returned with a huge booty and a large number of prisoners, including all the women of the palace. It is said that one of these, when summoned to the royal vessel, threw herself into the sea, preferring death to dishonour, and the Emperor, admiring her fidelity, gave her a posthumous title meaning "very chaste and very sweet lady".

With Jaya Siṁha-varman II ended the dynasty which came into power in A.D. 989 after the Annamite usurpation. It was not till A.D. 1050, six years later, that we find a new king Jaya Parameśvara-varma-deva Īśvaramūrti, who was descended from the old royal family of Champā. The new king was faced with a heavy task. The repeated incursions of the Annamites had exhausted the resources of the kingdom and weakened the central authority. Taking advantage of it the provinces, particularly Pāṇḍuraṅga in the south, repeatedly rebelled, and the Kambuja rulers also invaded the kingdom at least twice, during the last half of the tenth century A.D.

The new king sent a powerful army against Pāṇḍuraṅga and completely subdued it. It is said that "all the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were seized, together with oxen, buffaloes, slaves and elephants," and though half were later released in order to re-establish the city, the other half were distributed as slaves to various religious establishments.

The king next turned his attention to Kambuja which was then being distracted by civil wars.[10] He sent an army under Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, who had distinguished himself in the campaign against Pāṇḍuraṅga. The Yuvarāja inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy and took the town of Śambhupura. He destroyed a large number of temples there and distributed the Khmer captives among the temples of Champā.

Jaya Parameśvara-varma-deva also considerably repaired the damages done to religious institutions during the preceding period. He re-installed the image of the famous goddess of Po Nagara, and a large number of temples and *vihāras* were restored or newly built and suitably endowed. He maintained friendly relations with both Annam and China and sent regular embassies to these courts.

The reign of Jaya Parameśvara-varma-deva was thus a very successful one and largely healed the wounds from which Champā was suffering. Great credit is due to the king who found the kingdom suffering from total disintegration and left it a happy, peaceful, united, and powerful state. He died in or shortly after A.D. 1059.

Unfortunately the peace and prosperity of the kingdom tempted Rudra-varman, the new king of Champā, to throw off the yoke of the Annamites. In A.D. 1062 he sent an ambassador to China asking for help against the Annamites, but without any success. Nevertheless he openly commenced hostilities in A.D. 1068. The result was disastrous. The Cham army fought bravely, but was routed, the king himself was made a prisoner, and the Annamite Emperor celebrated his triumph in the capital city Vijaya. After burning this city and its suburbs, he returned to Tonkin with the royal captive and 50,000 prisoners of war (A.D. 1069).

Rudra-varman obtained his release by ceding three northern districts of his kingdom which included the whole of Quang Binh and the northern part of Quang Tri. It was a great blow to the power and prestige of Champā, and paved the way for the final conquest of this kingdom by Annam.

On his return to Champā Rudra-varman found that several persons had proclaimed themselves kings in different parts of the country. This state of chaos and confusion continued for nearly ten years, after which Hari-varman, one of the rival claimants, established his authority over the greater part of the kingdom.

Hari-varman IV was now faced with the task which had confronted Jaya-Parameśvara-varman twenty years before, and acquitted himself with almost equal credit. He successfully resisted the Annamite invasion of A.D. 1075. He defeated the Kambuja troops[11] at Someśvara and captured the prince Śrī Nandana-varma-deva who commanded the army. He re-united the whole kingdom, with the probable exception of Pāṇḍuraṅga in the south. He then restored the temples, as well as religious institutions and endowments, and also re-established the edifices and the city of Champā which had suffered so much in the hands of the Annamites. He probably assumed the title *Utkṛishṭa-rāja* (good king) at the time of his coronation, and there is probably a great deal of truth in the official

panegyric that 'the king of Champā became prosperous as of old'. In A.D. 1081 he abdicated the throne, at the age of 41, and took to religious life. But he died within a month and was followed on the funeral pyre by 14 of his wives.

The young son of the king, a boy of 9, ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Indra-varman V, but the distracted kingdom required a strong man at the helm of affairs. So, we are told, the boy king with all the generals, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Paṇḍits, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies, and the wives of the late king Hari-varman IV, approached his younger brother, Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati Prince Pāñ with a request to assume the royalty. The Yuvarāja ascended the throne under the title Parama-bodhisattva and gave a good account of himself. He quelled the disturbances in the kingdom and recovered Pāṇḍuraṅga after completely defeating the usurper who had been wielding authority there since the conquest of Champā by the Annamites in A.D. 1069. The king, who thus once more restored the unity of Champā, maintained friendly relations with Annam by sending regular tributes.

On the death of this king in A.D. 1086 his nephew Jaya Indra-varman V, who had abdicated in A.D. 1081, again ascended the throne. Once more the peace and prosperity of the kingdom tempted the Cham king to try his strength with Annam in order to recover the three northern districts ceded in A.D. 1069. As usual, he tried to induce the Chinese Emperor to make a common cause with him against Annam, but failed. Nevertheless, being instigated by a refugee from Annam, and misled by his false statements about the internal dissensions in that country, Indra-varman invaded Annam in A.D. 1103 and conquered the three ceded districts. But he was soon defeated and compelled to abandon them. To avoid further troubles he immediately sent tribute to Annam and lived in peace.

For more than thirty years after this Champā enjoyed peace and prosperity. But troubles broke out again in the reign of Jaya Indra-varman VI who ascended the throne in A.D. 1139. As noted above, Sūrya-varman II, the contemporary king of Kambuja, was involved in a long-drawn war with the Annamites and could easily enlist the sympathy and support of Champā. But when the joint expeditions repeatedly proved a failure, the king of Champā (the predecessor of Jaya Indra-varman VI) withdrew from the alliance with Kambuja and resumed payment of tribute to Annam. Sūrya-varman therefore decided to punish the faithless ally and invaded Champā in A.D. 1145. He gained a great victory and made himself master of Vijaya. Jaya Indra-varman VI was either killed or made a prisoner. In any case he passes from our view. But a new king

arose in Pāṇḍuraṅga in the south, and on his death in A.D. 1147 his son and successor Jaya Hari-varman VI continued the struggle against Kambuja. The Kambuja general Śaṅkara, aided by the troops of Vijaya, advanced against him, but was signally defeated in A.D. 1147. Next year "the king of Kambuja sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one", but Hari-varman again completely defeated them.

Hari-varman now felt powerful enough to take the offensive and advanced towards the north to reconquer Vijaya. The Kambuja king hastily consecrated Harideva, the brother of his first queen, as king of Vijaya and "commanded various generals" to protect him. In the battle that followed "Jaya Hari-varman destroyed Harideva with all his Cham and Kambuja generals." Then the victorious king was duly consecrated and ascended the throne in A.D. 1149 with due pomp and ceremony.

But the troubles of Hari-varman were not yet over. The barbarous mountain tribes of Champā, collectively known by the general designation of 'Kirātas', invaded the kingdom, probably at the instigation of the Kambuja king. Although the Kirātas were defeated in a pitched battle, Vaṅśarāja, brother of Hari-varman's queen, joined them and was proclaimed king. Although Vaṅśarāja was defeated along with his Kirāta allies, he sought protection in the Annamese court. The Annamese Emperor declared him king of Champā and sent him back with a large army which was, however, completely defeated by Hari-varman in A.D. 1150. Then civil war broke out, first at Amarāvatī (A.D. 1151) and then at Pāṇḍuraṅga (A.D. 1155), but was successfully put down. Having thus completely triumphed over both internal and external enemies the great and heroic king lived in peace, devoting his attention to the restoration of temples and the repair of damages.

Hari-varman was far-sighted enough not to assume a haughty attitude towards Annam in spite of his victory. He maintained friendly relations by sending tribute and rich presents. He also demanded, and received, from the Chinese emperor the same dignity which his predecessors enjoyed.

It is fortunate that no less than seven inscriptions of this great king have been preserved which enable us to follow in minute details his truly remarkable career. A hero of hundred fights, he showed remarkable ability alike in war and peace. He saved the kingdom when it was threatened with ruin, and once more set it on the way to peace and prosperity.

Hari-varman died shortly after A.D. 1162 and the kingdom was soon occupied by an usurper named Jaya Indra-varman VII. He

paid regular tributes to Annam and sent an ambassador to China asking for investiture from the Emperor. The presents which the ambassador offered were all plundered from Arab merchants. As soon as the Emperor came to know this, from the complaints of the merchants themselves, he refused to accept the presents or to invest the king. This is an interesting incident illustrating the international etiquette of those days.

The most notable event in the reign of this king was his long-drawn war with Kambuja ending in the capture of its capital city by means of a naval expedition in A.D. 1177 which has already been described above.[12] The king also made rich donations to various temples, and it seemed as if the old power and prosperity of Champā were revived. An interesting record of this reign contains the text of an oath of allegiance taken by three dignitaries of the realm to the effect that they and their children will fight for the king in case of war as long as they live. There was a similar institution in Kambuja where a class of chiefs, called *Sanjak,* were bound by oath of allegiance to defend the person of the king or prince. We have actual records that the life of a prince was saved on two different occasions by the deliberate self-sacrifice of four *Sanjaks.* The king not only bestowed wealth, favours and honours on their families, but also installed their statues in a shrine. When the prince died his statue was also placed in the same shrine by the side of those of his four faithful *Sanjaks.*

The aggressive policy of Jaya Indra-varman VII was followed by the next king known to us, *viz.* Jaya Indra-varman VIII. But the ruler of Kambuja with whom he had to fight was made of different stuff. The Cham king was not only defeated but taken captive to Kambuja (A.D. 1190) and his own fate and that of his kingdom have been described above.[13]

When the forces of Kambuja withdrew from Champā in A.D. 1220 after an occupation of thirty years, a grandson of the famous king Jaya Hari-varman VI ascended the throne under the title Jaya Parameśvara-varman IV. The whereabouts of this king and his father, whom his records refer to as king Hari-varman, during the reign of the two usurpers Jaya Indra-varman VII and VIII are unknown to us. But he probably concluded a peace with Kambuja where he had lived as an exile for some time, and was formally consecrated to the throne in A.D. 1226. He ruled in peace and was succeeded by his brother Jaya Indra-varman X, who was murdered by his sister's son in A.D. 1257. The regicide then ascended the throne and was formally consecrated in A.D. 1266 under the name Indra-varman XI.

His reign is chiefly memorable for the Mongol invasion. When the great Kublai Khan invited the king of Champā (and other rulers of Asia) to come and pay homage, the latter offered submission. Kublai thereupon treated Champā as part of his empire and appointed two viceroys to administer it. Although the king submitted, even to this humiliation, his proud son Harijit refused to yield. He organised the people and the viceroys left the country. The Cham king gave further provocation to the Khan by arresting and imprisoning his ambassadors to Siam and Malabar. Kublai now sent a powerful expedition under Sagatu, and as Annam refused passage, the troops were carried in 1,000 vessels. They landed unopposed, and a pitched battle took place in January 1283. The Chams fought obstinately for six hours and then retreated. Sagatu conquered a large part of the country, but Indra-varman retired with his army to fastnesses of mountains and refused to yield. It was also reported to the Mongol camp that he had sent embassies to Annam, Kambuja and Java asking for military aid. Sagatu attacked the entrenched position of the king on the mountains and inflicted great losses on the enemy, but Indra-varman eluded his grasp. In A.D. 1284 Kublai sent further reinforcements, but things continued as before. Kublai thereupon decided to send a strong army by land, and as the Annamese Emperor again refused homage to the Khan and passage through his territory, he declared war against Annam. The Mongol troops advanced from China in the north and Champā in the south, but were decisively defeated by the Annamite Emperor.

Champā was thus saved from further troubles and Indra-varman placated the great Khan by sending rich presents. The king, who heroically sustained this arduous struggle, died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his son, the brave prince Harijit, who ascended the throne under the name Jaya Siṁha-varman IV.

The new king dispensed with all marks of vassalage of Kublai Khan and also stopped the usual payment of tribute to Annam. He had married a princess of Java, named Tāpasi, and was eager to marry a princess of Annam. The court of Annam coldly received his proposal, but he was so much infatuated that he even ceded two northern provinces of his kingdom as price of this marriage. Thus was Champā dismembered a second time in favour of Annam.[14]

Jaya Siṁha-varman IV died in A.D. 1307, soon after this marriage, and was succeeded by his son Mahendra-varman. The cession of the two northern provinces rankled in the minds of the people and frequent incursions and rebellions followed. Thereupon the Annamite Emperor invaded Champā and gained an easy victory. Mahendra-varman was made prisoner and his brother was entrusted

with the government of Champā as "Feudatory Prince of the Second rank" (A.D. 1312).

The kingdom of Champā had now practically become an Annamite province. The new ruler made an attempt to throw off the Annamite yoke, but being defeated took to flight. Thereupon Champā was ruled by military chiefs as viceroys of the Annamite Emperor. These viceroys, however, soon declared themselves independent and carried on a prolonged warfare with Annam, with occasional truce, for 150 years more. In A.D. 1470 the Annamite Emperor sent a fleet containing 100,000 men and himself marched at the head of 150,000 soldiers against Champā. He seized the capital city Vijaya and annexed all the territory up to cape Varella. The petty chiefs that ruled over the small territory that yet remained (*viz.* the modern districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan) were at the absolute mercy of the Annamites, but they still bore the proud name of the king of Champā and received Chinese investiture as such. One of them made a last desperate effort in A.D. 1543 to get rid of the Annamese yoke but was defeated and put in an iron cage. The Annamites annexed the Cham territory up to the river of Phanrang and the seat of the kingdom of Champā was removed to Bal Chanar at Phanri. In A.D. 1822 the last phantom king of Champā, unable to bear the oppression of the Annamites, took refuge in Kambuja with a colony of exiles. Thus ended the long and glorious history of the Hindu kingdom of Champā which lost its very name and was called Annam after the conquering tribe.

4. JAVA

Java was rescued from the great catastrophe, which overwhelmed it in A.D. 1007,[15] by the exertions of Airlangga, the son-in-law of the late king Dharmavaṁśa. Airlangga, then only sixteen years old, hid himself in a monastery with only a few followers, for three years. In A.D. 1010 some people, evidently partisans of Dharmavaṁśa, met him there and hailed him as the legitimate king. He was formally consecrated in A.D. 1019 and probably established his authority over a small strip of territory extending from Surabaya to Pasuruhan. By A.D. 1028 he grew sufficiently powerful to make an attempt to recover the lost kingdom. He had to fight with a number of chiefs who set up as independent rulers in different parts of the country, and after almost continuous warfare for seven years, succeeded in re-establishing his authority over the whole of Java (A.D. 1035).

Airlangga next devoted his attention to restoring the material prosperity of the country. He improved trade and agriculture and

one of his inscriptions gives a long list of foreign countries whose people used to visit Java for purposes of trade or other reasons. They include a large number of localities in India as well as Annam and Cambodia. Airlangga was a great patron of literature, and in his old age, abdicated the throne and took to religious life (A.D. 1042). The details of his life, given in an inscription now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, show that he possessed a unique personality and had an eventful career. He was probably buried at Belahan, and it is generally believed that the fine image of Vishṇu on Garuḍa, found at that place, is the actual portrait of Airlangga, and the first of a long series of divine images, depicting royal portraits, which have been found in Java.

Before his death Airlangga had divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. Of these the western kingdom with its capital at Kaḍiri rose into greater importance and ultimately absorbed the other. We know the names of a large number of kings who ruled at Kaḍiri during the twelfth century A.D. Among them Jayavarsha, Kāmeśvara (I or II) and Jayabhaya have been immortalised by the great poets who flourished in their courts. Indeed the Kaḍiri court witnessed the most flourishing period of Indo-Javanese literature to which reference will be made later.

It appears from the account of Chau Ju-Kua[16] that the kingdom of Kaḍiri (which he refers to as Sho-po or Yava) was very powerful and ruled over the whole of Java with the exception of Sin-to, *i.e.* Suṇḍa in W. Java, which was a dependency of San-fo-tsi,[17] and Su-ki-tan which cannot be exactly located. Chau Ju-Kua gives a list of 15 states, in and outside the island of Java, which were all dependencies of Sho-po. Eight of these were situated in islands whose inhabitants were mostly barbarous. The two most important of the states were the island of Bali and south-western part of Borneo, and the rest probably refer to the smaller eastern islands of the Archipelago.

The Kaḍiri period, which thus laid the foundations of the Javanese Empire, also witnessed a high degree of development both in art and literature. It may thus be regarded as a prominent landmark in the political and cultural history of Java.

Kṛitajaya, the last king of Kaḍiri, met with a tragic end. A detailed account of this is given in *Pararaton,* a historical chronicle of Java, which is not, however, always reliable. It is said that the king asked the clergy to make obeisance to him and so they left in a body and sought refuge with Angrok, the son of a peasant and a highway robber in early life, who had murdered his

master, the governor of Tumapel, married his widow, and made himself ruler of the territory to the east of Mount Kavi. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the king and the clergy, Angrok openly declared himself king under the title Rājasa. He twice defeated Kṛitajaya in A.D. 1222 and annexed Kaḍiri. The new kingdom which united nearly the whole of Eastern Java came to be known as Singhasāri, after the name of its capital.

The end of the royal dynasty of Kaḍiri, which traced its descent from the old house of Matarām, snapped the bond with old traditions and Central Java. This is probably the reason why, with the foundation of Singhasāri, the old Hindu culture and civilisation gradually faded away and purely Javanese elements came into prominence.

Rājasa, as well as his two sons who succeeded him, were assassinated. Then came Vishṇu-vardhana, who died a natural death in A.D. 1268. He was succeeded by his son Kṛitanagara whom he had already anointed king and associated with his government in A.D. 1254.

Kṛitanagara was a remarkable king in many respects and had an eventful reign. Unfortunately the two texts, *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama* and *Pararaton,* which form our main sources of information, differ radically in their estimate of the king. The latter represents him as a foolish and worthless debauchee who spent all his time in eating and drinking, and left the cares of government in the hands of wicked men. The former, which is also the earlier text, on the other hand describes him as "well-versed in the sixfold royal policy, expert in all branches of knowledge, quite at home in Buddhist scriptures and eminently righteous in life and conduct". The truth, as always, seems to lie in the middle. Most probably the king was an ardent follower of Tantrayāna form of Buddhism to whom drinking wine and some other obnoxious practices were parts of religious rites and ceremonies.

As to his political capacity, Kṛitanagara undoubtedly was a powerful king who established his position securely at home and sent expeditions to foreign countries. He re-established the supremacy of Java over Bali, whose king was brought prisoner to Java in A.D. 1284. There is no reason to doubt the statement in *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama* that his authority was established over Pahang (Malay Peninsula), Malayu (Central Sumatra), Gurun (Gorang), Bakulapura (S. W. Borneo), Suṇḍa (W. Java) and Madhura (Madura island). Marco Polo (A.D. 1292) also describes Java as a prosperous kingdom, under a great king. It was very rich and noted for its trade and commerce.

The first expedition against Malayu, which was sent in A.D. 1275, established the authority of Java in the very heart of Sumatra. An inscription, dated A.D. 1286, found at Padang Roco in the Batanghari District (Sumatra), clearly proves that the kingdom of Malayu which extended far into the interior of Sumatra, formed a vassal state of Java. As subsequent events proved, it was from this military stronghold in Sumatra that Java ultimately extended her authority over the whole of that island. As such it may be regarded as a great achievement of Kṛitanagara.

The *Pararaton,* however, attributes the downfall of the king to this unwise military expedition. For while Java was thereby denuded of troops, Jayakatvang, the governor of Kaḍiri, revolted and marched against the capital city. The king sent his main army under his two sons-in-law against the rebel army coming by the northern route, which was defeated and driven back. But a more powerful rebel army coming stealthily by the southern route suddenly reached the capital and stormed the palace. The king and his minister, who were found drinking wine, were both killed on the spot, and Jayakatvang established (or re-established) the supremacy of Kaḍiri over Java.

Whatever we might think of the details in the above account of *Pararaton,* the main facts seem to be correct. The king, passionately devoted to Tāntrik Buddhism, evidently neglected administration, for we hear of at least two other revolutions before the final *coup de grace* given by the governor of Kaḍiri.

The success of Jayakatvang of Kaḍiri was, however, shortlived. Vijaya, one of the two sons-in-law of Kṛitanagara who led the royal army against the rebels in the north, founded a small principality at Majapahit and entered into a conspiracy with the governor of the island of Madura. But the end of Jayakatvang was really brought about by a series of strange events.

In A.D. 1281 the great Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan had invited the king of Java to come in person to the Imperial court to pay homage to him.[18] Kṛitanagara refused, and at last, irritated by repeated orders, sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face. Kublai thereupon sent a big military expedition to Java in A.D. 1292. Vijaya, in order to utilise the expedition to his favour, offered submission and joined the Mongols against Jayakatvang who made preparations to defend his country. Jayakatvang's army was, however, defeated; his capital city was stormed, and he himself was made a prisoner and later killed (A.D. 1293).

Vijaya, freed from Jayakatvang, now left the Chinese camp on some pretext, collected a large force and attacked the Chinese army

on its way back from Kaḍiri. Vijaya was forced to fall back, but the Chinese generals could not come to any agreed decision about their future action; so they got the troops in the ships and returned to China (A.D. 1293).

With the death of Jayakatvang, the kingdom of Kaḍiri came to an end and Vijaya became undisputed master of Java with Majapahit as its capital. By a strange irony of fate the Mongol expedition, which came with the avowed object of punishing Kṛitanagara, really avenged his foul murder upon his enemy and helped the re-establishment of his family. No less strange is the fact that Vijaya, who betrayed the Imperial army, succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Chinese Emperor and sent embassies in A.D. 1297, 1298, 1300 and 1308.

The kingdom of Majapahit, which was brought into existence in A.D. 1293 amid strange circumstance, ere long became the nucleus of a mighty Hindu empire which continued its existence till the sixteenth century A.D.

5. BALI

The island of Bali enjoys the unique distinction of being the only ancient Hindu colony in the East which still follows the Brahmanical religion. Bali imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation from quite an early period as has been noted above.[19] It was intimately connected with Java and very often politically subordinate to it,[20] but there is no doubt that originally it derived its culture directly from India and was in no way a mere product of the Indo-Javanese colony or civilisation, as is supposed by many. This is best proved by a large number of inscriptions on stones and copper-plates, and other antiquities going back to the eighth century A.D. Both the language and subject-matter of these records leave no doubt that the civilisation flourishing in Bali had a distinctive character of its own and was not merely an offshoot of Indo-Javanese culture.

These inscriptions have preserved the names of no less than five Hindu kings and a queen ruling in the tenth century A.D. The earliest of these is Ugrasena whose known dates are A.D. 915 and 933. Then follow Tabanendra-varma-deva (A.D. 955), Chandrabhayasiṅgha-varma-deva (A.D. 962), Janasādhu-varma-deva (A.D. 975) and queen Śrī-Vijaya-mahādevī (A.D. 983). Another inscription, without date but probably belonging to the tenth century, mentions Śrī Keśari-varman, lord over all neighbouring provinces, who overcame Gurun and other localities. Neither the relation between these kings nor any further particulars of their reign are known.

As mentioned above,[21] Bali was conquered by Java towards the close of the tenth century A.D. and was ruled by Mahendradattā, *alias* Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, along with her husband Udayana (or Dharmodāyana-varma-deva), the parents of the famous king Airlangga.[22] The queen died before A.D. 1011, and the latter alone ruled till at least A.D. 1025. Next we hear of Marakatapangkaja-Sthānottunggadeva, but whether he was an independent king or acknowledged the supremacy of Java, it is difficult to say. Airlangga no doubt ultimately asserted his full suzerainty over Bali, and the king, mentioned in ten copper-plates with dates ranging between A.D. 1049 and 1077, was most probably his younger brother.

Bali probably regained independence in the twelfth century and we know the names of several kings such as Śrī Śūrādhipa (A.D. 1115-1119), Śrī Jayaśakti (A.D. 1133, 1150), and Paduka Śrī Mahārāja Haji Jaya Pangus. The last named is known from 13 inscriptions (one dated in A.D. 1177 and the rest in A.D. 1181) which describe him as the suzerain king ruling over a circle of seven states in Bali (Bali-dvīpa-*maṇḍala*), but the genuineness of these records is not beyond question. Next we hear of two other kings, Śakalendu (A.D. 1201) and Bhaṭāra Parameśvara (A.D. 1204). Shortly after this Bali must have been conquered by Java. Chau Ju-Kua includes it among the vassal states of Java, though he expressly says that Bali and Tañjuṅgpura (S. W. Borneo) were the most important among them. Bali became independent again soon after the fall of Kaḍiri and we know of king Adilañchana ruling in A.D. 1250. But Kṛitanagara conquered it again and captured its king.[23]

The tragic end of Kṛitanagara once more enabled Bali to throw off the yoke of Java. The generals of Kublai Khan, while returning from the expedition to Java[24] in A.D. 1293, brought to the Emperor a letter in golden characters and rich presents from the king of Bali. For nearly half a century Bali remained an independent state. But the growing empire of Majapahit tried to re-establish the supremacy over this island. The king of Bali fought hard to maintain his independence, but was totally routed by a strong force sent from Java in A.D. 1343. Henceforth Bali formed an integral part of the Majapahit Empire for nearly a century and half. Then, towards the close of the fifteenth century A.D., the king of Majapahit, unable to stem the tide of Islam, took refuge with his followers in Bali. His example was followed by many Javanese who wanted to retain their old religion and culture. The history of Java was thus continued in Bali which retained its political autonomy till the Dutch established their suzerainty over the whole of

the island and incorporated it in their empire in A.D. 1911. But Bali received a large influx of Javanese element after the fall of Majapahit and soon became the last stronghold of Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation, a position which it happily maintains even today.

So strong has been the historic association with Java that most of the inhabitants of Bali style themselves with pride as "men of Majapahit", and only a few primitive tribes are called, by way of contrast, "indigenous people of Bali."

6. BURMA

Popular tradition or philology derives the word Brahma (the original of the anglicised form Burma) from the Sanskrit word Brahma. It is, however, more probable that it was the Sanskritized form of the tribal name Mramma(*var.* Myamma and Bhama).

The Mrammas form the principal element in the population of Burma, which is undoubtedly a mixture of many peoples and tribes. They came from their original homeland in Tibet along the valley of the Brahmaputra and Chindwin rivers, and it has been suggested that the tribal name was derived from the Brahmaputra. In any case, it is certain that the Burmans are ethnically connected with a large number of tribes, now living on the eastern border of India, such as the Nāgās, Kukis, Mishmis, Lepchas, Abors and Bhuṭiyās. It is probable therefore that they came into contact with Indian culture on their way to Burma. If the traditions, narrated above,[25] are to be believed, they received one or more bands of Indian colonists among them after they had settled in the country. Later, the Mrammas came into contact with the Hinduised Pyus, Mons and other primitive tribes, and all these coalesced into the modern Burmans.

There is no doubt that even up to the tenth century A.D. the Mrammas were rude and unlettered, as compared with the Pyus and Mons. How they first came into prominence it is difficult to say. The most likely explanation seems to be that when the power of the Pyus declined on account of pressure from the Thais in the north and Mons in the south, the Mrammas poured in large numbers and gradually acquired political ascendancy.

The Burmese national era starts from A.D. 638 and is generally believed to commemorate the foundation of the Mramma power in Pagan. But this is very doubtful. The association of the Mrammas with Pagan probably does not go back beyond the ninth century A.D., and according to some chronicles the city was founded by king Pyañpya in A.D. 849. The Burmese chronicles contain

legends of a number of kings of Pagan, but it is not till the eleventh century A.D. that we can clearly follow the main outline of their history with the help of contemporary inscriptions. These inscriptions enable us to correct the dates given in the chronicles and to restore the Indian form of royal names. To take a concrete example, the chronicles tell us that Anawratha became king of Pagan in A.D. 1010. But we know from the inscriptions that the king's name was Aniruddha and that he ascended the throne in A.D. 1044; further, that the classical name of Pagan was Arimardanapura.

The accession of Aniruddha may be said to have introduced a new era in the history of the Mrammas. Although the prevailing religion was a debased form of Tāntrik Buddhism the king was converted to the pure Theravāda by a Brāhmaṇa monk of Thaton, and gradually this new form ousted the old. He asked for the co-operation of the Mon king of Thaton in this great religious reform, and sent an envoy asking for copies of the sacred texts. The request was refused and the envoy was insulted. Thereupon Aniruddha marched with an army, completely conquered the Mon country, and brought its king captive to Pagan. But the defeated Mons really conquered the Mrammas. Aniruddha brought back with him from the Mon country all the Buddhist monks along with sacred texts and relics carried by 32 elephants, as well as a large number of artisans and craftsmen. This brought about a complete transformation of the culture of the Mrammas. They adopted the Mon religion and scripture and learnt the art of writing with the help of the Mon script. Thus the Mon form of Hindu culture commenced a new career in Pagan. Even the classical example of vanquished Greece captivating Rome was surpassed by the way in which the Mrammas thoroughly imbibed the Hindu civilisation from the Mons.

Aniruddha extended his kingdom in all directions. Nearly the whole of Burma, excluding Tenasserim, was brought under his rule; even the Shan chiefs in the east acknowledged his suzerainty. He conquered N. Arakan and probably advanced within the frontiers of India. The Burmese chronicles represent Paṭṭikerā in Tippera District, Bengal, as bordering on his kingdom. The king married an Indian princess and the chronicles give a long account of her journey to Burma.

The two outstanding achievements of Aniruddha were the political union of Burma and the introduction of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism which still prevails in that country. He carried out great irrigation works and built numerous temples and monasteries. His name and fame spread to the island of Ceylon whose

king asked for his help in both political and religious matters. He set Burma on the path to regeneration through Hindu culture which it has followed ever since.

On the death of Aniruddha in A.D. 1077 the Mons of Pegu made an attempt to recover their independence. They advanced up to Pagan and killed the new king. But they were defeated by Kyanzittha, another son of Aniruddha, born of the Indian princess, who was formally crowned in A.D. 1084 under the title Śrī Tribhuvanāditya-dharmarāja. During his rule many Buddhists and Vaishṇavas from India settled in Burma. The king is said to have fed eight Indian monks with his own hands for three months, and on hearing from them the description of Indian temples designed the famous Ānanda temple. Whatever we might think of this story, there is no doubt that this masterpiece of Burman architecture was designed on Indian model. The king not only built other temples, but also repaired ('newly constructed' according to chronicles) the holy temple of Bodh-Gayā in India. He married a Choḷa princess and sent a diplomatic mission to China which was given precedence over that of the Choḷas. He sent an expedition to South Arakan which acknowledged his supremacy. Tenasserim was also added to his kingdom.

Kyanzittha was succeeded by his daughter's son Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-1167). His reign was full of troubles. Rebellions in South Arakan and Tenasserim were suppressed, but the king in his old age was murdered by his son Narathu who also killed many members of the royal family including his step-mother, the princess of Paṭṭikerā (Tippera District). The father of this lady took revenge by sending eight of his best guards, who entered the palace in the disguise of priests and killed Narathu (A.D. 1170). His son Narasiṁha succeeded him, but was killed after three years by his younger brother Narapatisithu. During the reign of this king Ceylonese Buddhism was introduced in Pagan in A.D. 1192, and ultimately replaced the Mon Buddhism which had prevailed since the days of Aniruddha.

The three kings who reigned after Narapatisithu were all devoted to religious activities, and one of them, Jayasiṁha, built the Mahābodhi temple in imitation of the famous temple at Bodh-Gayā. The next two kings were of opposite character. The second of these, Narasiṁhapati, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1254, boasted that he swallowed three hundred dishes of curry daily and had three thousand concubines. In A.D. 1271 Kublai Khan sent envoys asking Burma to accept his suzerainty.[26] Not only did the Burmese king refuse the demand and execute a Chinese ambassador sent to

him in A.D. 1273, but he also twice invaded some border states which had submitted to China. On the second occasion (A.D. 1283) the Burmese army was defeated with heavy loss and the king fled from his capital city. Revolt broke out on all sides and the king was murdered (A.D. 1287). The Mongols now struck a decisive blow. A grandson of Kublai Khan marched to Pagan which perished "amid the blood and flame of the Tartar terror".

The Mongol conquest was followed by a complete political disintegration and cultural decay. The country was divided into a number of petty principalities and the stories of the interminable fights, intrigues, cruelty and treachery of their chiefs fill the pages of the chronicles. Thus passed away the united kingdom of Burma, set up by Aniruddha, after a glorious existence of more than two centuries, and nearly three centuries elapsed before it regained anything like its former position in the sphere of politics and culture.

7. SIAM

The beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Siam may be traced to the first two centuries of the Christian era. Archaeological remains and other evidences leave no doubt that here, too, as in the neighbouring regions in Indo-China, the Hindu culture and civilisation were firmly established and entirely transformed the character of the people. But our knowledge of its political history is very meagre. Its northern part came under the influence of the Mons, and we have referred above to the kingdom of Dvāravatī that flourished in the seventh century A.D. and various small principalities, known from local annals, that grew up in Laos in later times. The southern part of Siam formed a part of the kingdom of Kambuja from early times and, as noted above, the Kambuja empire at its greatest extent included the whole of that country. It is only after the decline of that empire in the thirteenth century A.D. that Siam became an independent political unit. But this was accomplished, not by the children of the soil, but by a new race of immigrants from the north, known as the Thais. As this race dominated the history of Indo-China during the next five centuries and caused the overthrow of the Hindu kingdoms of Kambuja and Champā, it is necessary to review their history at some length.

The Thais are a Mongolian tribe, probably ethnically related to the Chinese, and originally lived in the southern and south-western part of what is now known as China. They migrated in early centuries before and after the Christian era, and set up various principalities spreading over the whole of the uplands of Indo-China to the east of Burma and the north of Siam, Kambuja and Champā. Two

groups of these, which settled in Yunnan and Tonkin, came to be more powerful than the rest. The latter, known as the Annamites, whose long struggle with Champā has been referred to above, derived their civilisation from China. The former, however, came under the influence of Hindu culture and civilisation from an early period. Their country, corresponding to modern Yunnan in South China, was called Nan-chao by the Chinese, but it was known in Indo-China as Gandhāra. One part of it was also called Videha-rājya, and its capital was known as Mithilā. The people used an alphabet of Hindu origin. Local traditions in Yunnan affirm that Avalokiteśvara came from India and converted the region to Buddhism. It is said that when, towards the close of the eighth century A.D., the ruler of this kingdom became enamoured of Chinese civilisation, seven religious teachers of India rebuked the king. In the first half of the ninth century A.D. a Hindu monk named Chandragupta, born in Magadha and therefore designated Māgadha, led a brilliant career of a thaumaturgist in Yunnan. There was in Yunnan the famous Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the sacred hill Gṛidhrakūṭa and many other localities associated with Buddhism. A Chinese traveller of the tenth century A.D. refers to a local tradition that Śākyamuni obtained Bodhi near Lake Ta-li in Yunnan. The Buddhist influence in Yunnan is still attested by two bells of the eleventh century with inscriptions in Chinese and Sanskrit. The king of Nan-chao had the title Mahārāja and also another Hindu title, which means the king of the east. According to local tradition the royal family was descended from Aśoka. Rasid-ud-dīn, writing in the thirteenth century, not only calls the country Gandhāra but asserts that its people came from India and China. All these demonstrate that the Thais of Yunnan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation to a very large extent.

The Thai kingdom of Nan-chao or Gandhāra threw off the yoke of China about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and soon grew very powerful. A century later the state was strong enough to invade China and, after repeated successes, its ruler assumed the title of Emperor in A.D. 850. The T'ang Emperor took this as an insult to him and a prolonged war followed, in which China was repeatedly defeated. In A.D. 884 the Emperor of Gandhāra married a daughter of the Chinese Emperor and peace was established between the two powers.

The Hinduised Thai kingdom of Gandhāra flourished till A.D. 1253 when it was conquered by the Mongol Chief Kublai Khan. The extinction of this great Thai state coincides with, and perhaps accounts for, the general movement of the Thais towards the south and west. One branch of them, the Ahoms, proceeded north and

conquered Assam, while another, the Shans, got possession of Upper Burma. A third branch went south and conquered gradually the whole of Laos and Siam.

There were Thai kingdoms on the eastern borderland of Burma, as well as in the Mekong valley, long before the thirteenth century. But these were petty principalities, and it is not till the thirteenth century that we find powerful Thai states in both these regions. The history of the Thais in Burma (known as the Shans) need not detain us here, as we are concerned here with the Thais in Siam.

The first Thai kingdom of importance was that of Sukhodaya (Sukotai) in central Siam. It was then the seat of Kambuja governor in Siam. When a revolt broke out, the Kambuja general sent to quell it was defeated by two Thai chiefs who occupied the town. One of them, Kun Bang Klang, was consecrated as king of Sukhodaya with the title of Indrāditya, some time about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. During his reign the country received a tremendous wave of Thai immigrants, presumably those who fled from Nan-chao or Gandhāra after its conquest by Kublai Khan.

Partly on account of these reinforcements, and partly on account of the weakness of Kambuja, Indrāditya was able to extend his dominions on all sides by constant fights with his neighbours. But it was during the reign of his son Ram Kamheng that the new kingdom reached its widest extent. This king, whose known dates are A.D. 1283 and 1292, has left a long inscription which gives us a detailed account of his life and reign.

The record gives a long list of conquered countries which include, besides a number of Thai states in Siam, Haṁsāvatī or Pegu in Lower Burma and Nakhon Sri Thammarat in Malay Peninsula. It appears that after the Kambujas had lost their power in Siam, in the thirteenth century, a number of independent Thai states arose there and probably most of them had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ram Kamheng. Two Thai states, which sent many embassies to China between A.D. 1282 and 1323, are called by the Chinese Si-en and Lo-hu. There is no doubt that they represent respectively Shyam and Lvo or Lopburi. Shyam, which has been anglicised into Siam, originally denoted only the northern part of the country, and stands here for the kingdom of Sukhodaya. It is no doubt due to the supremacy of this kingdom that gradually the whole country came to be known as Shyam or Siam. But the Chinese account shows that even towards the end of the thirteenth century, Lopburi, to the south of Sukhodaya, in the Lower Menam Valley, was an important state, and bore a separate name. But in spite of the existence of one or more such independent or semi-independent states we may well

believe that Ram Kamheng established a very powerful kingdom whose influence was felt as far as Lower Burma in the north and Malay Peninsula in the south. It was almost certainly Ram Kamheng who carried his victorious arms to Kambuja and devastated the region round Angkor as testified to by Cheu Ta-Kuan.[27]

But these brilliant victories alone do not constitute the sole claim of Ram Kamheng to the title 'Great'. His record gives a long list of his works of public utility which would do credit to any ruler. He erected large and beautiful temples and placed in them bronze images of Buddha, one of which was 18 cubits high. Palaces, monasteries, lakes, parks and groves of fruit-trees beautified the city and the people enjoyed peace and prosperity. In a long passage the king enunciates his ideals of charity and justice. In particular he mentions the device of hanging a bell in front of the gate by ringing which all petitioners for justice could have direct access to the king.

Ram Kamheng also claims to have introduced the art of writing among his people. Although the words of the inscription are not quite clear, it would seem that he did not invent the Thai script but a particular style of it which was known after him and came into general use. This Ram Kamheng script is derived from a cursive form of the Khmer script of Kambuja and was a great improvement upon the Thai script which was in use before his time.

Even making due allowance for the natural exaggerations in a royal *praśasti*, the long record of Ram Kamheng, found at Sukhodaya, presents before us a unique personality, great in arts of war and peace, and an enlightened ruler with progressive ideas much in advance of his age.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to follow the subsequent history of the Thai kingdom in full details. The grandson of Ram Kamheng took the pompous name Sūryavaṁśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja at the time of coronation in A.D. 1347. He was a devout Buddhist who studied the *Tripiṭakas* and at the same time set up images of Śiva and Vishṇu. But he was not successful as a ruler and gradually the Thai principality of Uton, which took the place of Lopburi after conquering it, rose into importance. In A.D. 1350 its ruler proclaimed himself to be an independent king. He transferred his capital to a new city called Ayodhyā (Ayuthia) and assumed the title Rāmādhipati. Soon Ayodhyā became the leading state and the rulers of Sukhodaya became, at first vassal chiefs, and then merely hereditary governors.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā gradually extended its authority over Laos and a considerable part of Kambuja. It occasionally suffered serious reverses in the hands of Burmese kings, and the city of

Ayodhyā was destroyed by one of them in A.D. 1767. The capital was then removed to Bangkok where a representative of the old dynasty still occupies the throne. As in Burma, Buddhism is still the prevailing religion in Siam, and this has kept up her cultural association with India and Ceylon.

8. CULTURE AND CIVILISATION

The Hindu civilisation, which had taken deep root in the soil, continued its progress unabated during the period under review, practically in all the countries whose political history has been discussed in the preceding sections. The general picture of society and religion, sketched above,[28] mostly holds good for this period also, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to a few characteristic features which distinguish this period.

1. *Religion*

Of the three principal religious sects, Śaivism still maintained the dominant position, but Buddhism made a great headway in Kambuja. King Sūrya-varman I[29] had the posthumous name Nirvāṇapada. It was a fairly general practice to give such posthumous names, indicative of religious persuasion, to deceased kings. We may, therefore, regard him as the first Buddhist king of Kambuja. Another great Buddhist king was Jaya-varman VII,[30] the grand monarch of Kambuja. The Ta Prohm Inscription throws a great deal of light on the principles and practices of Buddhism. After mentioning the rich donations made to a temple[31] the king expresses the hope that as a result of this piety, "his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births". It is full of noble sentiments befitting a pious Buddhist king. The motive which inspired him to establish the hospitals, 102 in number, is described as follows:—

"The bodily pain of the diseased became in him (king Jaya-varman VII) a mental agony more tormenting than the former. For the real pain of a king is the pain of his subjects, not that of his own (body)." This noble sentiment combines the idealism of the Kauṭilyan king with the piety and humanity of Aśoka.

But the darker side of Buddhism also made its appearance. The degraded form of Mahāyāna, known as Tantrayāna, took deep root in the soil, especially in Java and Sumatra. Its influence can be traced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. by the parts played by Tāntrik teachers during the reigns of Airlangga and Jayabhaya. The further progress of this debased form of religion in the thirteenth century is illustrated by king Kṛitanagara.[32] This great king was undoubtedly endowed with talents of a high order,

and was believed to be an incarnation of Jina, but he indulged, perhaps in sincere faith, even in such obnoxious practices as *pañcha-makāra* and *sādhana-chakra*. A terrible and repulsive image of Bhairava, now at Leiden, is regarded by some as a representation of this king, but whether this is true or not, this hideous, naked and corpulent figure, amid human skulls, personifies the obnoxious religious faith of the time.

It is probable that this Tāntrik form was introduced from Bengal where we find similar degradation of Buddhism during the later Pāla period. As in Bengal, here also Tāntrik ideas permeated Śaivism, and there was a rapprochement between the two, notably in Kambuja and Java. The process reached its logical conclusion by the identification of Śiva, Vishṇu and Buddha, as well as of their Śaktis (goddesses). In modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva, and a similar Śiva-Buddha cult also existed in Java.

This syncretism is well illustrated by king Kṛitanagara who was known both as Narasiṁha-*mūrtti* (an incarnation of Vishṇu) and Śiva-Buddha, and was represented after his death by an image of Śiva-Buddha. His father was also represented, after death, by the images of both Śiva and Buddha, and the latter's cousin, though called Narasiṁha-*mūrtti*, was represented by an image of Śiva. These not merely indicate toleration of, and even faith in, different gods, but also a belief that these different gods are identical.

We have many other instances of the apotheosis of the kings and queens, and the construction of divine images, named and fashioned after them. The queen of Angrok,[33] and the queen-mother of Jaya-varman VII[34] were represented as the Buddhist goddess Prajñāpāramitā, the Vishṇu of Belahan probably represents Airlangga,[35] while the Hari-Hara image of Simping preserves the physical features of king Kṛitanagara. There are probably other portrait-images of gods and goddesses which cannot be definitely identified.

It may be due to the influence of the Tāntrik ideas, that the royal *gurus* (preceptors) occupied a pre-eminent position. In any case we come across quite a large number of them, particularly in Kambuja, who wielded great power and authority even in political matters. Śaṅkara Paṇḍita had played a leading part in placing Harsha-varman III[36] on the throne, while Divākara Paṇḍita was a prominent figure during the reign of Jaya-varman VI[37] and his two successors. Sometimes we hear of kings getting priests from abroad in order to perform special ceremonies. An inscription records how such a priest was brought by a fleet of barges and grand festivities

held in his honour were attended by kings from other islands. Most likely this priest was brought from India, for intimate association continued between these countries. Āchārya Chandrakīrti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvīpa, proceeded to Vijrāsana (Bodh-Gayā) in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma. His fame was so great that even Dīpaṅkara[38] went to Suvarṇadvīpa and stayed there for twelve years as his pupil.

To what extent pomp and ceremony became a part of Buddhism is indicated by the description of the spring-time festival in seven verses of the Ta Prohm Inscription of Jaya-varman VII.[39] It was celebrated every year from the 8th to the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra. Dancing by girls formed an important part of the ceremony, and offerings were made to the three *gurus,* thousand Devatās, and to the 619 divinities, while 1000 learned persons such as Bhikshus and Brāhmaṇas were entertained. Bhagavān and Bhagavatī, together with the gods Vīra, Śakti and others, were to make the *pradakshiṇa* (circumambulation).

The account of Cheu Ta-Kuan[40] also shows that Buddhists no longer followed the puritan code of old times. The monks ate fish and meat and offered them to the Buddha. Some of them had palanquins with golden pole and gold-handled umbrellas and the king consulted them about serious affairs. There were no Buddhist nuns.

The same authority tells us that the Taoists, *i.e.* the followers of the Brahmanical sects, are called Pa-sseu-wei, which probably stands for the Pāśupatas. They worshipped only a block of stone (*i.e.* a liṅga) and their religion was not so prosperous as Buddhism. There were, however, Taoist nuns.

It would thus appear that towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Buddhism was growing at the cost of Śaivism. Evidently this process continued till, in course of a few centuries, Buddhism ousted all other forms of religion, as we see in Cambodia today.

In Burma, too, Brahmanical religion was completely ousted by Buddhism. Here, as in Siam and Ceylon, the prevalent form was Theravāda or Hīnayāna Buddhism, though the Mahāyāna or Tantrayāna doctrines, which so strongly affected Sumatra, Java, Kambuja and Champā, were not altogether unknown. There is another common feature in Burma and Ceylon. Both the countries adopted Pāli, the language of the sacred texts, as a classic which has evolved a new literature and continued its unbroken career down to the present time. The same thing is also true of Siam, though to a much less extent.

2. *Social and Economic Condition*

The caste system still formed the basis of the society. The Buddhist king Sūrya-varman I[41] is said to have 'established the division of castes', while Harsha-varman[42] caused the duties of the four castes to be strictly observed. But the rules about the inter-marriage were somewhat different as we find even Brāhmaṇa girls being married to Kshatriyas.

The social condition on the whole does not differ substantially from that in the preceding period.[43] But fortunately we have a detailed account of the manners and customs of Kambuja, the most flourishing Indian colony at this period, written by Cheu Ta-Kuan in A.D. 1296-97.[44] Such an account by a discerning eye-witness is of inestimable value in forming a correct idea of the culture and civilisation of a people, and we may therefore quote a few important points from his sketch.

The king, the nobles, and the high officials formed an aristocracy which was sharply distinguished from the mass of people. Even the size and structure of a house were determined by the official rank of its owner. The common people did not dare use tiles for their roofs which were thatched.

The most striking thing about the dress of the people was that women as well as men (including king and queen) kept the upper part of their bodies uncovered and walked barefooted.[45] Rich and poor alike used only a loin cloth, adding a scarf when they went out. All had their hair tied up in a knot.

Cheu Ta-Kuan describes the wealth and luxury of the upper classes. The palace and other buildings were magnificent. He refers to a golden bridge with two golden lions on each side, golden Buddhas, golden towers, golden window frames, tiles made of lead and square columns with 50 mirrors in the council chamber. Pearls and jewellery were worn by the rich in profusion while the highest officials used palanquins with a golden pole and four umbrellas with golden handles.

The king maintained a big harem in addition to five queens. He sat with his principal queen at the golden window of his palace so that the people from below might see them. There were various amusements and festivities in the palace such as fire-works on New Year eve, bathing of Buddha images, collected from all over the country, on a particular day in the fifth month, music, dancing, boar and elephant fights in the eighth month, and a jovial procession of the people before the palace in the ninth month.

The king personally tried cases. Trial by ordeal was in vogue

and for serious crime the accused was buried alive in a ditch, or mutilated.

Four harvests were gathered in a year. The valuable products were 'plumes of the king-fisher, ivory, horn of the rhinoceros and wax.' The chief imports were gold and silver, silk stuffs, tin, porcelain, vermilion, paper and saltpetre. The trade was carried on chiefly by women.

Astronomy was very popular and even women could make calculations about auspicious and inauspicious days.

The monks were in charge of the education of the laity, and even the school-going children were instructed by them. The general spread of education is testified to by inscriptions, from which we learn that knowledge was held in high respect, and even many of the kings were highly learned. We get frequent reference to learned divines and a large number of eminent Brāhmaṇa families who for generations kept up a high standard of scholarship. The ministers and high officials, including ladies, followed in the footsteps of the kings and the high traditions of the earlier period[46] were fully maintained.

But in spite of the high level of culture there were disquieting signs of the coming doom. It was evident that the source of the stream that fed up the civilisation of the colonies in this distant region was gradually being dried up. Indian inspiration being gradually weakened, the primitive indigenous elements began to assert themselves. This can be easily discerned in the gradual transformation of art and literature. In general the indigenous language came to the forefront and began to replace Sanskrit, and new local elements introduced in art led to its rapid degradation. Though all this was not fully apparent during the period under review, signs of the coming change were not wanting.

In the social and moral life also we come across some elements which seem to be an assertion of primitive instincts over artificial refinements introduced by Hindu civilisation. Reference may be made for instance to certain customs which are noted by Cheu Ta-Kuan as being common among all classes of people in Kambuja. We are told that men and women of the family, without any clothes on, took their bath together in a big cistern. Sometimes even two or three families used the same cistern and bathed together in this way. Even in the river outside a town thousands of naked women, including those of noble birth, took their bath before the full gaze of the public who could "see their whole body from head to foot". Even more obnoxious was the practice, universally prevalent, whereby a virgin had to be deflowered by a monk, either Buddhist

or Śaiva, who was specially engaged by the parents for the purpose. Customs like these were not absolutely unknown in India, but they were confined to a very small section of people and looked upon with opprobrium. Whether Kambuja owed them to India, or made a gift of them to the motherland, it is difficult to say. It would also appear from what Cheu Ta-Kuan says that the ideal of chastity, even among the married women in Kambuja, was not very high. On the whole there is hardly any doubt that there was a great lowering of the ethical standard specially in relation to sexual morality.

3. *Literature*

The study of Indian literature was widely prevalent in all the colonies, but nowhere else, except in Java, it led to the growth of a powerful indigenous literature. The Indo-Javanese literature passed through three distinct stages. Its earliest phase is generally known as Old-Javanese literature which flourished for nearly five hundred years from A.D. 1000 to 1500. This phase came to an end with the passing away of Hindu rule in Java and was replaced by what is called New-Javanese literature. The phase of literary activity in Bali, introduced by the Javanese who had migrated to that island after the Muslim conquest, is known as Middle-Javanese.

The Old-Javanese literature, with which alone we are concerned here, derives its subject-matter mainly from Indian literature, though there is often considerable deviation from the Sanskrit original texts with which we are familiar today. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses.

The earliest specimen of this literature, so far known, is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work *Amaramālā*, a lexicon like *Amarakośa*, written under the patronage of king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty who is not known from any other source. But the most famous work in this literature is the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* which was probably composed by Yogīśvara in A.D. 1094. It is not a translation of the Sanskrit work, but is based on the story of Rāma which ends with the reunion of Rāma and Sītā at Laṅkā, and shows some divergence from the text of Vālmīki.

Next in point of importance is the prose translation of *Mahābhārata* which closely follows the original epic but is more condensed. The three *parvas*, Ādi-, Virāṭa-, and Bhīshma-, were written under the patronage of Airlangga[47] towards the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. while five other *parvas* were added later.

Then follow a large number of political works known as Kaka-

win (from Kavi meaning Kāvya), based on some epic theme. The *Arjuna-vivāha* (eleventh century) gives the story of Arjuna's asceticism and his fight with Śiva, disguised as a hunter, and Nivāta-Kavacha, the demon who attacked the gods, as well as his amours with Menakā, Suprabhā, Tilottamā and others. The *Kṛishṇāyana* deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha. The death of Indumatī, the queen of Aja, as soon as a garland of flowers fell from heaven upon her body, forms the theme of *Sumanasāntaka*. Both works were written at the beginning of the twelfth century. The greatest work of this class, which has always enjoyed a very high reputation in Java, is *Bhārata-yuddha* written by Mpu Sedah in A.D. 1157. This, as well as *Harivaṁśa*, deals with the well-known episode of the *Mahābhārata*, and was written during the reign of Jayabhaya, king of Kaḍiri. Among other works of this class may be mentioned *Smaradahana* (burning of the cupid by Śiva), *Lubdhaka* (glorification of Śivarātri festival), *Bhomakāvya* (defeat of Naraka by Kṛishṇa), and *Kṛishṇāntaka* (death of Kṛishṇa and the destruction of his family). All these, except the last, were written during the Kaḍiri period.[48] There are many other works of this class which cannot be dated even approximately. In addition to these, there are other Kakawins not dealing with epic themes. These include lexicons, works on metre, and works of didactic, philosophic and erotic character.

There is also a large number of prose works. Some of these are based on themes derived from the epics. Others belong to the Purāṇa class of which the most important is the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* which closely follows the Sanskrit model, and even repeats the usual preamble, *viz.* the recitation of the text by Romaharshaṇa, during the rule of Adhisīmakṛishṇa. The other Purāṇas, such as *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Bhuvana-purāṇa*, contain many well-known Puranic myths and legends but we cannot trace these texts to any Sanskrit original.

The texts dealing with religious doctrines, mode of worship and philosophical principles form an important class of Old-Javanese literature. The secular works include historical, linguistic, medical and erotic texts. It is impossible even to refer to them in the short compass of this chapter. But enough has been said to indicate the vast mass and the varied contents even of the first phase of the Indo-Javanese literature, known as Old-Javanese literature. It may be added that the stories contained in the Sanskrit original or the Old-Javanese works based on them, were illustrated in sculptures in Java. In Kambuja and other colonies also we find

the themes of the two great epics illustrated in sculptures. All these show the great influence which Indian literature exercised upon the art and literature of the various colonies

4. *Art*

(i) Kambuja

In the domain of art Kambuja towers head and shoulder above the rest. A general view of the city of Angkor Thom[49] and of the monuments round about it creates a solemn impression of dazzling brilliance which does not suffer any diminution on a closer examination of the remains. Indeed it may be said with perfect truth, that no other equal space on earth can show anything comparable to Angkor monuments in massive grandeur. It is not possible here to attempt such a description, even of the most famous monuments of Kambuja, as would convey a fair idea of their nature and artistic excellence. I shall therefore refer only to a few typical specimens.

The Angkor Vat is justly regarded as the grandest of the monuments in Kambuja. The name simply means the temple (Vat) of the city (Angkor=*nagara*). It was built by Sūrya-varman II[50] and dedicated originally to god Vishṇu. The whole monument looks like an island in a lake, being surrounded by a moat, still full of water. This moat, which runs round the boundary walls of the temple, has a total length of two miles and a half, and is more than 650 feet wide. It is spanned by a stone causeway, 36 ft. wide, which leads to a huge *gopuram* or gateway of large dimensions. A paved avenue, 520 yds. long and raised some 7 ft. above the ground, connects this gateway with the temple situated in the centre of an extensive courtyard.

The main temple consists of a series of concentric courts, rising in several stages, one above another, from the centre of the topmost of which rises the shrine with a high *śikhara* that dominates the whole. Each of the courts is surrounded by a gallery, *i.e.* a long running chamber with vaulted roof supported by a wall on one side and square columns on the other. It has a *verandah* on the inner side with a half-vaulted roof of lower height. The first or lowest gallery measures 265 yds. from east to west and 224 yds. from north to south. A staircase from it leads to the second gallery which is similar in character, but supports four grand towers at the four corners. A grand staircase leads to the third or highest gallery which supports a conical tower at each corner and encloses a square courtyard measuring 200 ft. on each side. The sanctuary, placed

in the centre of this courtyard, and connected by four galleries with the four sides of the third gallery, is crowned by a *śikhara* or tower which rises to a height of 215 ft. and dominates the whole surrounding area by its majestic grandeur.

In addition to the principal galleries there are other connecting galleries, and the walls of all of these are covered with continuous friezes of bas-reliefs and other sculptures. The scenes, largely drawn from the Indian epics, cover a wide range, embracing almost all phases of human and animal lives, and are full of life and movement. The vast lengths of galleries, covered by these graceful and refined bas-reliefs, show the decorative art of Kambuja at its best. The Angkor Vat thus combines vastness of dimension with minute decoration, and it may be truly said of its artists that they conceived like giants and finished like jewellers.

There are many other temples of huge dimensions, marked by the two chief features which distinguish Angkor Vat, *viz.* the pyramidal character and the galleries. But there is no space to refer to them, except Bayon, which is regarded as the masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. It has the form of a pyramid of three stories crowned by a tower. The first storey consists of a gallery about 500 ft. long from east to west and 330 ft. from north to south. The plan is complicated by porches in the second gallery with other smaller galleries running at right angles to the main gallery. The third storey supports a central tower, conical in shape and with a circular base. It has balconies on all sides and is crowned by four diademed heads, probably of Brahmā. Its summit is at a height of about 150 ft. from the ground-level. There are terraces, balustrades, cells, *verandahs* and separate buildings in the courtyard and the sculpture is of a high quality.

No description of the monumental grandeur of Kambuja can be concluded without some account of Angkor Thom, the capital city built by Jaya-varman VII, about a mile north of Angkor Vat. We have a description of this city from the pen of Cheu Ta-Kuan who was deeply impressed by its wealth and grandeur. The actual remains today also convey a fair idea of its past glory.

The town was surrounded by a high wall made of limonite, and just beyond it, by a ditch about 110 yds. wide. There were five huge gates in the wall, two on the east and one each on the other sides, which gave access to the heart of the city by means of five grand avenues each 33 yds. wide. Each gateway was preceded by a paved causeway over the ditch.

The ditch has a total length of nearly 8½ miles and its sides are paved with enormous blocks of stones. The balustrade of the

causeway was made of figures of giants pulling at the body of a huge serpent whose expanded hoods must have formed its ends. But all these are now ruined.

The gateway consists of a huge arched opening more than 10 yds. high and 15 ft. wide with chambers on both sides. This opening is surmounted by four huge heads placed back to back, with smaller figures in the intervening spaces, and in a line below the chins. Lower down, the opening is flanked on either side by a small projection composed of a nicely decorated figure of an elephant with three heads, its huge broad feet trampling on lotus leaves and the three trunks plucking at aquatic flowers. This decoration, the huge opening and the majestic figures of heads above render the gate of Angkor Thom one of the most impressive and artistically superb in the whole world.

The old capital was almost square in shape, each side measuring nearly two miles. The grand avenues passing through the gates on the south, west and east (centre) converge towards the temple of Bayon described above which occupied almost the central position of the city.

To the north of the Bayon is the great public square, a sort of forum about 765 yds. long and 165 yds. wide, the border of which is occupied either by monuments or their principal gateways. Two grand avenues, one from the northern and another from one of the eastern gateways, converge to this forum. The buildings around it are the Bapuhon, the Phimeanakas, the Terrace of Honour, Prah-Pithu and two other structures, commonly, but not very accurately, referred to as the ware-house and the terrace of the leprous king. To the north of the enclosure of the Phimeanakas are the ruins of an edifice known as Prah-Pahlay. These are all Brahmanical structures. But a few Buddhist chapels are found scattered about all over the dense jungles which now spread everywhere over the ruins of this splendid city of old.

No great town has probably suffered greater devastation from man and nature than Angkor Thom. This magnificent city, which would favourably compare with Rome in the days of Nero, was for centuries entirely covered with vegetation and forests. But the huge quantities of potteries, bricks and tiles scattered all over the area indicate the density of population in the palmy days of the city. From a study of the extant ruins it has been inferred that the people mostly lived on the five grand avenues and round the numerous tanks whose beds still lie scattered over the whole area.

(ii) Other Colonies

The undoubted grandeur and brilliance of the monuments of Kambuja should not blind us to the fact that the period under review witnessed great activities in art in almost all the colonies. In Java the end of Śailendra dynasty closed a brilliant epoch such as never occurs twice in any country. But great monuments were built in Eastern Java such as the temples known as Chaṇḍi Kidal, Chaṇḍi Singhasāri and Chaṇḍi Jago, all built in the thirteenth century. The roof of the first, which is the earliest of the three, is built of horizontal courses, but its pyramidal shape gives it a distinct character and introduces us to a new type of art in which we can clearly mark the triumph of local ideas over Indian tradition. The plan of the other two and the reliefs of the third are still more East-Javanese in character, and mark a definite break with the art-traditions of Central Java. Thus began the decadence which was not, however, fully manifest till the subsequent centuries. The same conclusion may be drawn from sculptures, but with an important exception. The sculptured reliefs show a very much debased character, and a great gulf—greater than in architecture,—separates them from those of Central Java. But curiously enough the divine images in the round are of old style and show considerable excellence and continuity of art tradition. The Vishṇu of Belahan and the Hari-Hara of Simping, both representing royal features,[51] are very beautiful, but the finest in the whole series is the image of Prajñāpāramitā found in a Singhasāri temple, and now at Leiden. Her lovely form and calm divine expression recall the best days of Javanese art, but the rapturous praise, sometimes bestowed upon it, seems to be somewhat extravagant. For it lacks the vitality, refined elegance, and the mystic touch of divinity that clearly distinguish the Buddha images of Barabuḍur. It is a great work of art, but much inferior to the masterpieces of Central Java.

Many temples and images were made in Champā, but none of them is of conspicuous merit or calls for any special consideration. In Burma, the rise of the kingdom of Pagan in the eleventh century ushered in a great period of artistic activity, and many pagodas or temples were built by successive kings. There are remains of no less than 800 or 1000 temples in the city of Pagan itself which extended along the Irawadi with an average depth of two miles. The greatest of them all is the Ānanda Temple of Pagan, which was built by Kyanzittha[52] and is justly regarded as the masterpiece of Burman architecture. It occupies the centre of a spacious courtyard which is 564 ft. square. The main temple, made of bricks, is square in plan, with a gabled porch projecting from the centre of each face,

and the total length, from end to end, on every side, is about 290 ft. It contains a colossal standing Buddha image, 31 ft. high. The walls of the temple, 39 ft. high, are crowned by a battlemented parapet above which rise in succession two roofs having a curvilinear outline. Above these are four receding narrow terraces which serve as the basement of a North Indian *śikhara* crowned by a complete *stūpa* instead of an *āmalaka*. There are ringed pagodas, small *stūpas* and figures at the corners of the successive stages of the roof. Apart from the graceful proportion and the symmetry of design, the beauty of the Ānanda temple is enhanced by sculptured stone slabs and glazed terracotta plaques that adorn its walls. The stone-reliefs, eighty in number, and some of the plaques illustrate the principal episodes of Buddha's life, and 926 plaques depict the Jātaka stories.

In spite of the somewhat unique character of the plan there is no doubt about its Indian origin. This is clearly emphasised by Duroiselle who has made a special study of the subject in recent times and written a monograph about it. He remarks:

"There can be no doubt that the architects who planned and built the Ānanda were Indians. Everything in this temple from *śikhara* to basement, as well as the numerous stone sculptures found in its corridors and the terracotta plaques adoring its basement and terraces, bear the indubitable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship... In this sense, we may take it, therefore, that the Ānanda, though built in the Burmese capital, is an Indian temple."

We do not know much of the early artistic activities in Siam, but the remains clearly indicate that Indian art served as the main influence and model, both in architecture and sculpture. The most distinctive architectural type in Siam is what is known as Prang, a square temple with a very high roof consisting of a number of low stages which, taken together, have the aspect of a curvilinear *śikhara*. This has been a fashionable mode of building since the fourteenth century, and was no doubt evolved from earlier examples which were made up of a curious blend of the *śikharas* of North and South India.

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1. Vol. IV, pp. 411-415.
2. See above, p. 234.
3. Vol. IV, p. 414.
4. Vol. IV, p. 411.
5. Vol. III, pp. 639 f.
6. See pp. 243 f.
7. See pp. 245 ff.
8. See above, p. 258.
9. Vol. IV, p. 426.
10. See above, p. 736.
11. See above, p. 736.
12. See p. 738.
13. See p. 738.
14. See above, p. 744.
15. Vol. IV, p. 431.
16. See above, p. 734.
17. See p. 734.
18. See above, p. 741.
19. Vol. III, p. 642.
20. Vol. IV. pp. 429 f.
21. Vol. IV, p. 429.
22. Vol. IV, p. 431.

23. See p. 751.
24. See p. 753.
25. Vol. III, p. 637; IV, pp. 431 f.
26. See above, p. 741.
27. See above p. 741.
28. Vol. IV, Ch. XIV, VI.
29. See p. 736.
30. See above, p. 738.
31. See above, p. 740.
32. See p. 751.
33. See p. 750.
34. See p. 740.
35. See p. 750.
36. See p. 736.
37. See p. 736.
38. Vol. IV, p. 447.
39. See p. 740.
40. See above, p. 741.
41. See p. 736.
42. See p. 736.
43. Vol. IV, pp. 433 f.
44. See above, p. 742.
45. This practice still prevails in Bali, and was evidently also true of Java in old times.
46. Vol. IV, pp. 441 ff.
47. See p. 749.
48. See p. 750.
49. See p. 741.
50. See p. 737.
51. See pp. 750,763.
52. See p. 757.

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"	*Jayadevachchhandaḥ* (See above under "Hemachandra and others")
Jayakīrti	*Chhandonuśāsana* (See above under "Hemachandra and others")

Kedāra — *Vṛittaratnākara.* Ed. with a comm. of R. K. Bhārati by C. A. Seelakkhandha Mahā Sthavira. 3rd Ed. Bombay, 1926. Ed. with a comm. of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and intr. and notes by V. S. Varakale. Kashi SS. Benares, 1927. See also above under "Hemachandra and others".

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Mahimabhaṭṭa — *Vyaktiviveka.* Ed. with the comm. of Rājānaka Ruyyaka by T. Ganapati Sastri. TSS. Trivandrum, 1909. Ed. with the comm. of Rājānaka Ruyyaka and the Madhusūdanī. Kashi SS. Benares, 1936.

Mammaṭa — *Kāvyaprakāśa.* Ed. with expl. and illu. notes by M. Ch. Nyayaratna by order of E. B. Cowell. Calcutta, 1866. Ed. with the comms. Udyota and Pradīpa, by V. S. Abhyankar. ĀSS. Poona, 1911. Ed. with the Saṁketa of Māṇikyachandra. ĀSS. Poona, 1921. Ed. with Saṁketa by R. Shama Sastry. Mysore, 1922. Ed. with the comm. of Jhalakikar by R. D. Karmarkar. 6th Edn. Poona, 1950. Eng. Trans. by Ganganatha Jha. Rev. Ed. Allahabad, 1925.

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Ruyyaka — *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva. KM,* 35. Bombay, 1893. Trans. by H. Jacobi. *ZDMG,* LXII.

Śāradātanaya — *Bhāvaprakāśana.* Ed. with an intr. and notes by Yadugiri Yatiraja Swami and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. GOS. Baroda, 1929.

Śobhākara Miśra — *Alaṁkāra-ratnākara.* Ed. with intr. and appendices, by C. R. Devadhar. Poona, 1942.

Vāgbhaṭa — *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra.* Ed. with the comm. of Siṁhadeva Gaṇi. *KM,* 48. Bombay, 1915.

Vidyādhara — *Ekāvalī.* Ed. with the comm. of Mallinātha, intr., notes, etc. by K. P. Trivedi. BSS. Bombay, 1903.

(xii) EROTICS, MUSIC, ARCHITECTURE, ETC.

Ballālasena — *Adbhutasāgara.* Ed. by Murali Dhar Jha. Benares, 1905.

Bhoja — *Śālihotra.* Ed. by E. D. Kulkarni. Poona, 1953.

" — *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra.* Ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri. GOS. 2 vols. Baroda, 1924-1925.

Jyotirīśvara — *Pañchasāyaka.* Ed. by Sadānanda Śāstrin. Lahore, n.d.

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Śārṅgadeva — *Saṅgīta-ratnākara.* Ed. with the comm. of Chatura Kallinātha by M. R. Telang. ĀSS. 2 vols. Poona, 1897. Ed. with the comm. of Kallinātha by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, with an intr. by C. K. Raja. 4 vols. Adyar, 1943, 1944, 1953, 1954. Eng. trans. with detailed notes, by C. K. Raja. Vol. I. Adyar, 1945.

Someśvara — *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi.* Ed. by R. Shama Sastry. Part I. Mysore, 1926. *Mānasollāsa* (otherwise known as *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*). Ed. by G. K. Shrigondekar. GOS. 2 vols. Baroda, 1925, 1939.

(xiii) PROSE ROMANCES AND CHAMPŪS

Bhoja — *Rāmāyaṇa-champū.* Ed. with the comm. of Rāmachandra Budhendra by K. P. Parab. Bombay, 1898.

Oḍeyadeva — *Gadya-chintāmaṇi.* Ed. by T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Madras, 1902.

Soḍḍhala — *Udayasundarī-kathā.* Ed. by C. D. Dalal and E. Krishnamacharya. GOS. Baroda, 1920.

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(xiv) KATHĀ

Budhasvāmin — *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha.* Ed. with critical and expl. notes and French trans. by F. Lacôte. 28 vols. Paris, 1908-1929.

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(xv) ANTHOLOGIES

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Vallabhadeva — *Subhāshitāvalī.* Ed. by P. Peterson and Durgaprasad. BSS. Bombay, 1886.

(xvi) BELLES-LETTRES

(*Note:* References to important published works are given here. Full details about published works and MSS. will be found in Histories of Sanskrit Literature by De and Das Gupta, Keith, Krishnamachariar, Winternitz, etc. Jain authors have been included in this section as also earlier under historical works, polity, lexicography, grammar, poetics and anthologies.)

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Kanakasena Vādirāja	*Yaśodhara-charita.* Ed. by T. A. Gopinatha Rao. Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series. Tanjore, 1912.
Kavirāja	*Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya.* Ed. with the comm. of Premachandra Tarkavāgīśa. BI. Calcutta, 1854 (Reprinted by Bhavadeva Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1892). Ed. with the comm. of Śaśadhara by Sivadatta and Parab. NSP. Bombay, 1897. Ed. in Granthamālā with the comm. of Lakshmaṇa Sūri. Bombay, 1889.
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Māṇikya Sūri	*Yaśodhara-charita.* Ed. by Hiralal Hansraj. Jamnagar, 1910.
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Śaṅkhadhara Kavirāja — *Lāṭakamelaka*. Ed. by Durgaprasad and Parab. NSP. 3rd Ed. Bombay, 1923.

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" — *Sundarīśataka*. *KM*, ix. 100 ff.

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Vastupāla — *Naranārāyaṇānanda.* Ed. by C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Sastri. GOS. Baroda, 1916.

Vatsarāja — *Rūpakashaṭka.* Ed. by C. D. Dalal. GOS. Baroda, 1918 (comprising *Kirātārjunīya, Samudramanthana, Rukmiṇīharaṇa, Tripuradāha, Karpūra-charita* and *Hāsyachūḍāmaṇi*).

Vidyānātha — *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa.* Ed. Grantha-ratnamālā. Bombay, 1891.

Vijayapāla — *Draupadīsvayaṁvara.* Ed. by Muni Jinavijaya. JASS. Bhavnagar, 1918.

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Yaśaśchandra — *Mudritakumudachandra.* Ed. Jaina Yaśovijaya Granthamālā. Benares, 1906.

(B) BUDDHIST:

PĀLI AND SANSKRIT

(*Note:* Important references to published works are given here. Further particulars will be found in Geiger, Law and Winternitz given under "Histories of Literature" below.)

Abhidhammattha-saṁgaha of Anuruddha
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Abhidhānappadīpikā of Moggalāna
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Anāgatavaṁsa of Kassapa
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Dāṭhāvaṁsa of Dhammakitti
Ed. and trans. by B. C. Law. Lahore, 1925.

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Ed. by Dhammānanda and Ñāṇissara. Colombo, 1887.

Pajjamadhu of Buddhapriya
Ed. by E. R. Gooneratna. *JPTS*, 1887. 1 ff.
Ed. by D. G. Koparkar. Ahmednagar, 1953.

Rasavāhinī of Vedehathera
Ed. and trans. (German) by W. Geiger. München, 1918. Selected stories ed. and trans. into German by F. Spiegel, *Anecdota Palica*. Leipzig, 1845; Sten Konow, *ZDMG*, 43. 297 ff.

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Saddalakkhaṇa of Moggalāna
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Saddanīti of Aggavaṁsa
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Saddhammopāyana
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Subodhālaṁkāra of Saṁgharakkhita
Analysis and text. Ed. by G. E. Fryer. *JASB*, XLIV, pt. 1, pp. 91 ff.

Telakaṭāhagāthā Ed. by E. R. Goonaratne. *JPTS*, 1884. 49 ff.

Thūpavaṁsa of Vāchissara
Simhalese Edition. Ed. by Dhammaratana. Paeliyagoda, 1896.

Vuttodaya of Saṁgharakkhita
Ed. by G. E. Fryer. *JASB*, XLVI, pt. 1, pp. 369 ff.

(C) JAIN

(*Note*: Important works in Māhārāshṭrī and other Prakrits are included in this list. For works in Sanskrit by Jain authors, see earlier under (vi) Polity, (vii) Lexicography, (viii) Grammar, (xi) Poetics, etc., (xvi) Belles-Lettres, etc. For further particulars and full details of published works reference may be made to Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II; for details about MSS., reference may be made to Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa.*)

Dhaneśvara *Surasundarī-charita*. Ed. with notes by Munirāj Śrī Rāja Vijayajī. Jaina-Vividha-Sāhitya-Śāstra-Mālā, I. Benares, 1916.

Guṇachandra	*Mahāvīra-charita.* Pub. in DLJ Series, No. 75. Bombay, 1929.
Hemachandra	*Deśīnāmamālā.* Ed. with critical notes, glossary, and a historical intr., by R. Pischel and G. Bühler. BSS. Bombay, 1880. 2nd Ed. by P. V. Ramanujaswami. Poona, 1938. Ed. with intr., etc., by Muralydhar Banerjee. Calcutta, 1931.
"	*Kumārapāla-charita.* Ed. by S. P. Pandit. BSS. Bombay. 2nd Ed. Revised by P. L. Vaidya. Poona, 1936.
"	*Siddhahemachandra.* Adhyāya VIII. Text (in Transkription) mit Wortverzeichnis, übersetzung u. Eläuterungen hrsg. von R. Pischel. 2 Tle. Halle, 1877-80. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya as an App. to *Kumārapālacharita* (above).
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Rāmaśarman	"The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāmaśarman". Ed. by G. A. Grierson. *IA,* LVI. 1 ff, 13 ff; LVII. 21 ff; 41 ff; 49 ff.
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Somaprabha	*Kumārapālapratibodha.* Ed. with intr., etc. by Muni Jinavijayaji. GOS, 14. Baroda, 1920. Ed. and trans. by L. Alsdorf. Hamburg, 1929.

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(E) MUSLIM

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Diwān-i-Salmān of Khwaja Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd bin Salmān
Ed. by Abu-'l Qāsim Akhwani.
Tehran, 1879. Extracts Trans. *HIED,* IV.

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Ed. by A. M. Husain. Agra, 1938.

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Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār of Mahmūd Gardīzī
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Ed. by W. N. Lees, Kabīruddīn Ahmad and Ahmad 'Alī. BI. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1864-69. Eng. Trans. by G. S. A. Ranking (Vol. I), W. H. Lowe (Vol. II), and T. W. Haig (Vol. III). BI. Calcutta, 1884-1925.

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CHAPTER XVI

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CHAPTERS XVII-XIX

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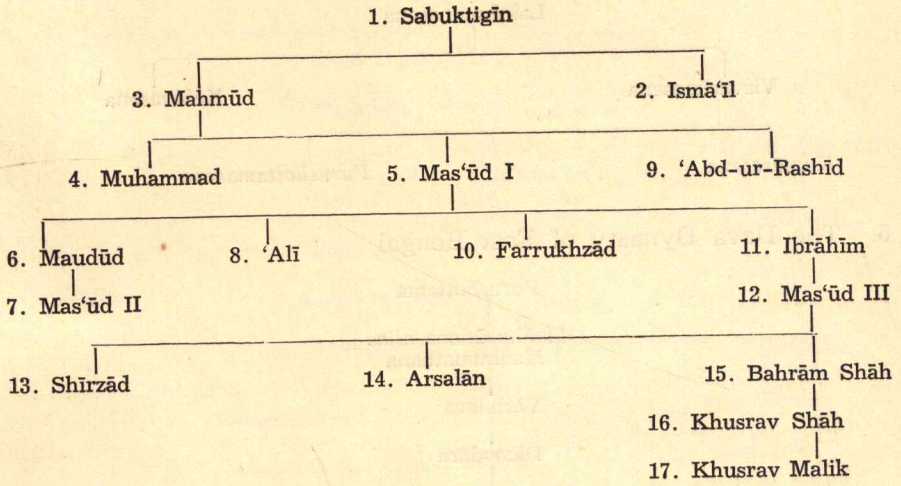
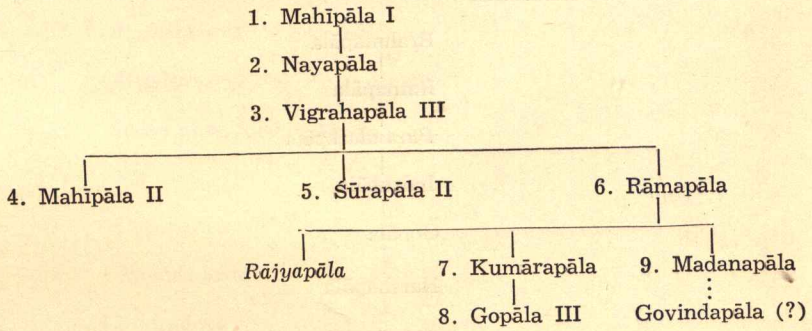
GENEALOGY

Note: The names in italics did not reign.

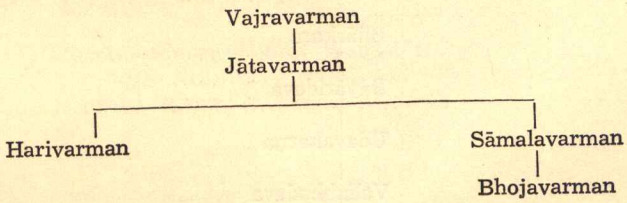
1. The Yamīnīs of the Punjāb or the Ghaznavids



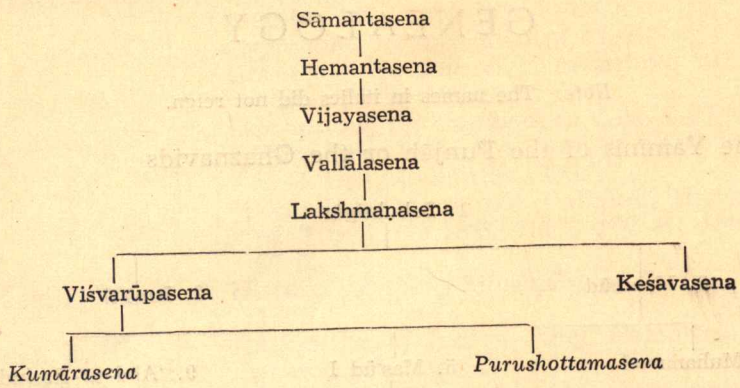
2. The Pālas of Bengal (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, pp. 520-21).



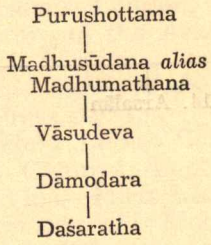
3. The Yādavas of East Bengal



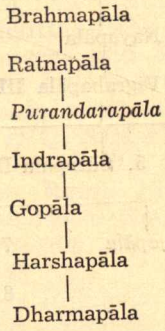
4. The Senas of Bengal



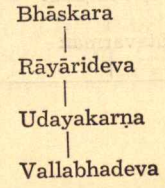
5. The Deva Dynasty of East Bengal



6. The Pālas of Assam



7. Dynasty of Bhāskara (Kāmarūpa)



8. Dynasty of Kharavāṇa (Śrīhaṭṭa)

Kharavāṇa
|
Gokuladeva
|
Nārāyaṇa
|
Keśavadeva
|
Īśānadeva

9. Dynasty of Guṇakāma (Nepāl)

Guṇakāmadeva I
⋮
Udayadeva
⋮
Nirbhaya } Joint rule
Rudradeva
⋮
Bhoja
⋮
Lakshmīkāmadeva
|
Jayakāmadeva *alias* Vijaya

10. The Ṭhākuris of Nayakot in Nepāl

Bhāskaradeva
⋮
Baladeva *alias* Balavantadeva
⋮
Pradyumnakāmadeva *alias* Padmadeva
⋮
Nāgārjunadeva
⋮
Śaṅkaradeva[1]
|
Śivadeva
|
Indra *alias* Mahendra
⋮
Mānadeva
|
Narendradeva
⋮
Ānandadeva
⋮
Rudradeva
⋮
Amṛitadeva
⋮
Ratnadeva
⋮
Someśvaradeva (son of Mahendra)
⋮
Guṇakāmadeva II
⋮
Lakshmīkāmadeva
⋮
Vijayakāmadeva

11. The Ṭhākuris of Patan in Nepāl

Vāmadeva
⋮
Harshadeva

12. The Mallas of Nepāl

Arimalladeva
⋮
Raṇaśūra
⋮
Abhayamalla

Jayadevamalla	Ānandamalla
⋮	
Jayabhīma	
⋮	
Jayasīhamalla	
⋮	
Anantamalla	
⋮	
Jayānandadeva	
⋮	
Jayarudramalla } joint rule	
Jayārimalla } joint rule	
⋮	
Jayarājadeva	
⋮	
Jayārjunamalla	

13. The Karṇāṭaka Dynasty of Mithilā

Nānyadeva
|
Gaṅgadeva
|
Nṛisiṁha
|
Rāmasiṁha
⋮
Śaktisiṁha
⋮
Bhūpālasiṁha
⋮
Harisiṁha

14. The Gupta Dynasty of Bihār

Yajñeśagupta
|
Dāmodaragupta
|
Devagupta
|
Rājādityagupta
|
Kṛishṇagupta
|
Saṁgrāmagupta

15. Khayaravāla Dynasty of Bihār

Khadirapāla
⋮
Sādhava
|
Raṇadhavala
|
Pratāpadhavala
|
Sāhasa
|
- Vikrama
- Indradhavala
  ⋮
  Pratāpa (?)

16. The Rāshṭrakūṭa Dynasty of Kanauj and Budaun

Chandra
|
Vigrahapāla
|
Bhuvanapāla
|
Gopāla
|
- Tribhuvanapāla
- Madanapāla
- Devapāla
  |
  Bhīmapāla
  |
  Śūrapāla
  |
  - Amṛitapāla
  - Lakhaṇapāla
    ⋮
    Bharahadeva

17. The Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty of Kanauj and Vārāṇasī

Yaśovigraha
|
Mahīchandra
|
Chandradeva
|
Madanachandra
|
Govindachandra
|
- *Asphoṭachandra*
- *Rājyapāla*
- Vijayachandra
  |
  Jayachandra
  |
  Hariśchandra
  ⋮
  Aḍakkamalla

18. The Yaduvaṁśī Kings of Bayāna-Śrīpatha

Jaitapāla
⋮
Vijayapāla
⋮
Tāhanapāla
⋮
Dharmapāla
⋮
Kunwarpāla
⋮
Ajayapāla
⋮
Haripāla
⋮
Sohapāla or Sahanapāla[2]
⋮
Anaṅgapāla
⋮
Pṛithvīpāla
⋮
Rājapāla
⋮
Trilokapāla

19. The Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty of Gwālior

Lakshmaṇa
|
Vajradāman
|
Maṅgalarāja
|
Kīrttirāja
|
Mūladeva
|
Devapāla
|
Padmapāla
⋮
Mahīpāla
|
Ratnapāla

20. The Pratīhāra Dynasty of Gwālior

Vigraha

Malayavarman	Nṛivarman
⋮	⋮
Dewbul	Harirāja

21. The Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty of Dubkund

Yuvarāja
|
Arjuna
|
Abhimanyu
|
Vijayapāla
|
Vikramasiṁha

22. The Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty of Narwar

Gaṅgasiṁha
|
Śaradasiṁha
|
Vīrasiṁha

23. The Yajvapāla or Jajapella Dynasty of Narwar

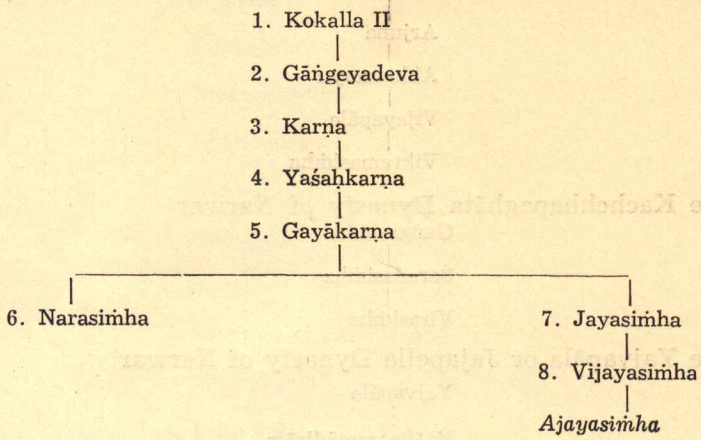
Yajvapāla
⋮
Ya(Pa)ramāḍirāja
|
Chāhaḍa
|
Nṛivarman
|
Āsalladeva
|
Gopāla
|
Gaṇapati

24. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 522).

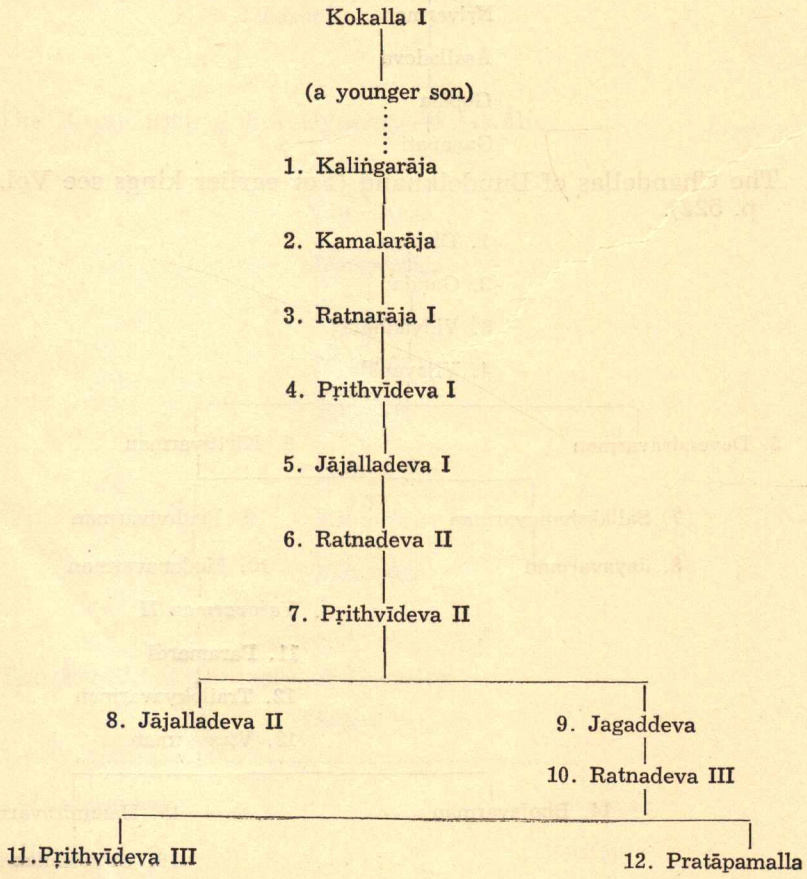
1. Dhaṅga
|
2. Gaṇḍa
|
3. Vidyādhara
|
4. Vijayapāla

- 5. Devendravarman
- 6. Kīrttivarman
  - 7. Sallakshaṇavarman
    - 8. Jayavarman
  - 9. Pṛithvīvarman
    - 10. Madanavarman
      - *Yaśovarman II*
      - 11. Paramardī
      - 12. Trailokyavarman
      - 13. Vīravarman
        - 14. Bhojavarman
        - 15. Hammīravarman
          - ⋮
          - 16. Vīravarman II

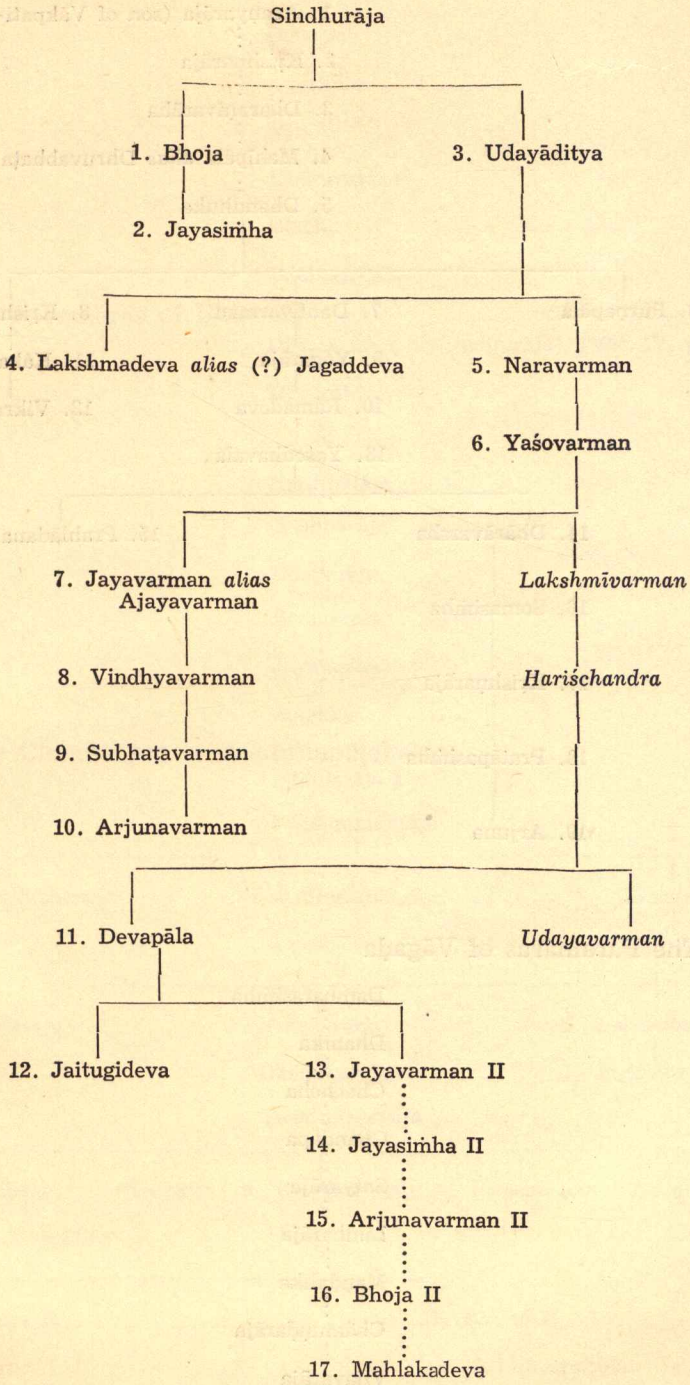
25. The Kalachuris of Tripurī (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 522).



26. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur



27. The Paramāras of Mālava (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 523).



28. Paramāras of Mt. Abu

1. Araṇyarāja (son of Vākpati-Muñja)
2. Kṛishṇarāja
3. Dharaṇīvarāha
4. Mahīpāla *alias* Dhruvabhaṭa
5. Dhandhuka

- 6. Pūrṇapāla
- 7. Dantivarman
  - 9. Yogarāja
    - 10. Rāmadeva
      - 13. Yaśodhavala
        - 14. Dhārāvarsha
          - 16. Somasiṁha
            - 17. Kṛishṇarāja
              - 18. Pratāpasiṁha
                - 19. Arjuna
        - 15. Prahlādana
- 8. Kṛishṇa II
  - 11. Kākaladeva
    - 12. Vikramasiṁha

29. The Paramāras of Vāgaḍa

Ḍambarasiṁha
Dhanika
Chachcha
Chaṇḍapa
Satyarāja
Limbarāja
Maṇḍalika
Chāmuṇḍarāja
Vijayarāja

30. The Paramāras of Jālor

Chandana (son of Vākpati-Muñja)
⋮
Devarāja
⋮
Aparājita
⋮
Vijjala
⋮
Dhārāvarsha
⋮
Vīsala
⋮
Kumtapāla

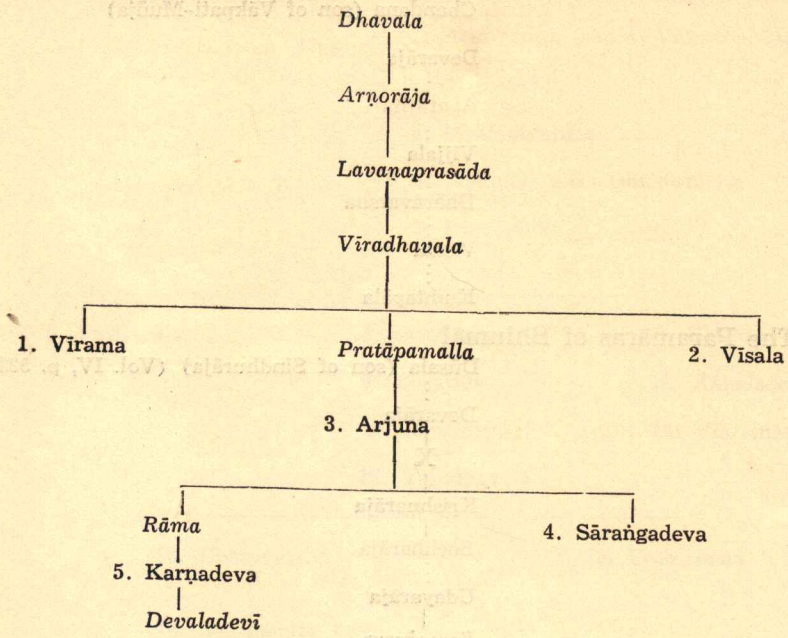
31. The Paramāras of Bhinmāl

Dūsala (son of Sindhurāja) (Vol. IV, p. 523).
⋮
Devarāja
X
Krishṇarāja
Sochharāja
⋮
Udayarāja
Someśvara
⋮
Jayatasīha
⋮
Salakha

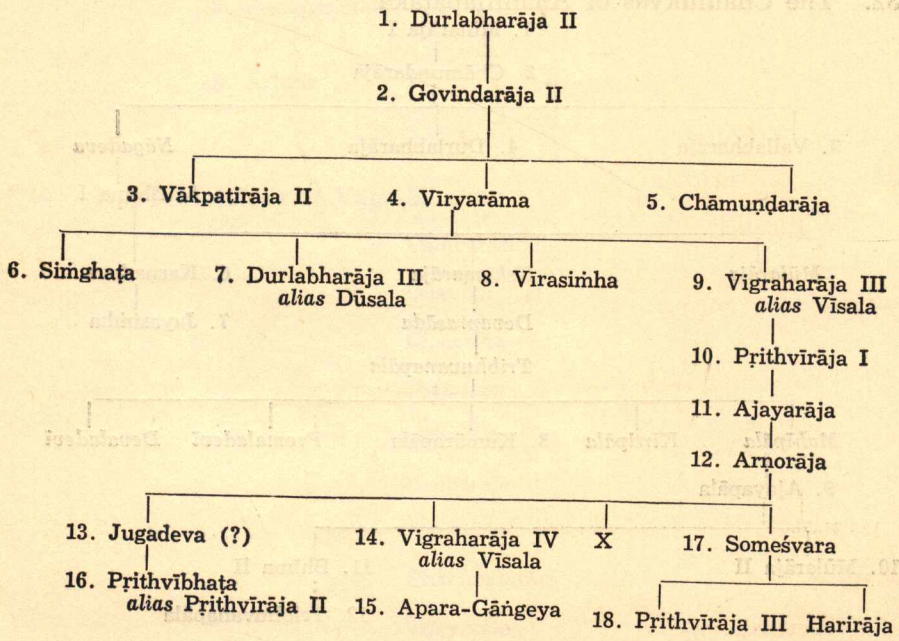
32. The Chaulukyas of Aṇahillapāṭaka

1. Mūlarāja I
2. Chāmuṇḍarāja
   - 3. Vallabharāja
   - 4. Durlabharāja
   - *Nāgadeva*
     - 5. Bhīma I
       - *Mūlarāja*
       - *Kshemarāja*
         - *Devaprasāda*
         - *Tribhuvanapāla*
           - *Mahīpāla*
             - 9. Ajayapāla
               - 10. Mūlarāja II
               - 11. Bhīma II
                 - 12. Tribhuvanapāla
           - *Kīrtipāla*
           - 8. Kumārapāla
           - *Premaladevī*
           - *Devaladevī*
       - 6. Karṇadeva
         - 7. Jayasiṁha

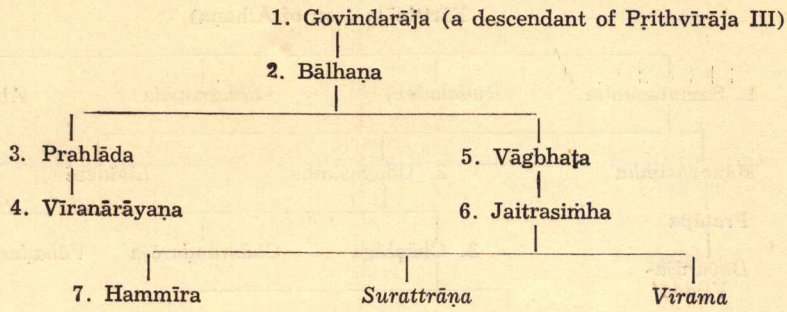
33. The Vāghelas of Gujarāt



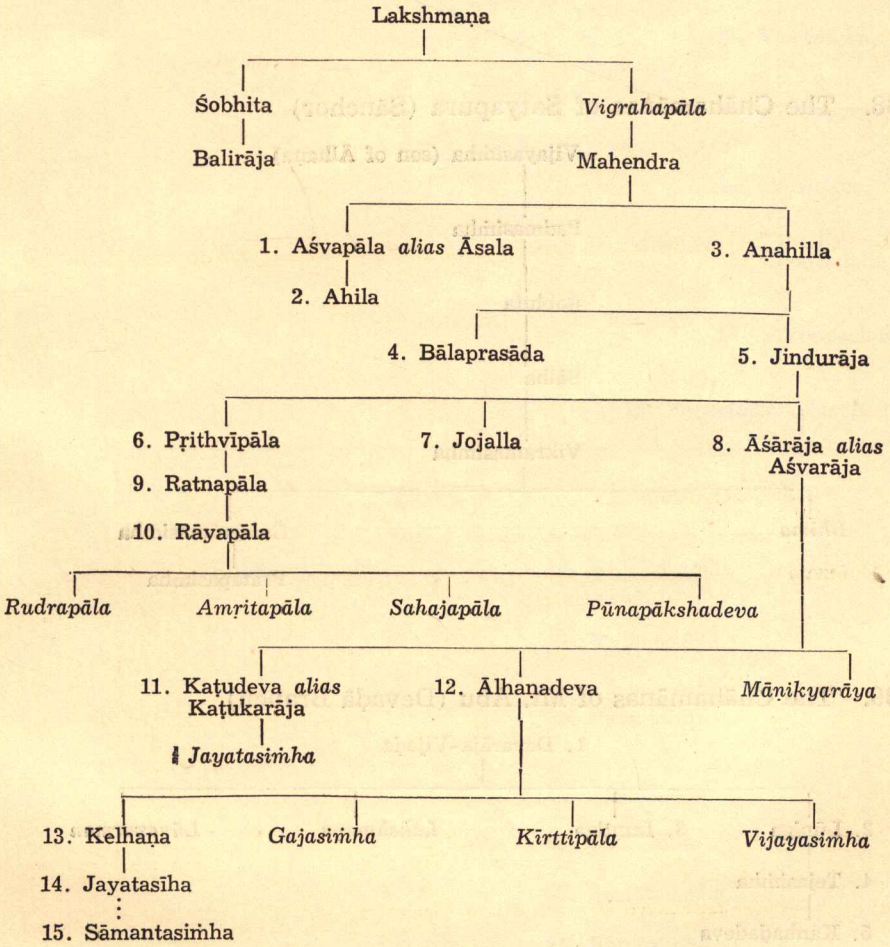
34. The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 525).



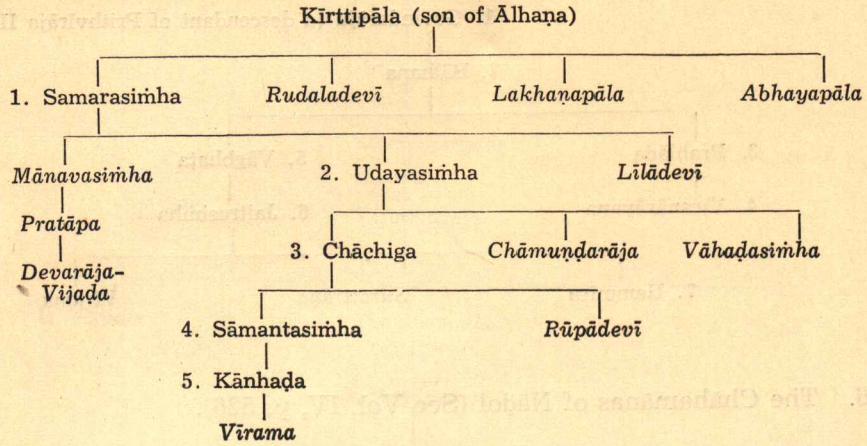
35. The Chāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura



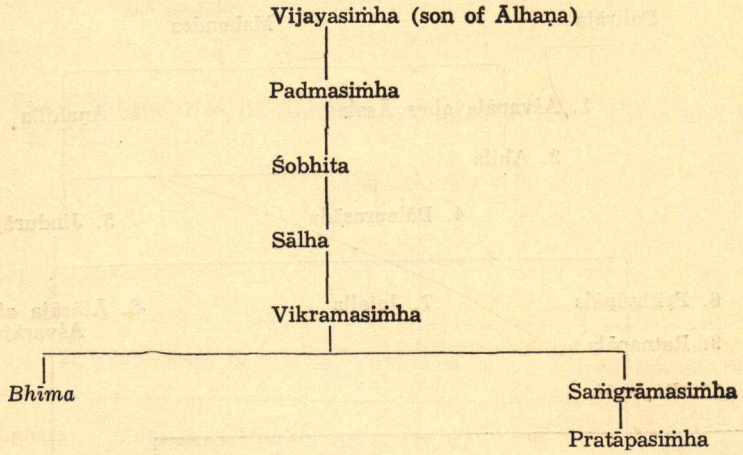
36. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol (See Vol. IV, p. 526).



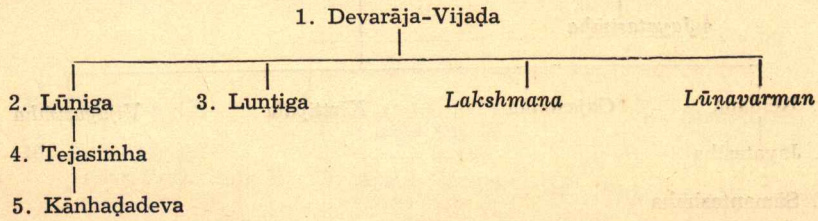
37. The Chāhamānas of Jālor (Sonigarā)



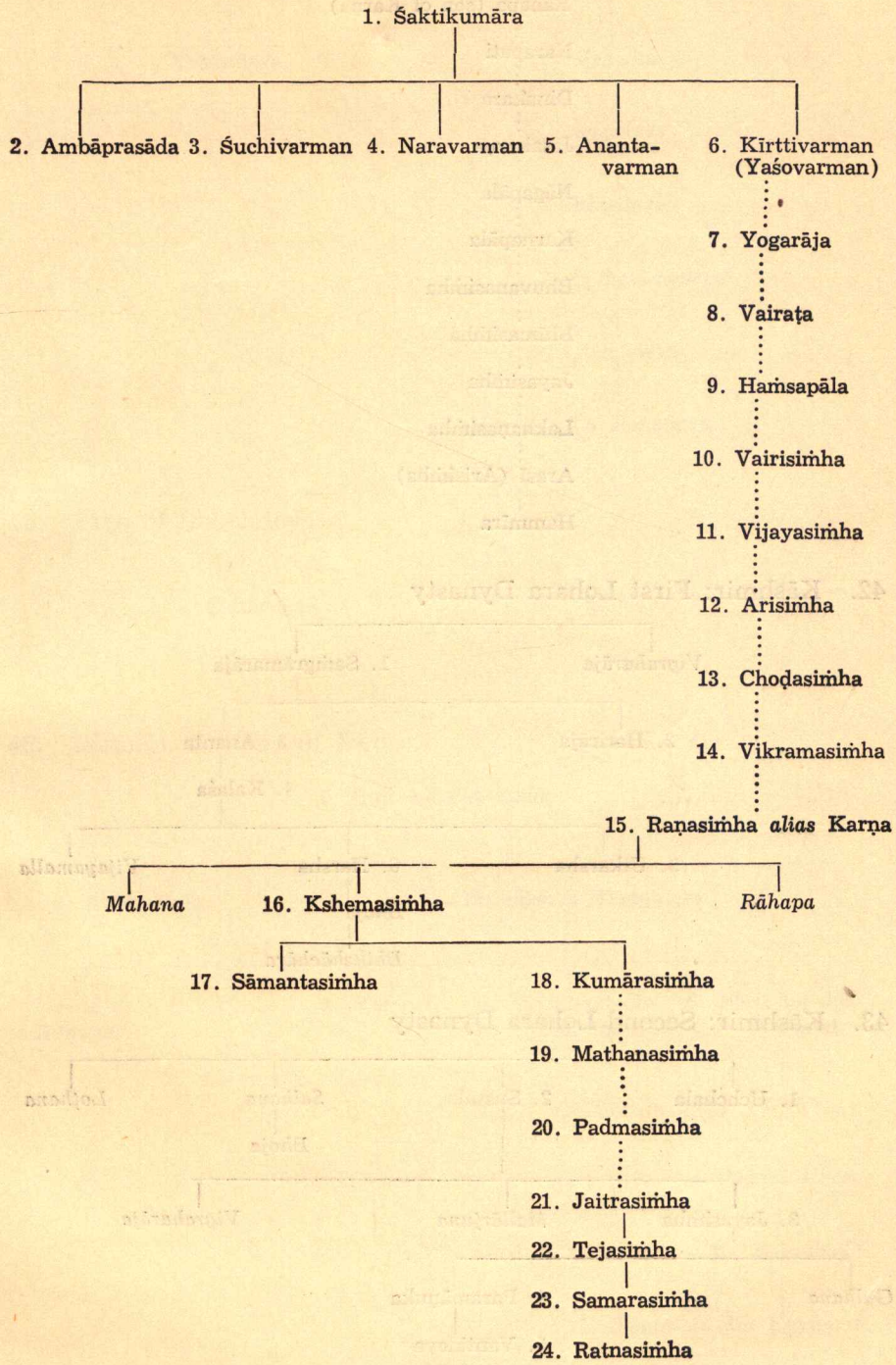
38. The Chāhamānas of Satyapura (Sānchor)



39. The Chāhamānas of Mt. Abu (Devaḍā Branch)



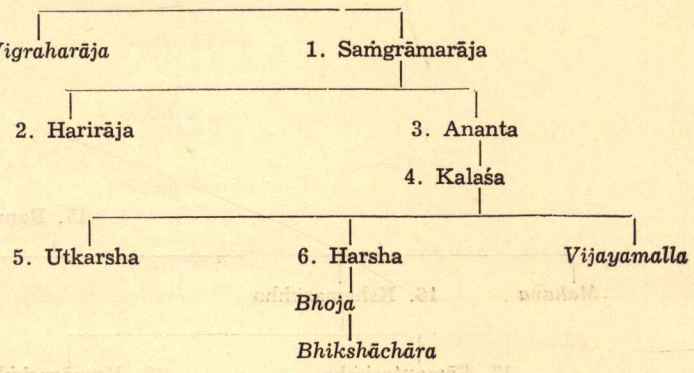
40. The Guhilas of Medapāṭa (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 527).



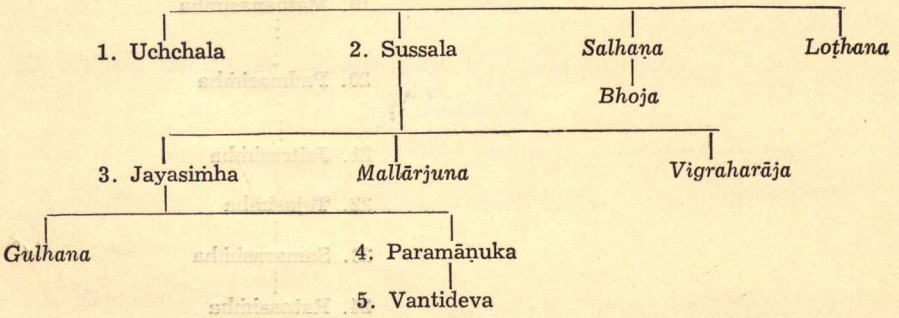
41. The Guhilas of Sisodiyā

Rāhapa (son of Karṇa)
⋮
Narapati
⋮
Dinakara
⋮
Jasakarṇa
⋮
Nāgapāla
⋮
Karṇapāla
⋮
Bhuvanasiṁha
⋮
Bhīmasiṁha
⋮
Jayasiṁha
⋮
Lakhaṇasiṁha
⋮
Arasī (Arisiṁha)
⋮
Hammīra

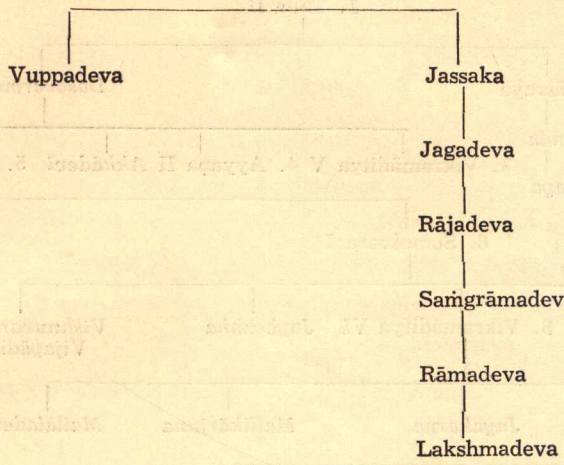
42. Kāshmir: First Lohara Dynasty



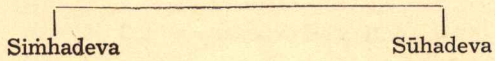
43. Kāshmir: Second Lohara Dynasty



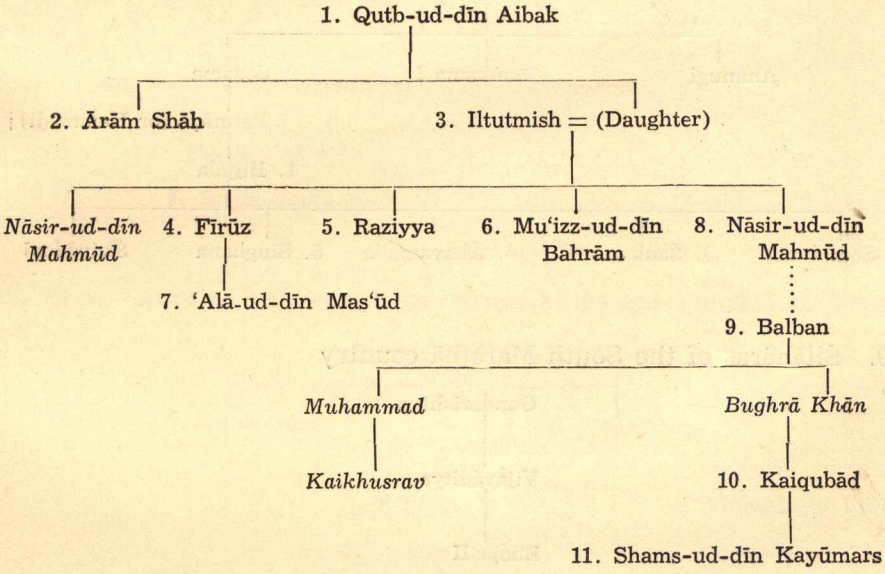
44. Line of Vuppadeva



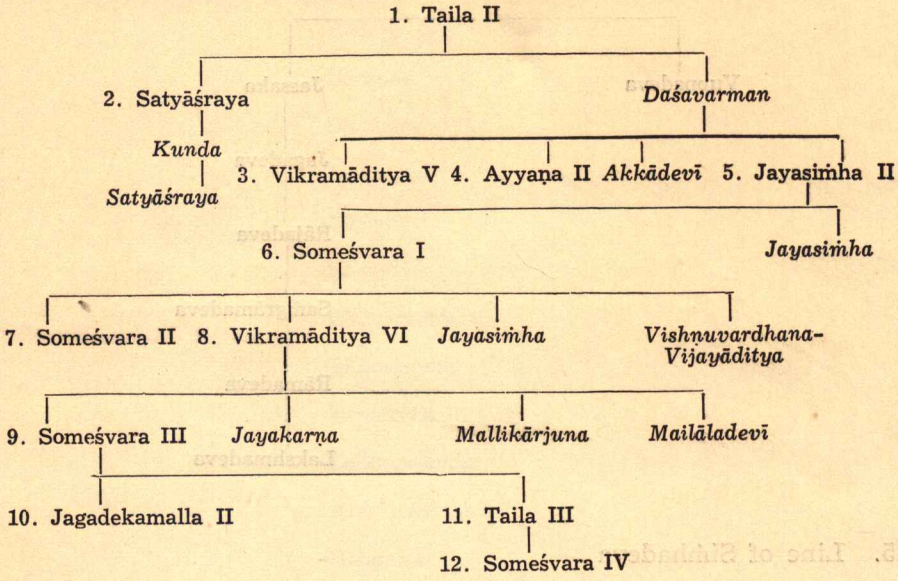
45. Line of Siṁhadeva



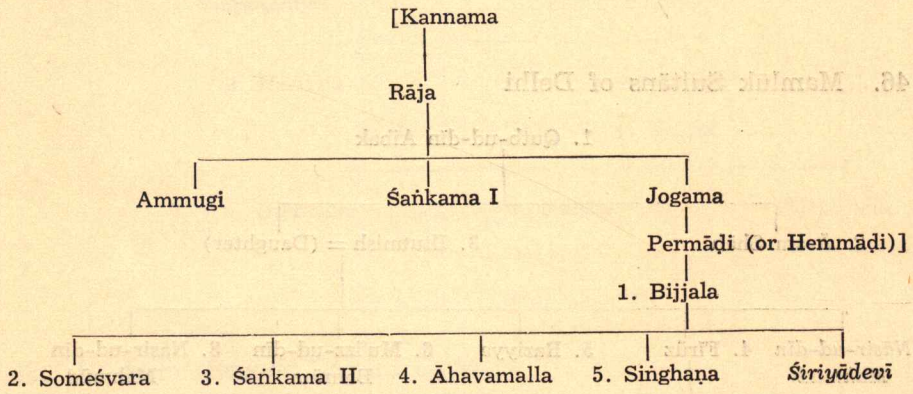
46. Mamlūk Sultāns of Delhi



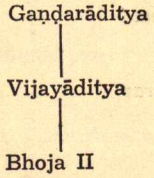
47. Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa



48. Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa



49. Śilāhāras of the South Marāṭhā country



50. Yādavas of Devagiri

Seuṇachandra
⋮
Karṇa
|
1. Bhillama V
|
2. Jaitugi I
|
3. Siṅghaṇa
|
Jaitugi II — *Sa(ṁ)rṇapāṇi*

4. Kṛishṇa — 5. Mahādeva
|
7. Rāmachandra (or Rāmadeva) — 6. Āmaṇa

51. The Kākatīyas

1. Beta I
|
2. Prola I
|
3. Tribhuvanamalla Beta II
|
4. Prola II
|
5. Rudra I — 6. Mahādeva
|
7. Gaṇapati
|
8. Rudrāmbā (*m.* Chālukya Vīrabhadreśvara) — *Gaṇapāmbā*
|
Mummaḍambā (*m.* Mahādeva)
|
9. Pratāparudra

52. The Eastern Chālukyas (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 531).

1. Dānārṇava
|
2. Śaktivarman I — 3. Vimalāditya
|
4. Rājarāja I — 5. Vijayāditya VII
|
7. Kulottuṅga Choḷa I — 6. Śaktivarman II

53. Later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, pp. 142, 532).

1. Vajrahasta IV
- 2. Kāmārṇava VI
  - 5. Vajrahasta V
    - 6. Rājarāja I
      - 7. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga
        - 8. Kāmārṇava VII
        - 9. Rāghava
        - 10. Rājarāja II
        - 11. Aniyaṅka Bhīma II or Anaṅgabhīma
          - 12. Rājarāja III
            - 13. Aniyaṅkabhīma III
              - 14. Narasiṁha I
                - 15. Bhānudeva I
                - 16. Narasiṁha II
- 3. Guṇḍama II
- 4. Madhukāmārṇava V

54. Somavaṁśīs (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 533).

1. Yayāti Mahāśivagupta I
2. Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II
- 3. Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta II)
- 4. Nahusha (Mahābhavagupta III) (?Indraratha)
  - 5. Chaṇḍīhara-Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III
    - 6. Uddyotakesarī (Mahābhavagupta IV)
      - 7. Karṇakesarī

55. Chhindaka-Nāgas of Bastar

1. Nṛipati-bhūshaṇa (?Kshiti-)
2. Dhārāvarsha Jagadekabhūshaṇa
3. Madhurāntaka
4. Someśvara I (Son of 2)
5. Kanhara
Rājabhūshaṇa Someśvara II
Jagadekabhūshaṇa Narasiṁha
Jayasiṁha
Hariśchandra

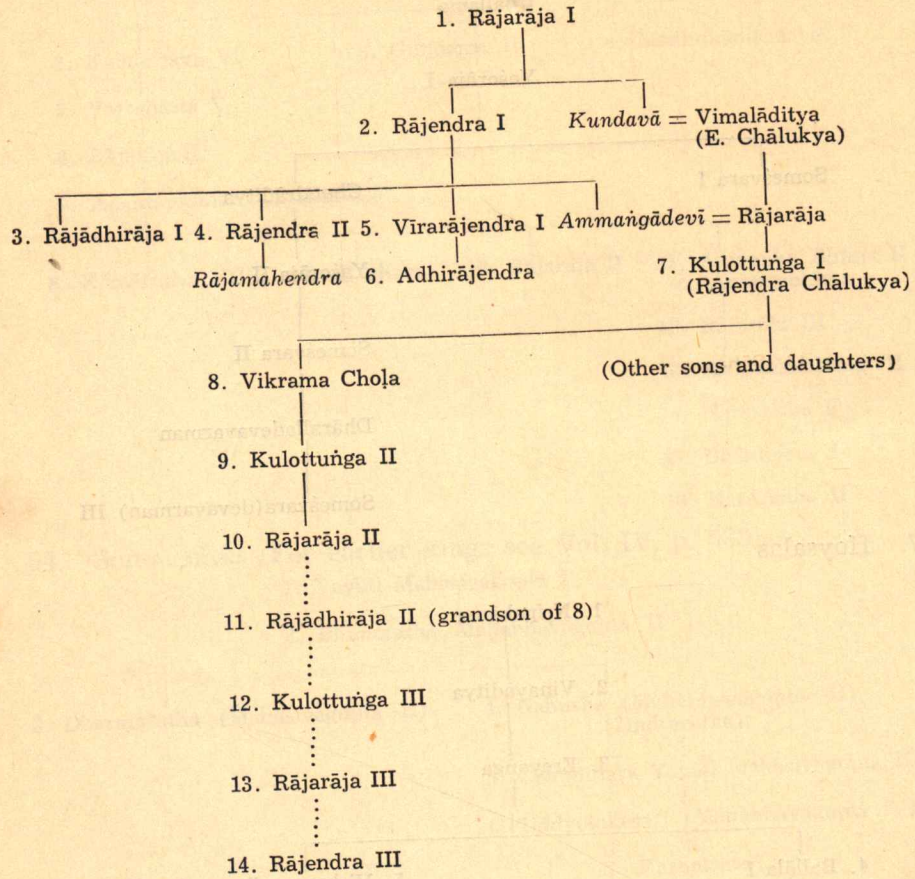
56. Telugu-Choḍas

- Challama
  - Yaśorāja I
    - Someśvara I
    - Chandrāditya
      - Yaśorāja II
        - Someśvara II
          - Dhāralladevavarman
            - Someśvara(devavarman) III

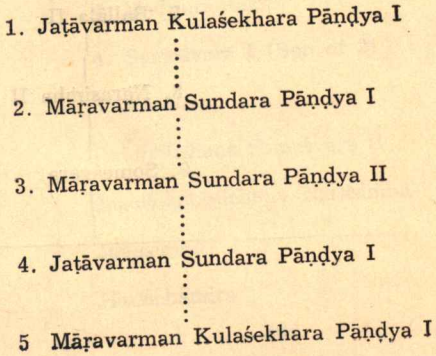
57. Hoysalas

- 1. Nṛipakāma
  - 2. Vinayāditya
    - 3. Ereyaṅga
      - 4. Ballāla I
      - 5. Vishṇuvardhana (or Biṭṭiga)
        - 6. Vijaya Narasiṁha I
          - 7. Ballāla II
            - 8. Narasiṁha II
              - 9. Someśvara
                - 10. Narasiṁha III
                - 11. Ballāla III
                - *Rāmanātha*
                - *Viśvanātha*

58. Choḷas (For earlier kings, see Vol. IV, p. 534).



59. Later Pāṇḍyas



60. Ceylon

1. Vijayabāhu I Śrīsaṅghabodhi
2. Jayabāhu (brother of 1)
3. Vikramabāhu II (son of 1)
4. Gajabāhu (son of 3)
5. Parākramabāhu I
6. Vijayabāhu II (sister's son of 5)
7. Mahendra VI (of the Kaliṅga clan)
8. Niḥśaṅkamalla or Kīrtiniḥśaṅka (son of Jayagopa of Kaliṅga)
9. Vīrabāhu II (son of 8)
10. Vikramabāhu III (or II) (brother of 8)
11. Choḍagaṅga (sister's son of 8)
12. Līlāvatī (first *mahishī* of 5)
13. Sāhasamalla (step-brother of 8)
14. Kalyāṇavatī (first *mahishī* of 8)
15. Dharmāśoka
16. Anīkaṅga (father of 15)
17. Līlāvatī (again) (No. 12)
18. Lokeśvara (of South India)
19. Līlāvatī (again) (Nos. 12, 17)
20. Parākrama Pāṇḍya
21. Māgha (from Kerala)

(End of Polonnaruva period)

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1. Ṭhākuris of Patan overthrew the Ṭhākuris of Nayakot in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D.
2. According to another account, Sohapāla's successor was Kunwarpāla who was the predecessor of Ajayapāla. Anaṅgapāla may be the successor of Kunwarpāla (p. 56 above).

CHRONOLOGY

c. 695-c.722	Narasiṁhavarman II Rājasiṁha, Pallava (p. 612).
696-733	Vijayāditya Chālukya (p. 615).
c. 724-760	Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, Kāshmir (p. 634).
c. 733-746	Vikramāditya II, Chālukya (p. 615).
749	Foundation of 'Abbasid Caliphate (p. 1).
c. 758-773	Kṛishṇa I, Rāshṭrakūṭa (p. 616).
813-833	Al-Ma'mūn (p. 1).
820	Tahir made governor of Khurāsān (p. 1).
849	Foundation of Pagan by king Pyañpya, acc. to some Burmese Chronicles (p. 755).
872	Tahirids superseded by Ṣaffārids (p. 1).
903	Sāmānids wrest Khurāsān from Ṣaffārids (p. 1).
907-953	Parāntaka I, Choḷa (p. 618).
913-943	Nasr II, Sāmānid (p. 1).
c. 963	Alptigīn establishes independent kingdom after conquering Ghaznī from Abū Bakr Lawīk (p. 2).
973-997	Taila II, Chālukya (p. 161).
977	Accession of Sabuktigīn (p. 3).
980-1003	Diddā, of Kāshmir (p. 666).
985-1014	Rājarāja the Great, Choḷa (pp. 234, 281, 618).
987-1036	Bhāskara Ravivarman of Kerala (p. 234).
988	Accession of Mahīpāla I (p. 24).
990	Īlak Khāns of Turkistān capture Bukhārā (p. 2).
996	Last known date of Taila II (p. 164).
997	Death of Sabuktigīn (p. 5).
997-c.1008	Satyāśraya, Chālukya (p. 164).
998	Accession of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī (p. 5).
999	Accession of Śaktivarman I, son of Dānārṇava, E. Chālukya (p. 203).
1000	Choḷa Rājarāja starts a great land survey (p. 235).
c. 1000	Accession of Paramāra Bhoja (p. 66).
1000	Mahmūd leads first expedition against India (p. 6).
c. 1000-1015	Bhīmaratha Mahābhavagupta II, Somavaṁśī (p. 209).
1000-1055	Bhoja Paramāra, of Dhārā (pp. 331, 658).
1001	Death of Jaya-varman V of Kambuja (p. 736).
1003	Śrī Chūḍāmaṇivarmadeva of the Śailendras sends two envoys to China (p. 730).
1004	Mahmūd's invasion of Bhātiya (p. 7).
1005-1006	Mahmūd's expedition against Multān (p. 8).
1006	Māra-Vijayottuṅga-varman, Śailendra ruler, founds a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam (p. 239).
1007	Mahmūd captures Nawāsa Shāh and his treasures (p. 8).

1007	King Nirbhaya rules jointly with Rudra in Nepāl (p. 45).
1008	Mahmūd's war with Ānandapāla (p. 8).
c. 1008-1014	Vikramāditya V, Chālukya (p. 166).
1009	Mahmūd's expedition against Nārāyan (p. 10).
1009-1010	Accession of Chaulukya Durlabharāja (p. 74).
1010	Completion of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore (pp. 236, 618).
1010	Mahmūd's expedition against Multān (p. 10).
1011	Mahmūd leads an expedition against Thāneswar (pp. 10, 23n 7).
1011-1018	Vimalāditya, E. Chālukya (p. 235).
1012	Choḷa Rājarāja associates his son Rājendra in the government of the empire (pp. 235-6).
c. 1012	Death of Ānandapāla (p. 11).
1012-1044	Rājendra I, Choḷa (pp. 236, 618).
1013	Mahmūd advances with his army to Nandana, capital of Trilochanapāla (p. 11).
1014	Death of Choḷa Rājarāja (p. 239).
1015	Mahmūd attacks Kāshmir valley (p. 12).
c. 1015-1020	Dharmaratha, Somavaṁśī (p. 209).
1015-1043	Jayasiṁha II, Chālukya (pp. 166, 237).
1016-1017	Birth of Rāmānuja (p. 437).
1018	Rājarāja, E. Chālukya (p. 204).
1018	Rājendra Choḷa makes his son Rājādhirāja heir apparent (pp. 236, 240).
1018	Mahmūd marches to attack Kanauj (p. 13).
1018	Choḷa Rājendra conquers Ceylon (p. 238).
1018-1052	Rājādhirāja I, Choḷa (p. 240).
1019	Consecration of Airlangga of Java (p. 749).
1019; 1022	Mahmūd of Ghaznī invades Kālañjara (p. 58).
1020	Paramāra Bhoja conquers Konkan (p. 66).
1020-21	Mahmūd advances to India to chastise the Chandella Vidyādhara (p. 16).
c. 1020-1025	Nahusha, Somavaṁśī (p. 209).
1021	Choḷa Rājendra defeats Chālukya Jayasiṁha (p. 238).
1021	Mahmūd leads an army against Lohkot (p. 18).
c. 1021	Choḷa invasion of Bengal (p. 25).
1021-22	Mahmūd's second expedition against Chandella Vidyādhara (p. 18).
1022	Coronation of Rājarāja, E. Chālukya (p. 204).
c. 1022	Chaulukya Durlabha abdicates in favour of his nephew Bhīmadeva I (p. 74).
1025	Mahmūd plunders Somanātha (pp. 20, 74).
c. 1025	Rājendra Choḷa's expedition to Kaḍāram (pp. 239, 493).
c. 1025-1055	Chaṇḍīhara, Somavaṁśī (p. 209).
1027	Mahmūd marches to punish the Jāts (p. 21).
1028	Harirāja of Kāshmir (p. 97).
1030	Vijayāditya performs his coronation ceremony (p. 204).
1030	Death of Mahmūd (pp. 22, 92).

1031	Accession of Mas'ūd (p. 92).
1031	Completion of the Ādinātha temple at Abu (p. 428).
1034	Ahmad Niyāltigīn invades Banaras (pp. 25, 61).
1034	Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva bears the brunt of an attack of the Muslims (p. 61).
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Yaśovarman (Chālukya)—*See* Daśavarman.
Yaśovarman (Chandella), 59.
Yaśovarman (Guhila)—*See* Kīrttivarman.
Yaśovarman (Paramāra), 59, 69, 70, 76.
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Yava, 750.
Yavanas—*See* Muslims.
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Yavishṭha, 383.
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Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III, 212.
Yayātinagara (pura), 210, 211, 212.
Yazdijurd-i-Shahryār, 2.

Yedatore *Tāluk*, 431.
Yelavare, 189.
Yelburga—*See* Erambarage.
Yelgandal, 199, 201.
Yemen, 468, 523.
Yeotmal, 69.
Ye-śes-hoḍ, 417.
Yoga, 353, 405, 407.
Yogāchāra school, 427.
Yoga-pīṭhas, 525.
Yogarāja (Guhila), 89.
Yogarāja (Paramāra), 72.
Yogasāra, 349.
Yogaśāstra, 80, 336.
Yogichandra Muni, 349.
Yoginī-tantra, 379.
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Yuganaddha, 411.
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Yunnan, 759.
Yūsuf, 5.
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Zābul, 1.
Zābulistān, 2.
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Zanzibar, 522.
Zari-Zarbakhsh, 469.
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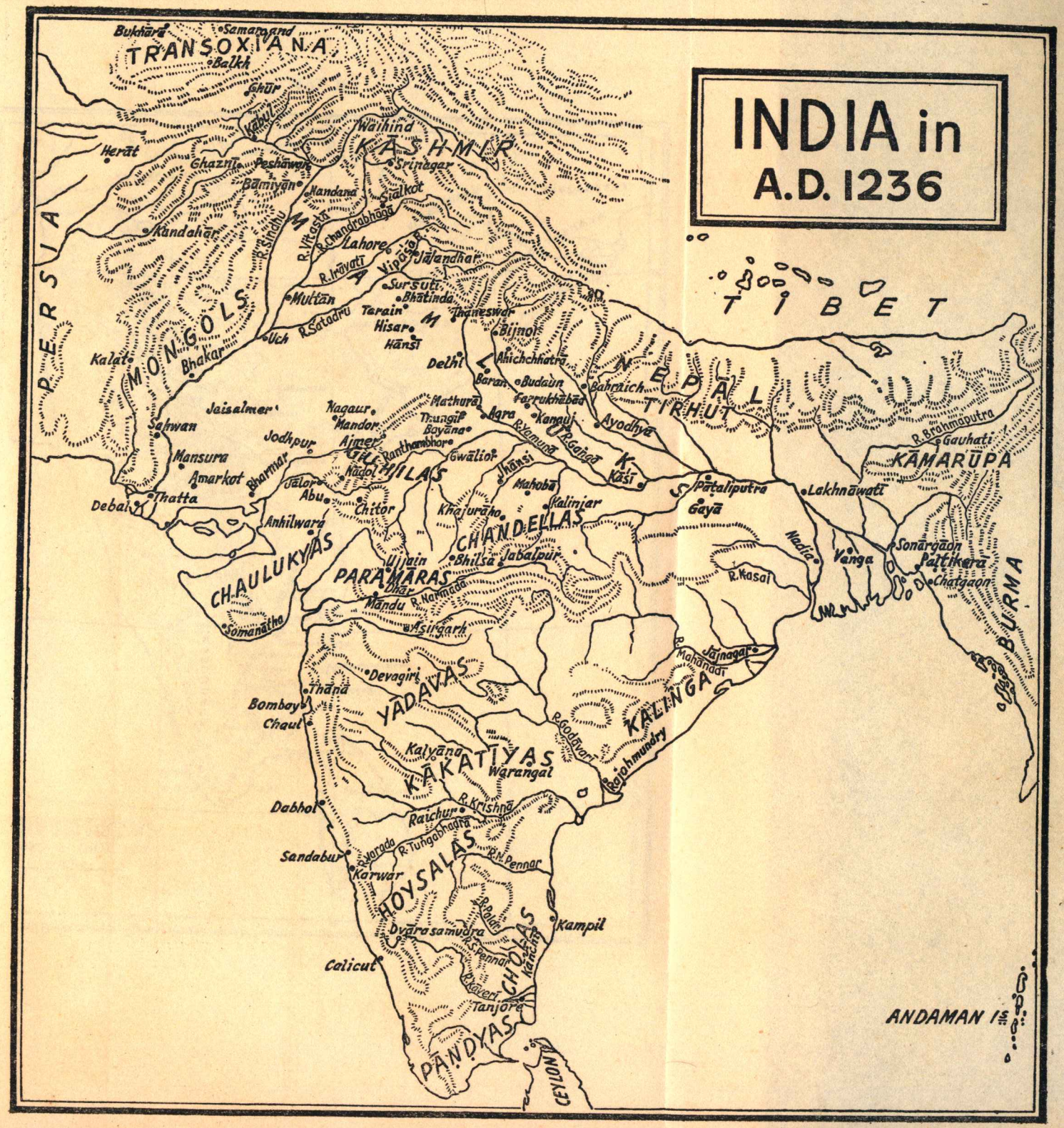
Zinda Pīr, 473, 149(n).
Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, 48, 157.
Zoroastrian/s, 1, 496.
Zubaid Ahmad, 507, 186(n).
Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh, 115, 2(n).

MAP I


INDIA in
A.D. 1236
TRANSOXIANA
Bukhārā
Samarqand
Balkh
Ghūr
Kābul
Herāt
Ghaznī
Peshāwar
Bāmiyān
Kandahār
PERSIA
MONGOLS
Wālhind
KASHMIR
Srīnagar
Nandana
Sialkot
R. Vitasta
R. Chandrabhāgā
R. Sindhu
Lahore
R. Irāvatī
R. Vipāśā
Jālandhar
Sursuti
Bhātinda
Muttān
Terain
Thāneswar
R. Satadrū
Hisar
Hānsī
Uch
Bhakar
Kalat
Delhi
Bijnol
Ahichchhatra
Baran
Budaun
Bahraich
NEPAL
TIRHUT
TIBET
Jaisalmer
Nagaur
Mathurā
Farukhābād
Sahwan
Mandor
Thungir
Agra
Kanauj
Ayodhyā
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Bayāna
R. Yamunā
R. Gangā
R. Brahmaputra
Gauhati
KĀMARŪPA
Mansura
Ranthambhore
Gwālior
Jhānsī
Kāśī
Amarkot
Bhārmar
Nādol
GUHILAS
Jālor
Abu
Mahobā
Pāṭaliputra
Lakhnāwatī
Debal
Thatta
Chitor
Kālinjar
Gayā
Anhilwara
Khajurāho
CHANDELLAS
Nadia
Vanga
Sonārgāon
Paṭṭikerā
CHAULUKYAS
Ujjain
Bhilsa
Jabalpur
PARAMĀRAS
R. Kasai
Chatgaon
Dhār
Māndu
R. Narmadā
BURMA
Somanātha
Asīrgarh
R. Mahānadī
Jajnagar
Devagiri
YADAVAS
Thāna
Bombay
Chaul
KALINGA
R. Godāvarī
Kalyāna
KĀKATIYAS
Warangal
Rajahmundry
Dabhol
R. Krishnā
Raichur
R. Tungabhadra
Sandabur
R. Varada
R. N. Pennar
Karwar
HOYSALAS
R. Kolār
Kampil
Dvārasamudra
R. S. Pennar
Kānchī
Calicut
R. Kāvērī
CHOLAS
Tanjore
PANDYAS
CEYLON
ANDAMAN Is.

MAP II

SOUTH INDIA
1000 – 1300 A.D.
Miles
0 40 80 120
Narmada
Tapti
Godavari
Bhima
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Mahanadi
Kaveri
Vaigai
Palar
Pennar
Kosalanadu
Tandabutti
Odravishaya
Masunidesa
Kalingam
Vengainadu
Kalyani
Koppam
Mannaikkadakkam
Kollippakkai
Musangi
Kudalsangamam
Idaturainadu
Nolambapadi
Banavasi
Dvarasamudra
Nellore
Tondamandalam
Kanchi
Uttaramerur
Ennayiram
Talakad
Gangapadi
Sendamangalam
Chidambaram
Kannanur
Gangaikondacholapuram
Srirangam
Tanjore
Negapatam
Cholamandalam
Kongudesa
Madura
Pandyamandalam
Ramesvaram
Kollam
Kandalur
Kayal
Anuradhapura
Polonnaruva
Ilamandalam
Anil

Fig. 1. *Bhuvaneśvara, Śatrughneśvara Temple: View from front*

Fig. 2. Bhuvaneśvara, Old Temple by Vindusarovara

PLATE I

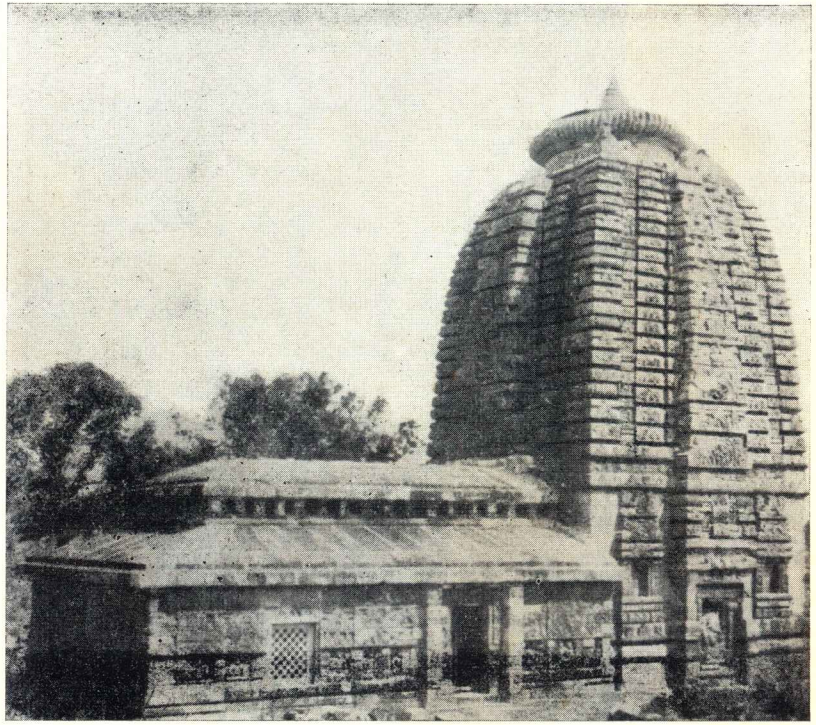


Fig. 3. *Bhuvaneśvara, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple: General View*

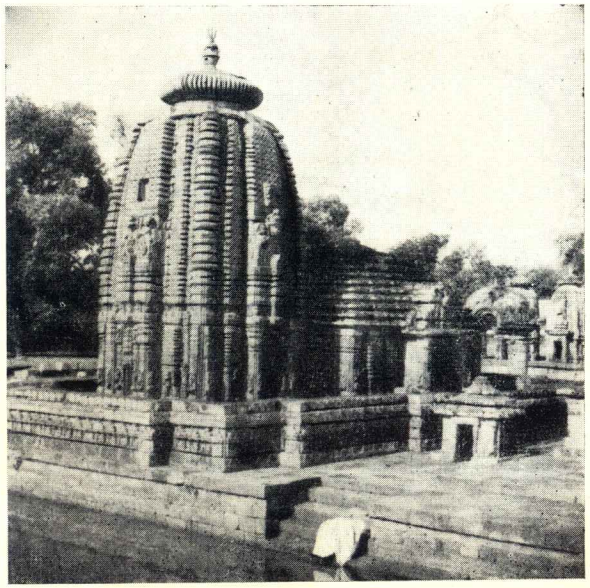


Fig. 4. *Bhuvaneśvara, Mukteśvara Temple: General View*

PLATE III

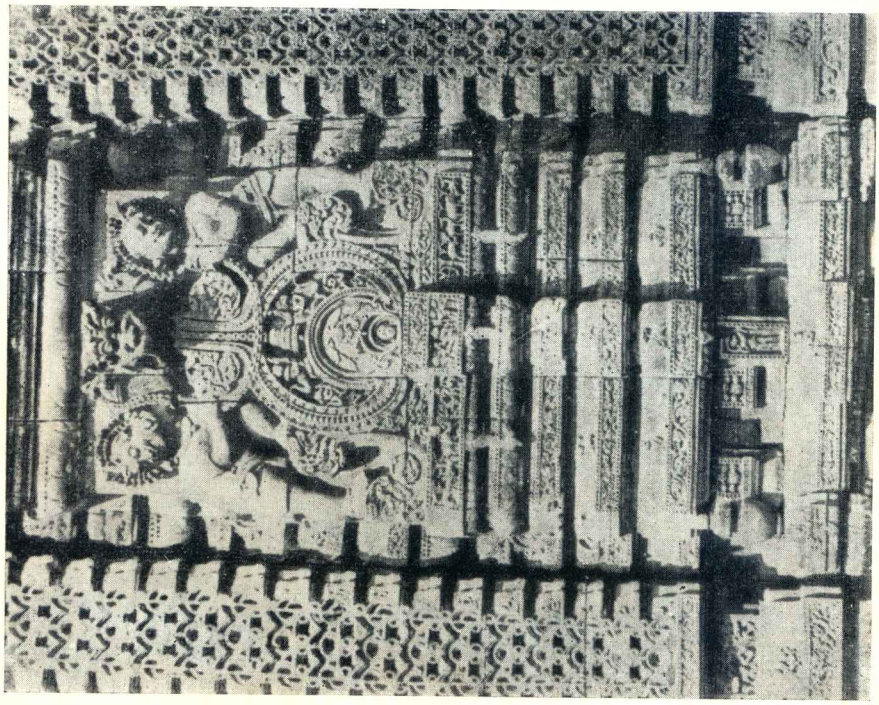


Fig. 6. *Bhuvaneśvara, Muktesvara Temple: Bho.*

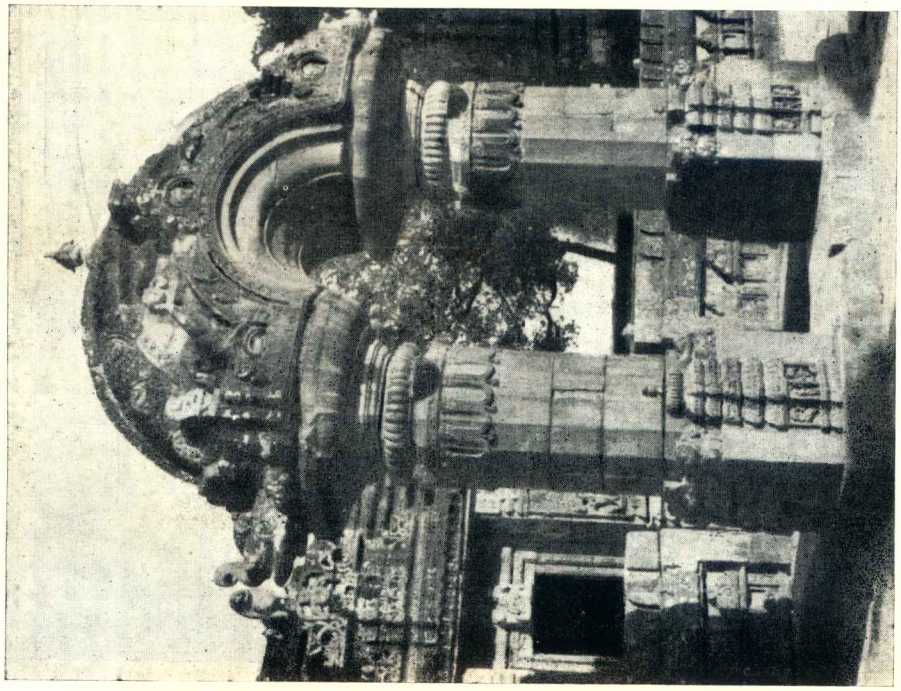


Fig. 5. *Bhuvaneśvara, Muktesvara Temple: Toraṇa.*

PLATE IV

Fig. 7. *Bhuvaneśvara, Siddheśvara Temple: General View*

Fig. 8. *Bhuvaneśvara, Brahmeśvara Temple: General View*

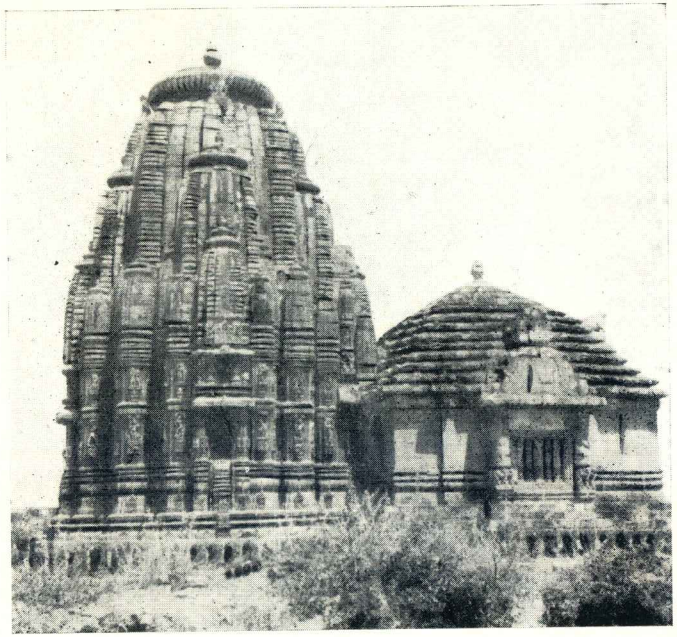


Fig. 9. *Bhuvaneśvara, Rājārāṇī Temple: General View*

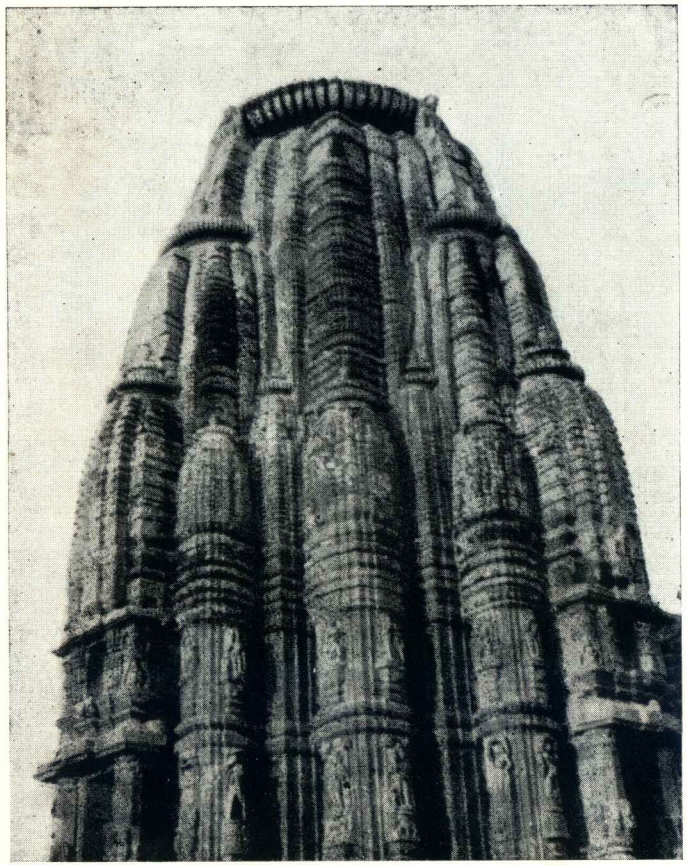


Fig. 10. *Bhuvaneśvara, Rājārāṇī Temple: Detail of Śikhara*

PLATE VI

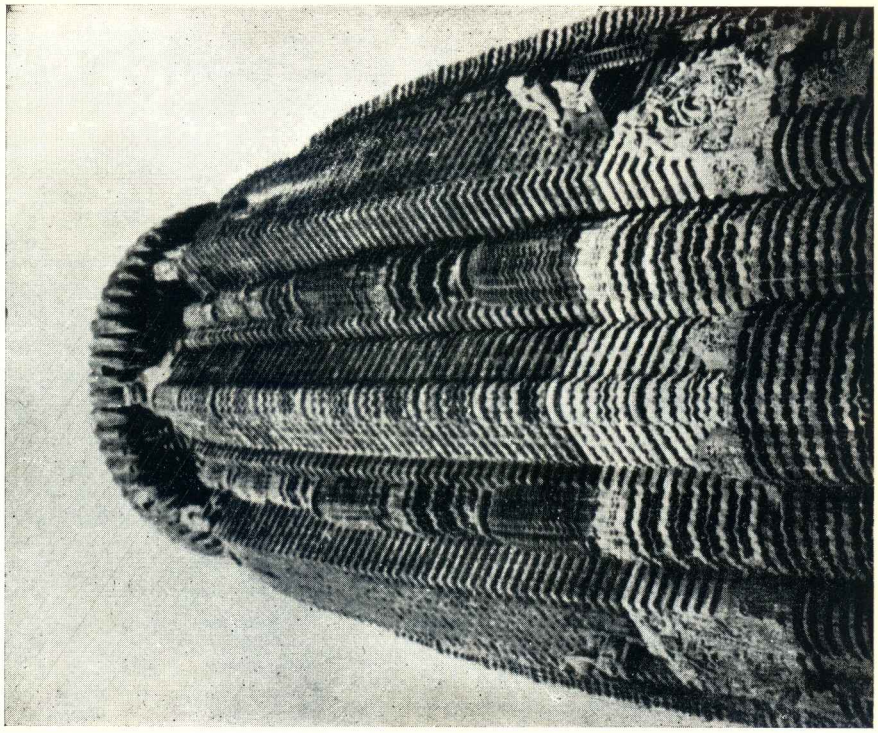


Fig. 12. *Bhuvaneśvara, Liṅgarāja Temple: Detail of Śikhara*

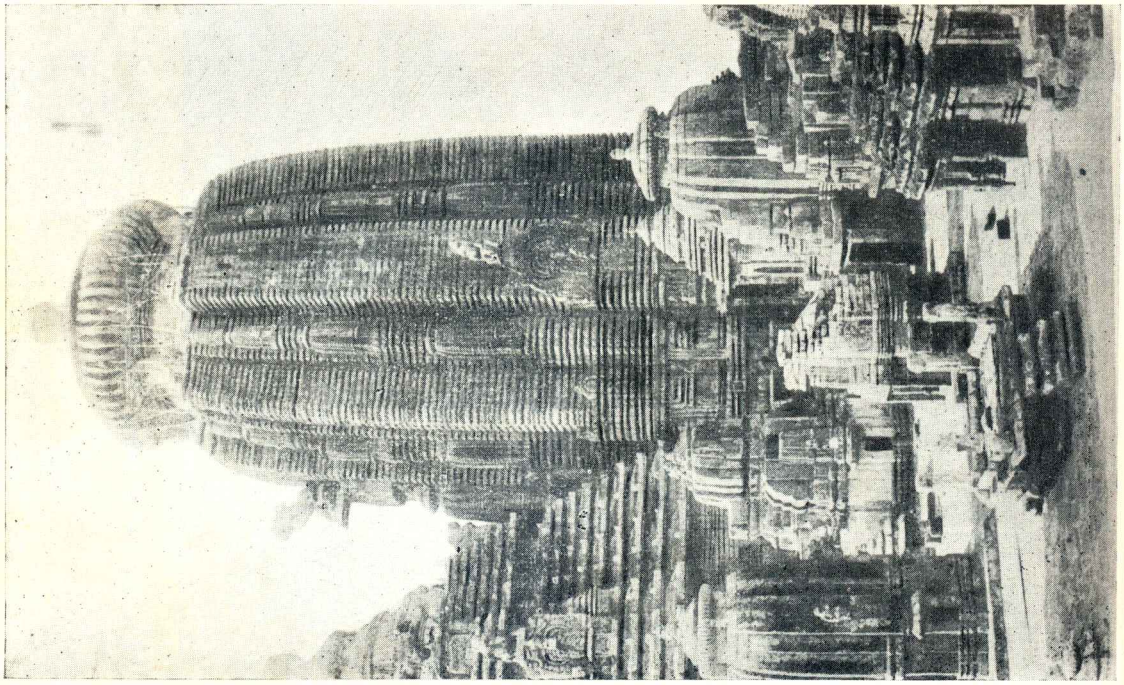


Fig. 11. *Bhuvaneśvara, Liṅgarāja Temple: General View*

PLATE VII

Fig. 13. *Bhuvaneśvara, Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple: General View*

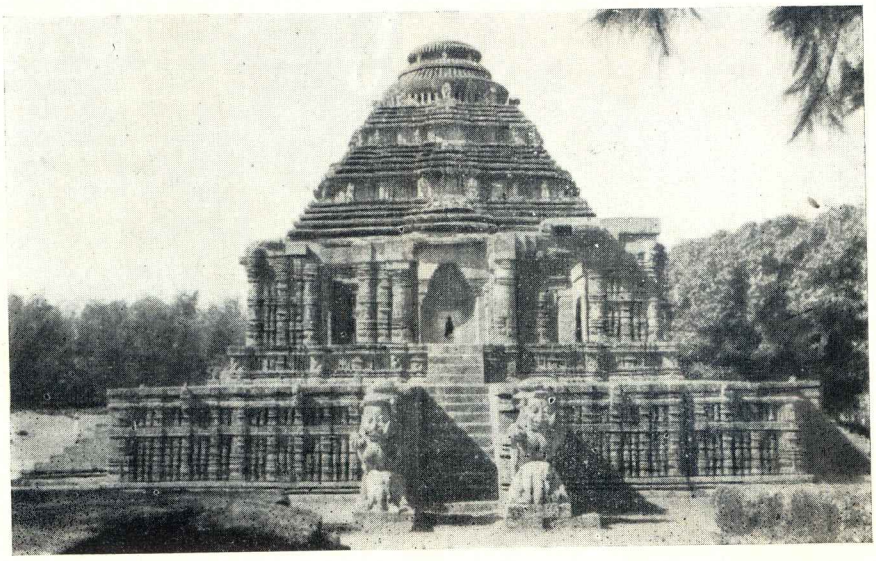


Fig. 14. *Konārak, Sun Temple: View from front*

Fig. 15. *Konārak, Sun Temple: Side View*

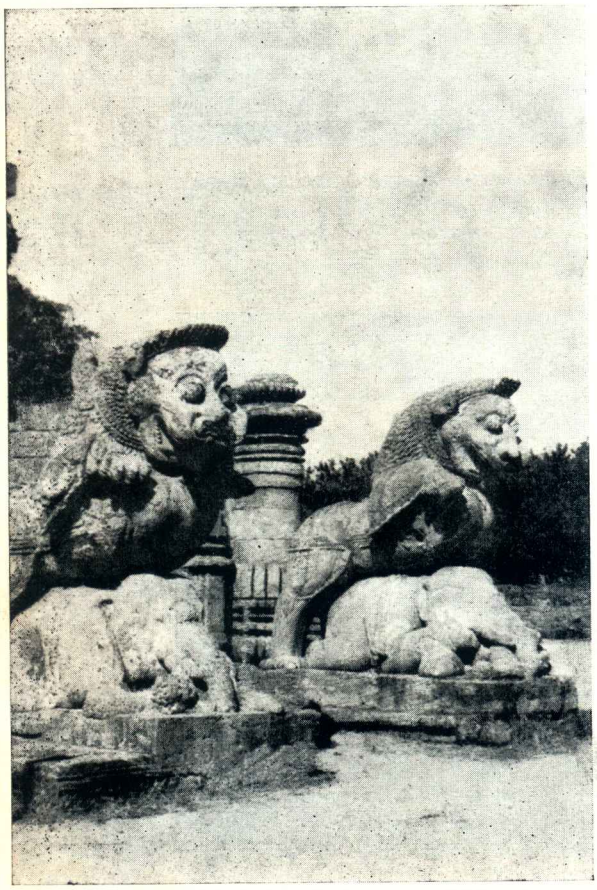


Fig. 16. *Konārak, Sun Temple: Gaja-Siṁha*

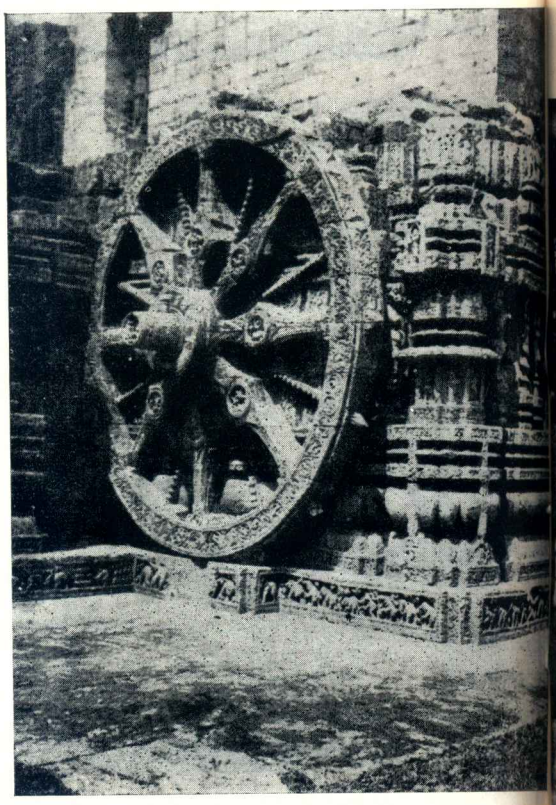


Fig. 17. *Konārak, Sun Temple: Chariot Wheel*

PLATE IX

Fig. 18.
Bhuvaneśvara, Vaital deul

Fig. 19. *Yāgeśvara, Navadurgā Temple*

Fig. 20. *Gwālior, Teli-kā-mandir*

PLATE X

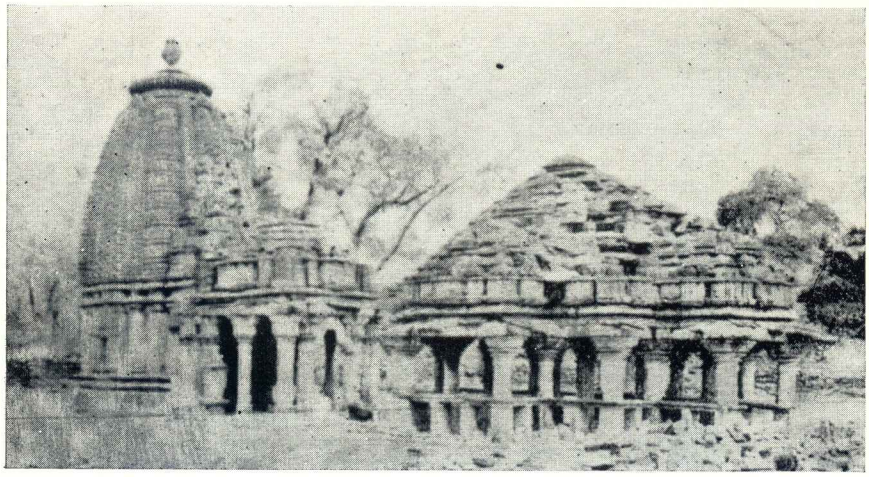


Fig. 21. *Baroli, Śikhara Temple*

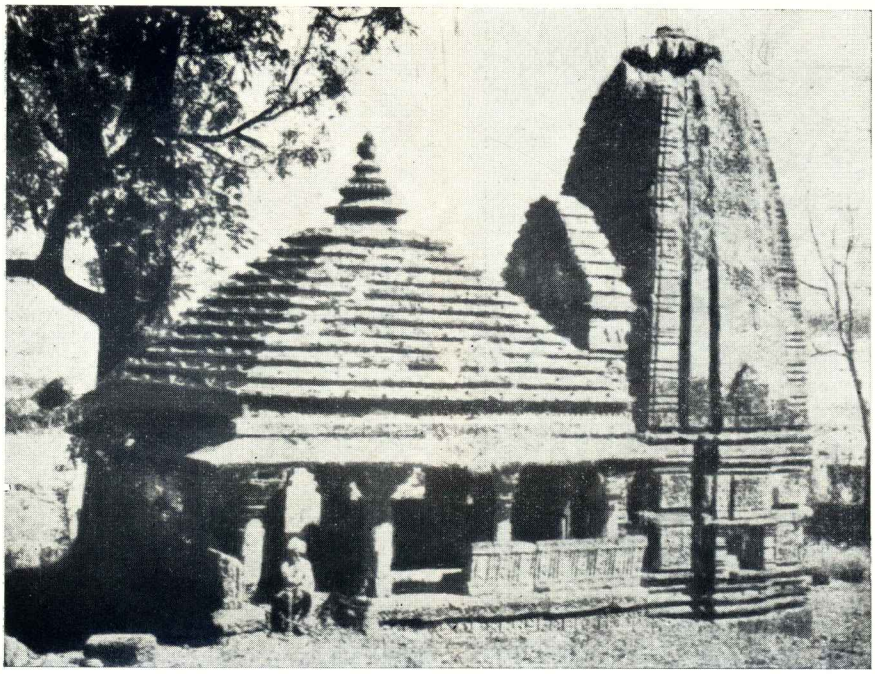


Fig. 22. *Amarkantak, Pātāleśvara Temple*

PLATE XI

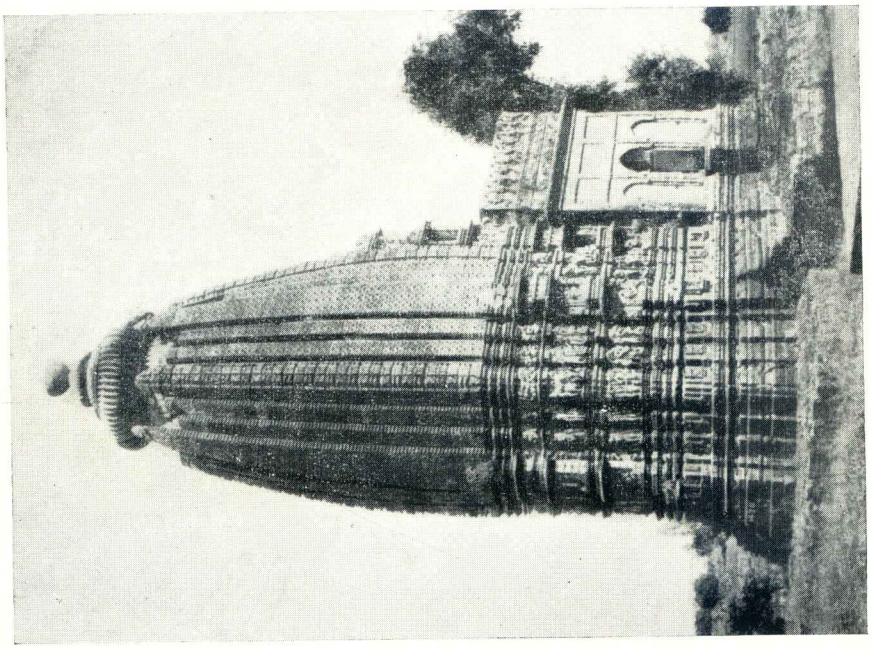


Fig. 24. *Khajurāho, Ādinātha Temple*

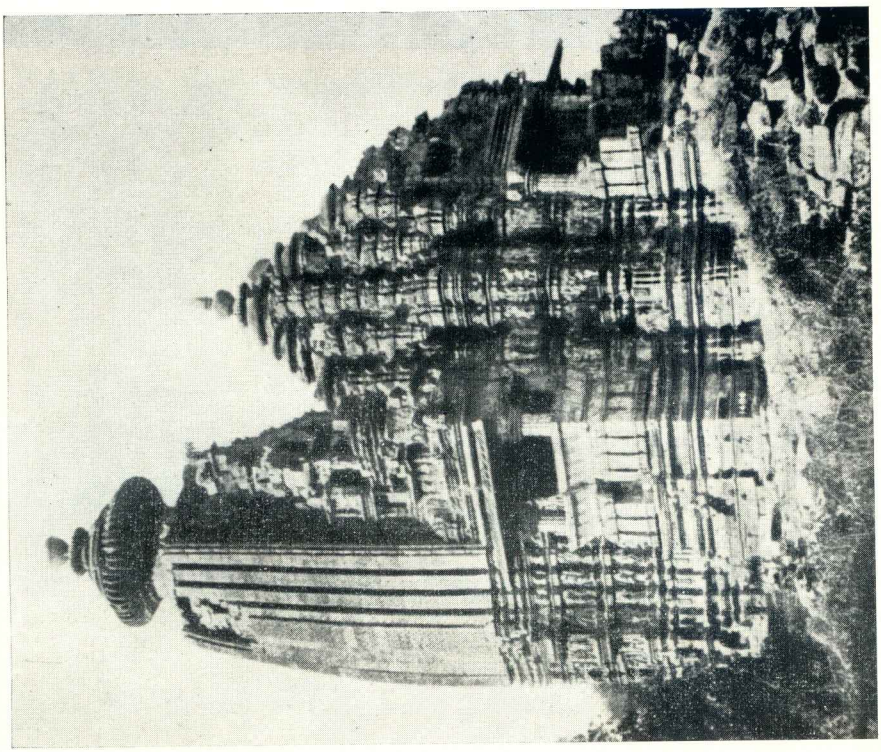


Fig. 23. *Khajurāho, Vāmana Temple*

PLATE XII

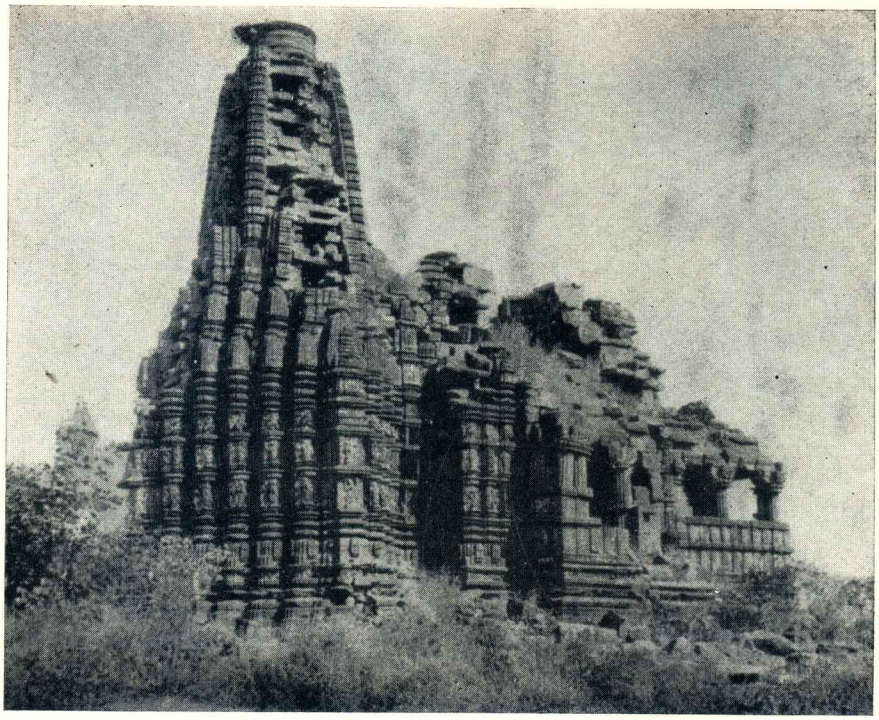


Fig. 25. *Khajurāho, Kunwar Math Temple*

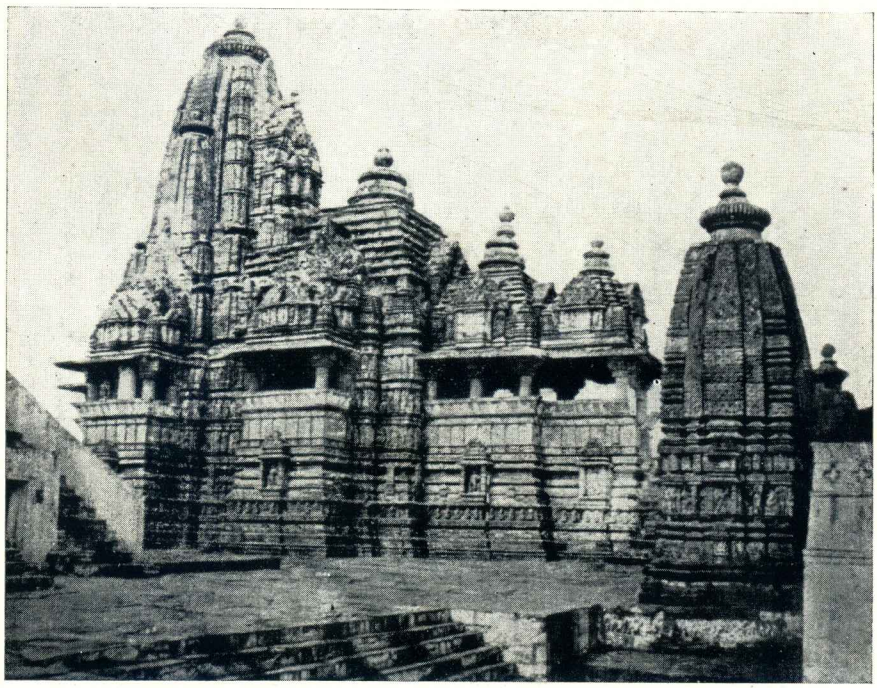


Fig. 26. *Khajurāho, Rāmachandra or Chaturbhuja Temple*

PLATE XIII

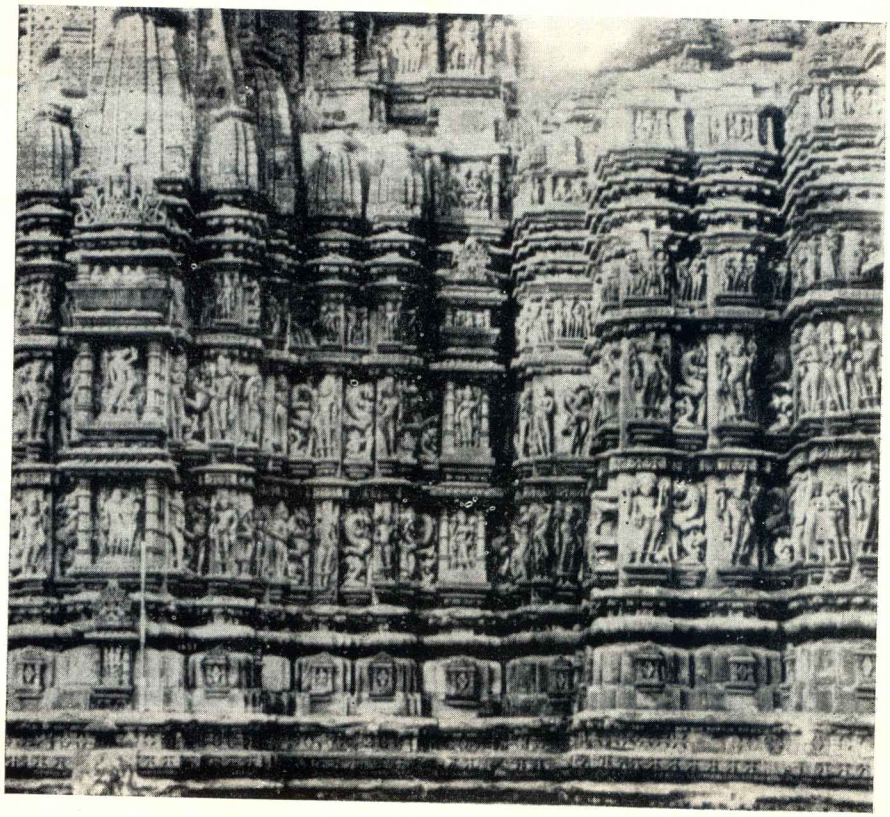


Fig. 27. *Khajurāho, Devī Jagadambā Temple*

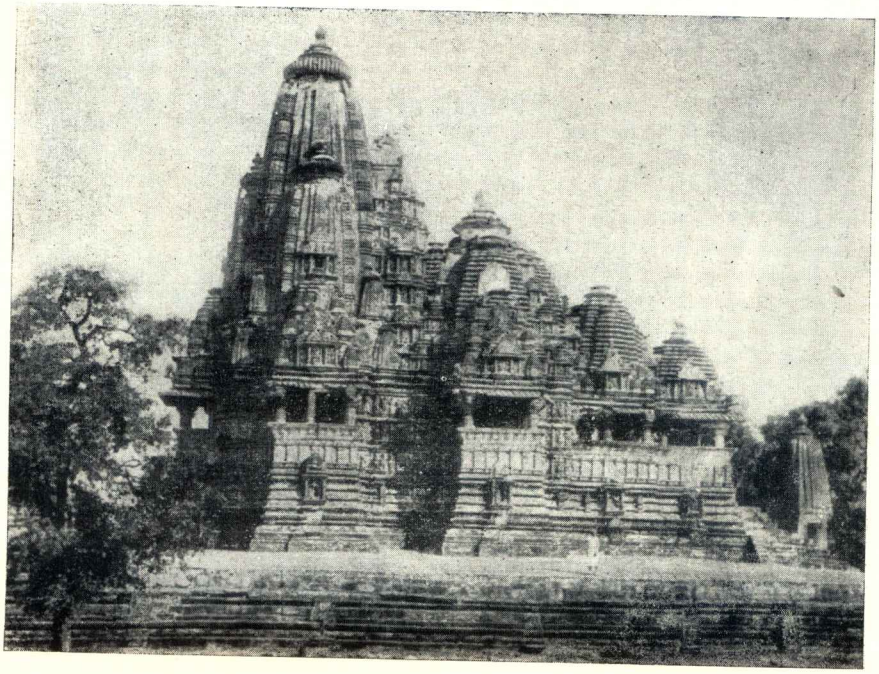


Fig. 28. *Khajurāho, Viśvanātha Temple*

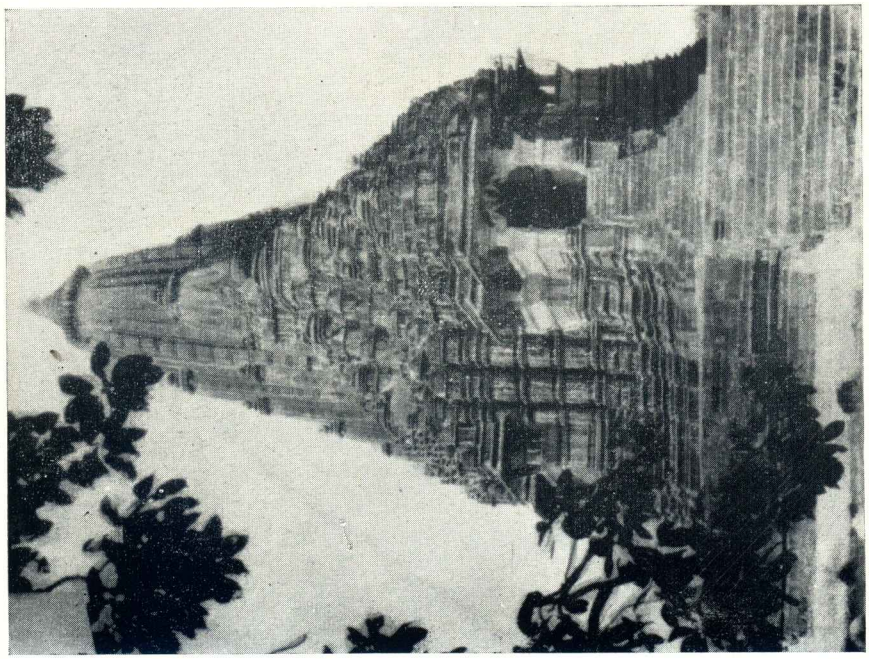


Fig. 30. *Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo Temple*

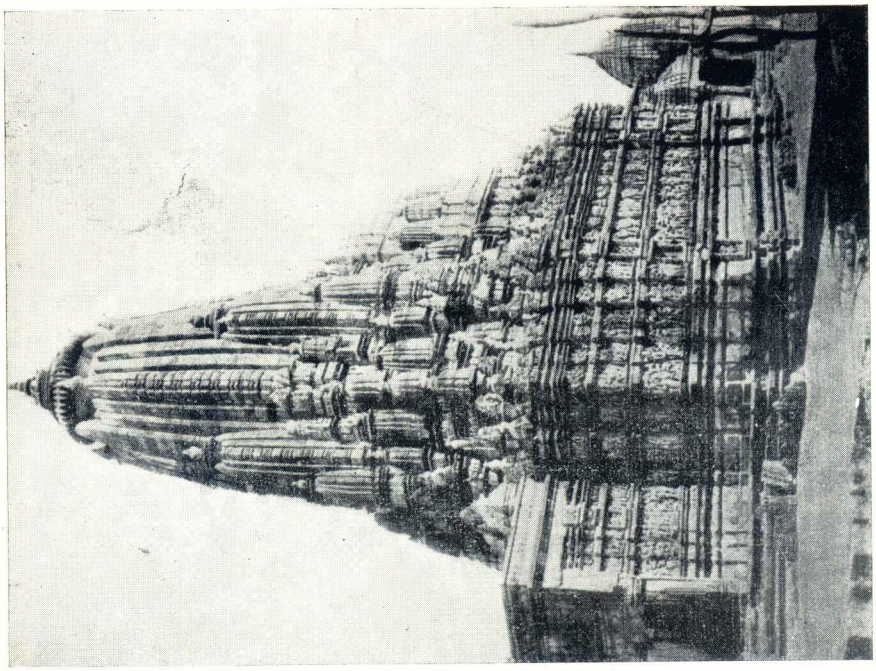


Fig. 29. *Khajurāho, Pārśvanātha Temple*

PLATE XV

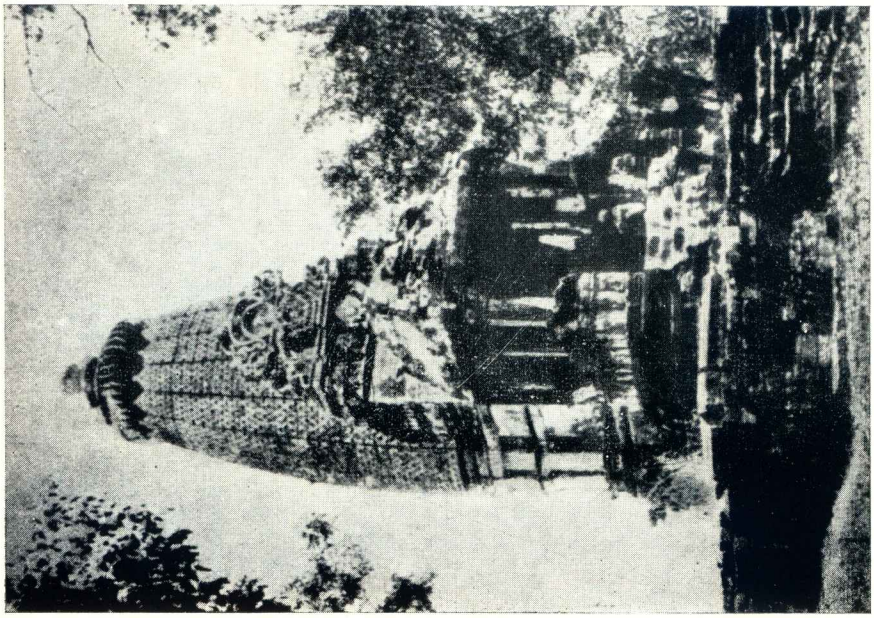


Fig. 32. *Chandrehe, Circular Temple*

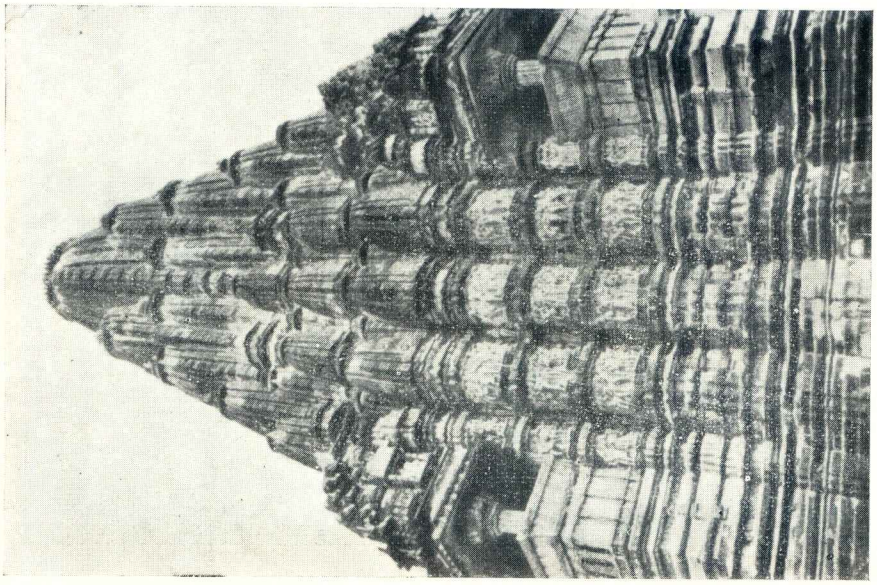


Fig. 31. *Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo Temple: Detail of Sikhara*

PLATE XVI

Fig. 33. *Khajurāho, Ghaṇṭāi Temple*

Fig. 34. *Osia, Temple No. 1*

PLATE XVII

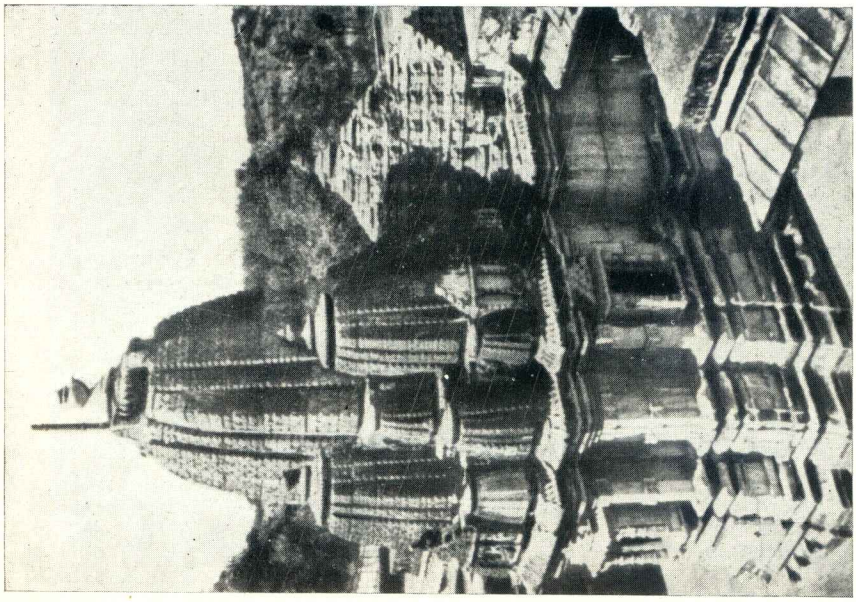


Fig. 36. *Kumbharia, Neminātha Temple*

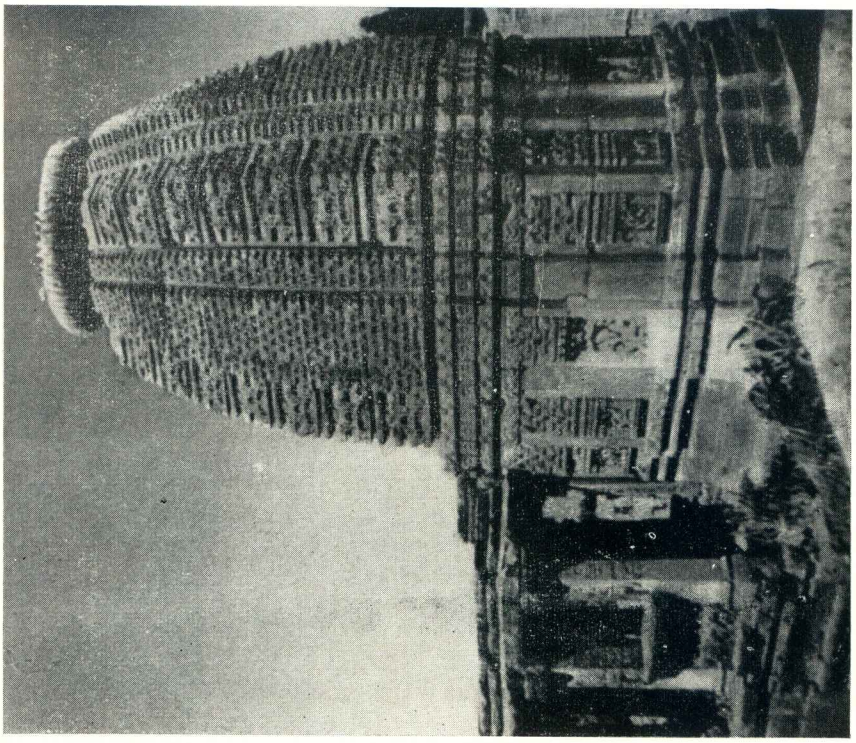


Fig. 35. *Osia, Temple No. 7*

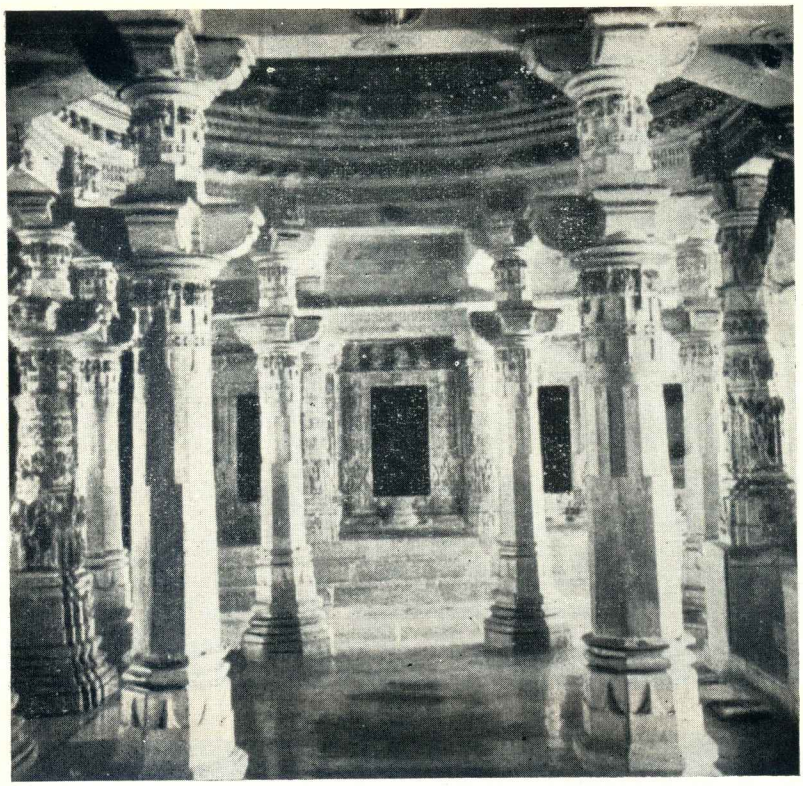


Fig. 37. *Kumbharia, Pārśvanātha Temple: Interior*

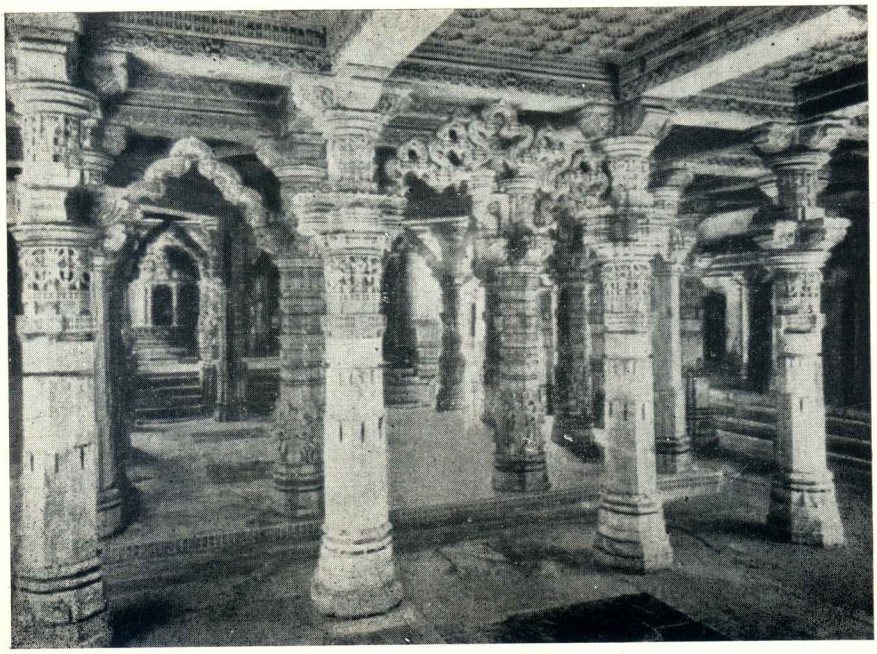


Fig. 38. *Dilwārā, Tejaḥpāla's Temple: Interior*

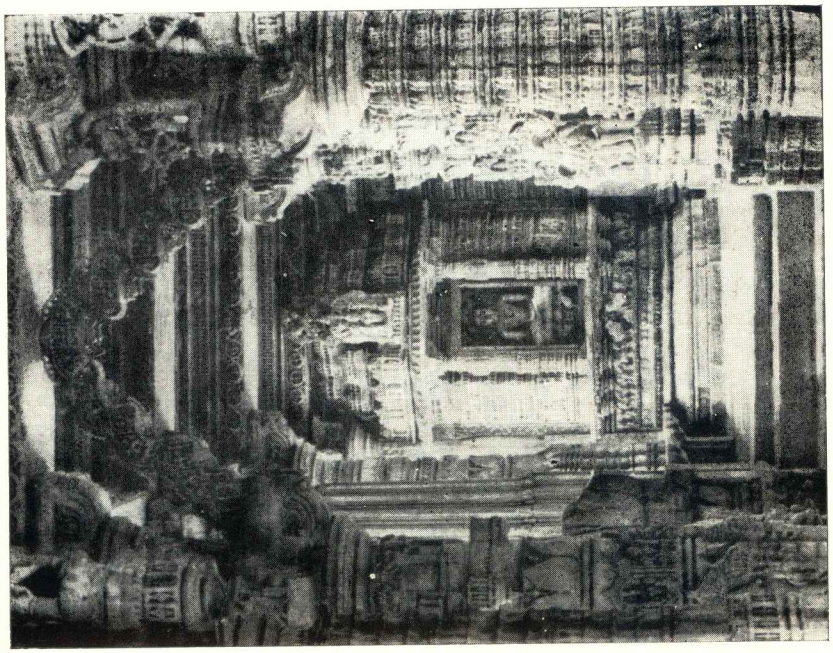


Fig. 40. *Dilwārā, Tejahpāla's Temple: Side Chapel*

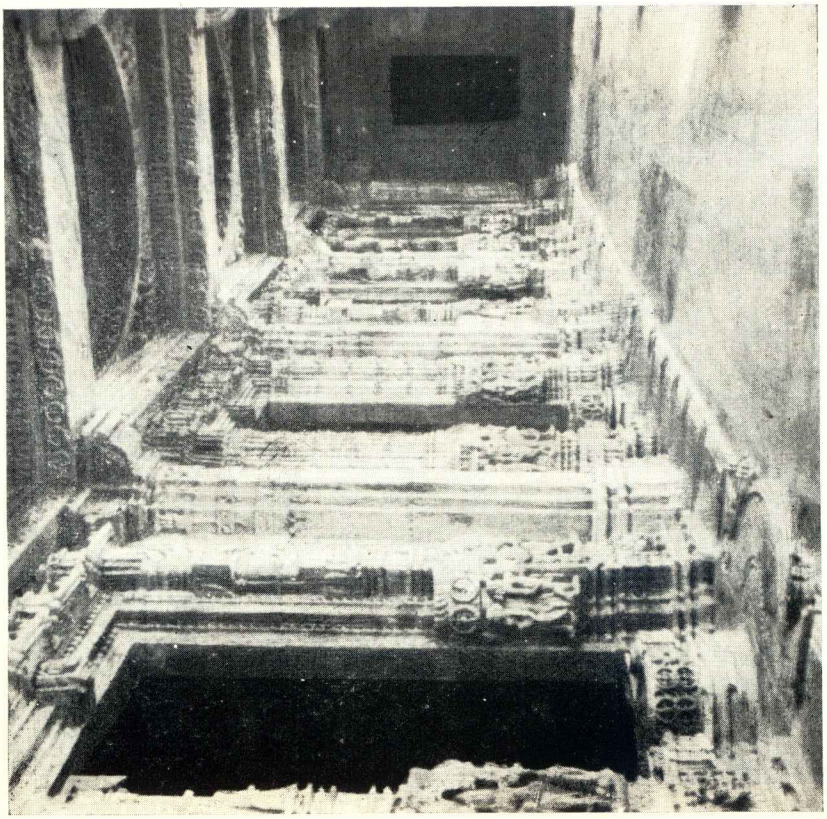


Fig. 39. *Dilwārā, Vimala's Temple: Cloister*

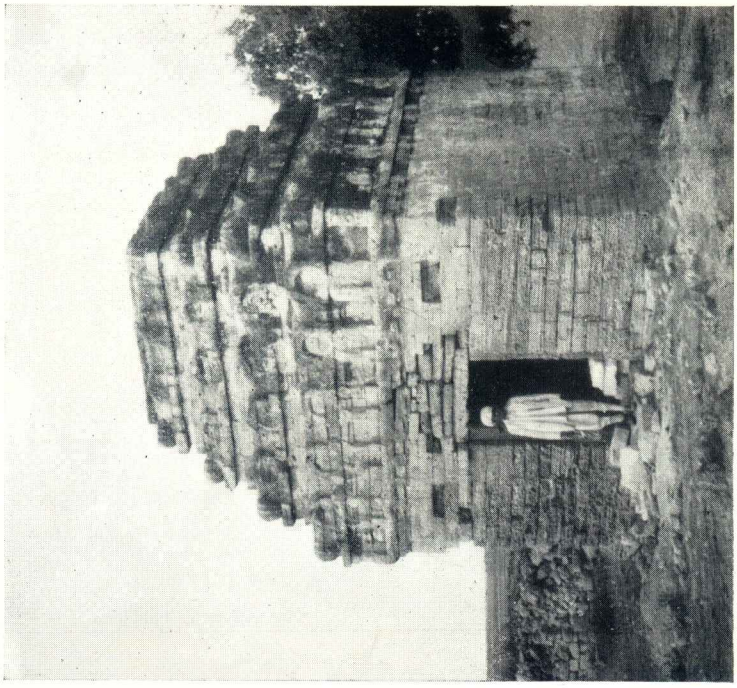


Fig. 42. *Pindara, Temple of Gop Type*

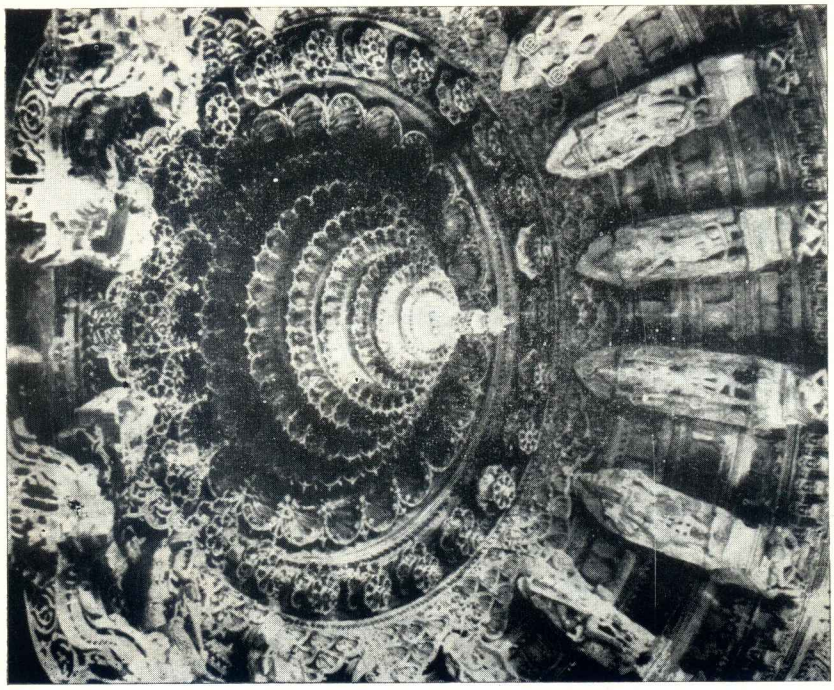


Fig. 41. *Dilwārā, Tejaḥpāla's Temple: Ceiling*

Fig. 43. *Gop, Old Temple*

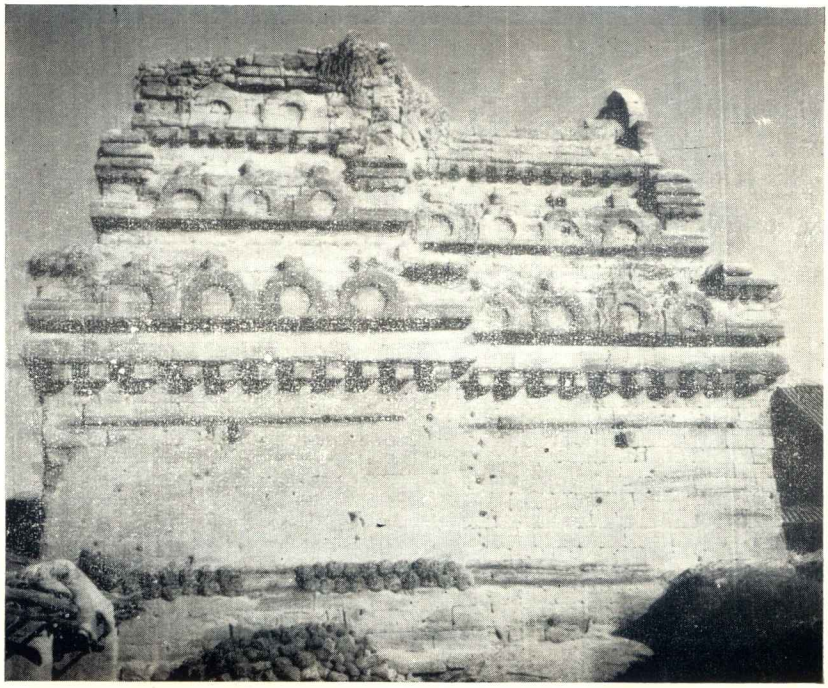


Fig. 44. *Kalsar, Temple of Gop Type*

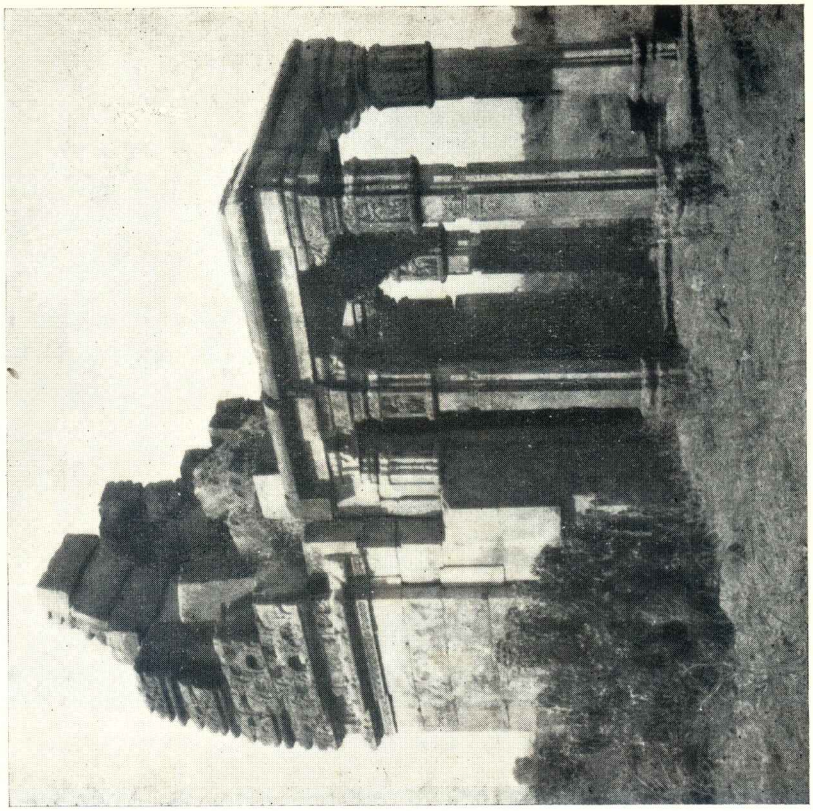


Fig. 46. *Rhoda, Śikhara Temple*

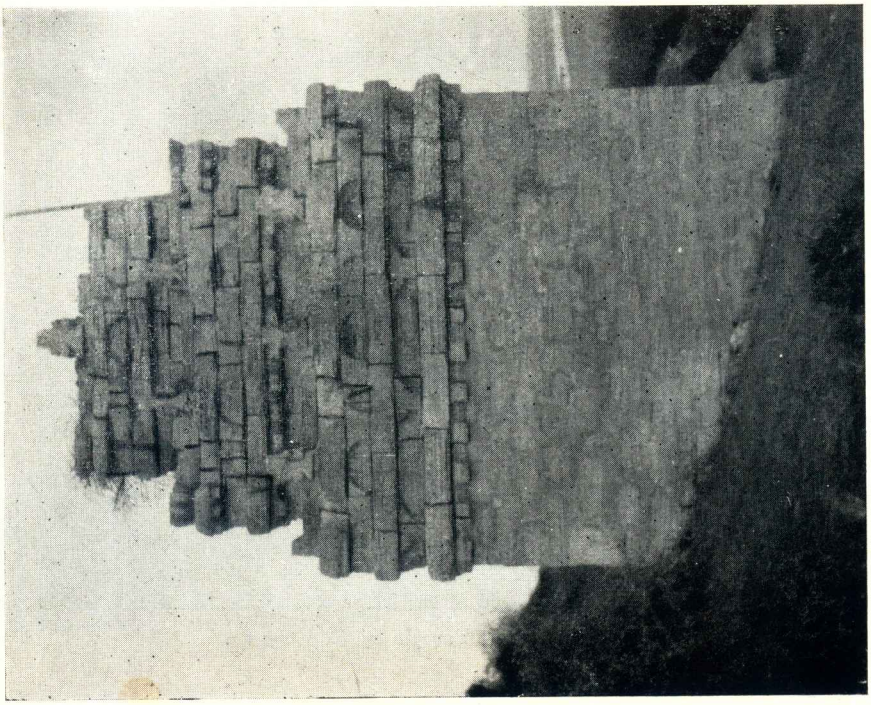


Fig. 45. *Harshadmata, Temple of Gop Type*

Fig. 47. *Pashthar, Śikhara Temple*

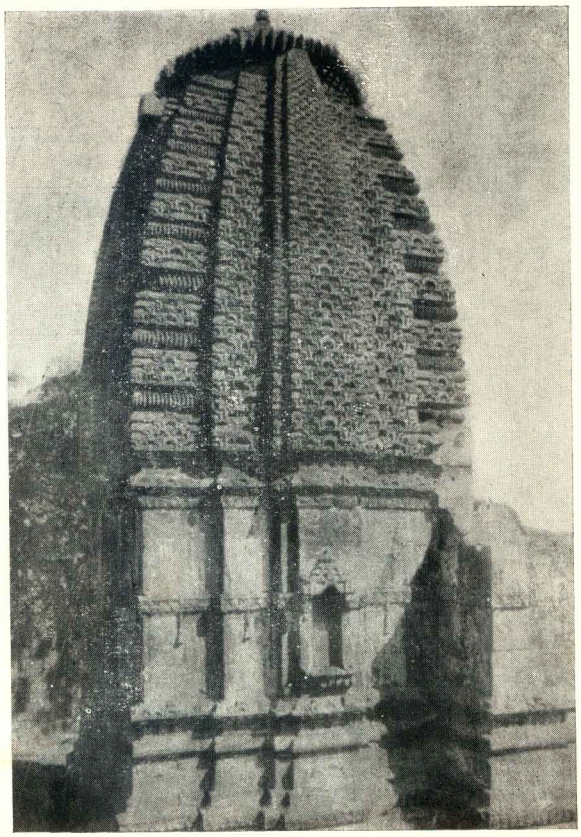


Fig. 48. *Wadhwān, Ranik Devī Temple*

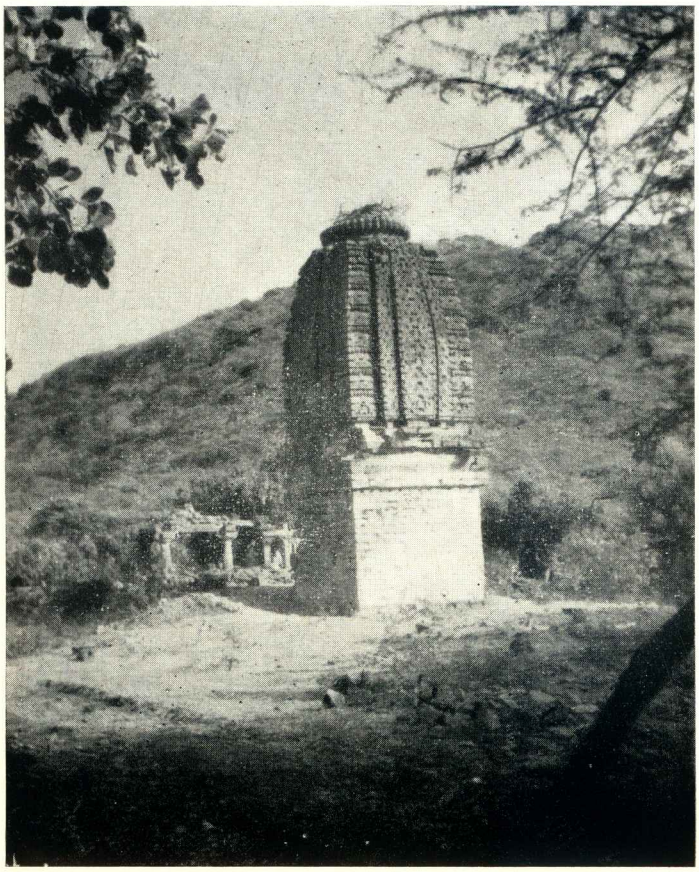


Fig. 49.
Ghumli, Śikhara Temple

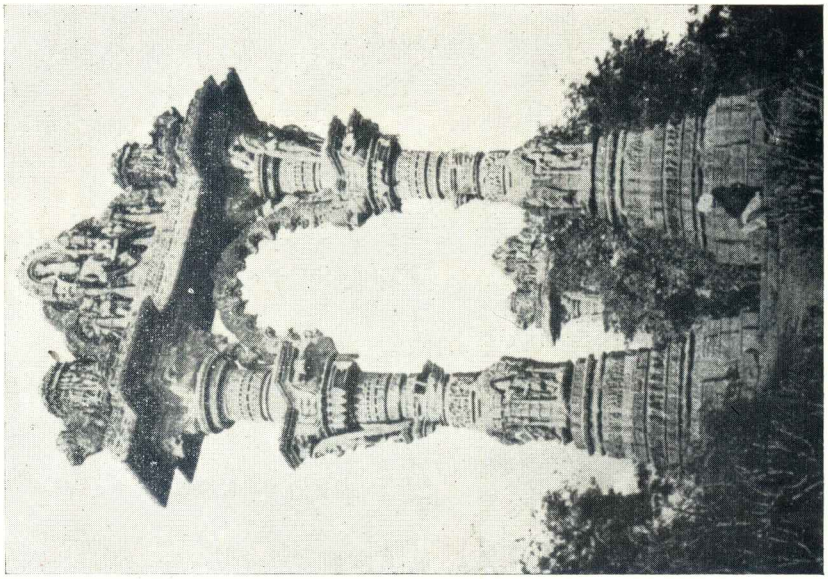


Fig. 51. *Vadnagar, Kīrti-toraṇa*

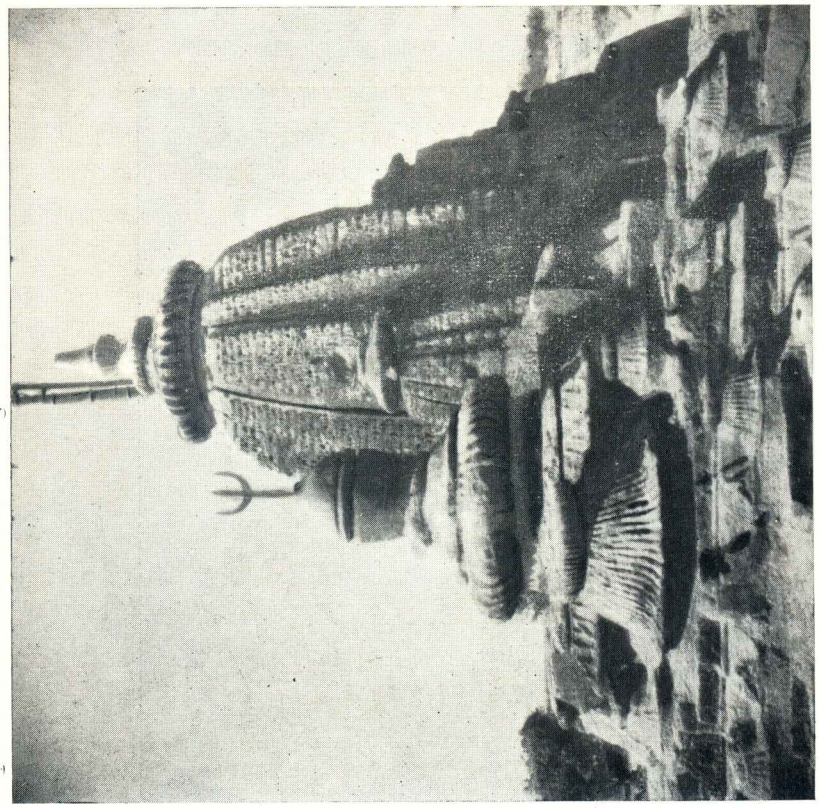


Fig. 50. *Sunak, Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva Temple*

PLATE XXV

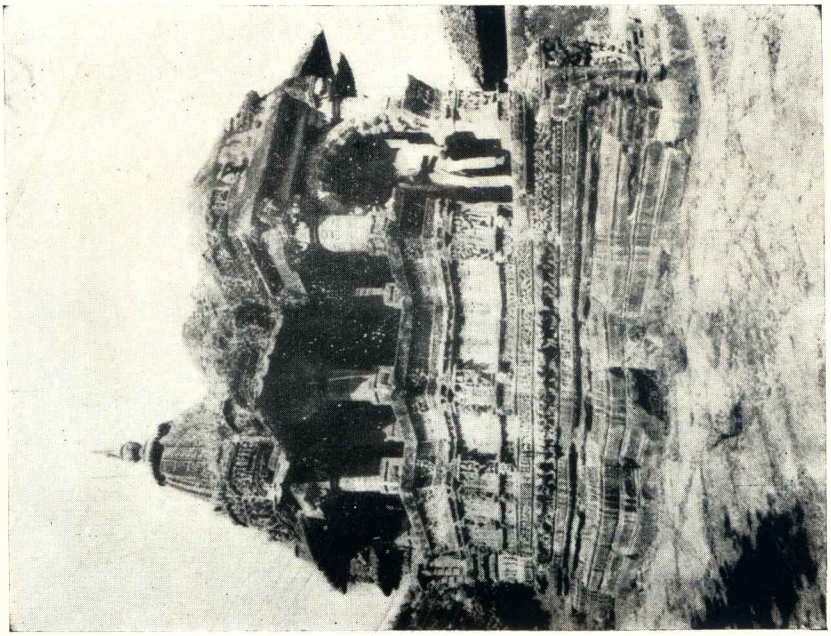


Fig. 53. *Asoda, Jaisalnātha Mahādeva Temple*

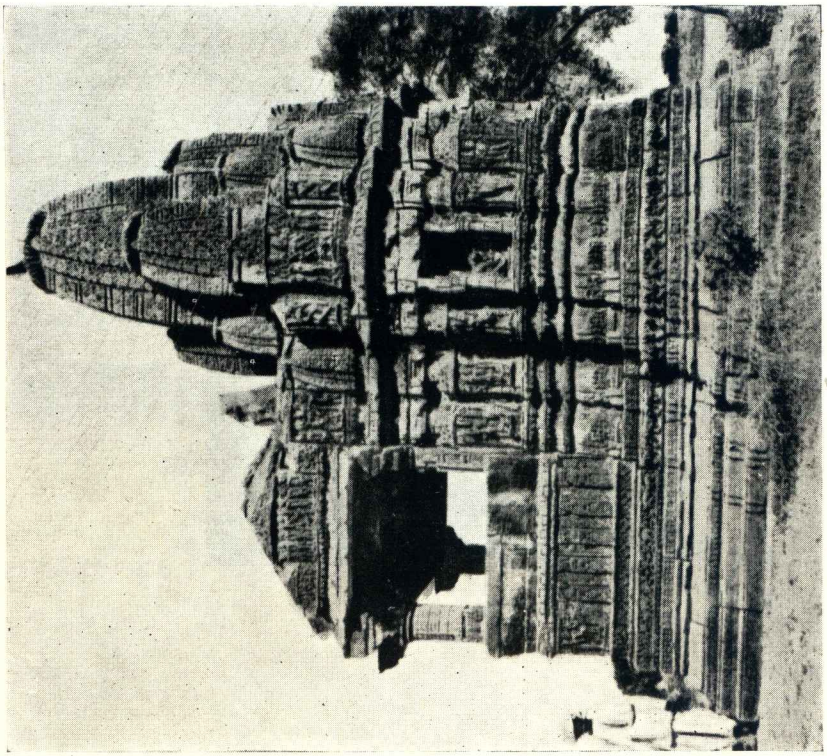


Fig. 52. *Khandorna, Hingolji Mātā Temple*

PLATE XXVI

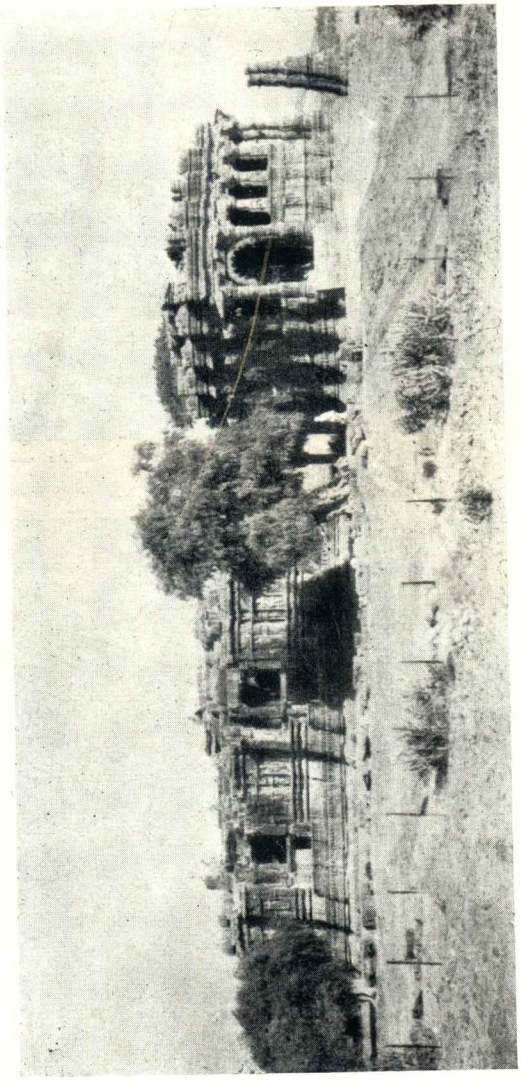


Fig. 54. *Modhera, Sun Temple: General View*

PLATE XXVII

Fig. 55. *Moḍhera, Sun Temple: Detail of side view*

Fig. 56. *Modhera, Sun Temple: Detail of Sabhā-maṇḍapa*

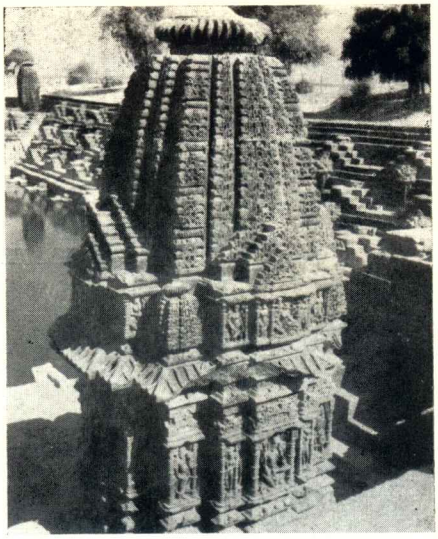


Fig. 57. *Modhera, Sun Temple: Shrine on steps of the tank*

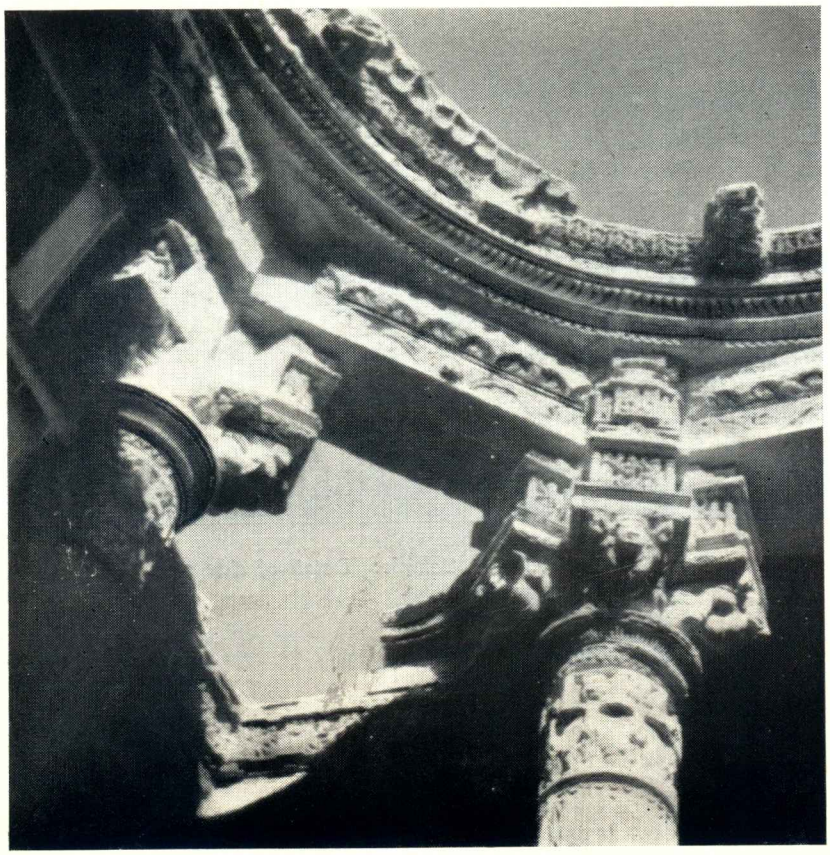


Fig. 58. *Modhera, Sun Temple: Ceiling of Maṇḍapa*

PLATE XXIX

Fig. 59. *Mahākūṭeśvara, Saṅgameśvara Temple*

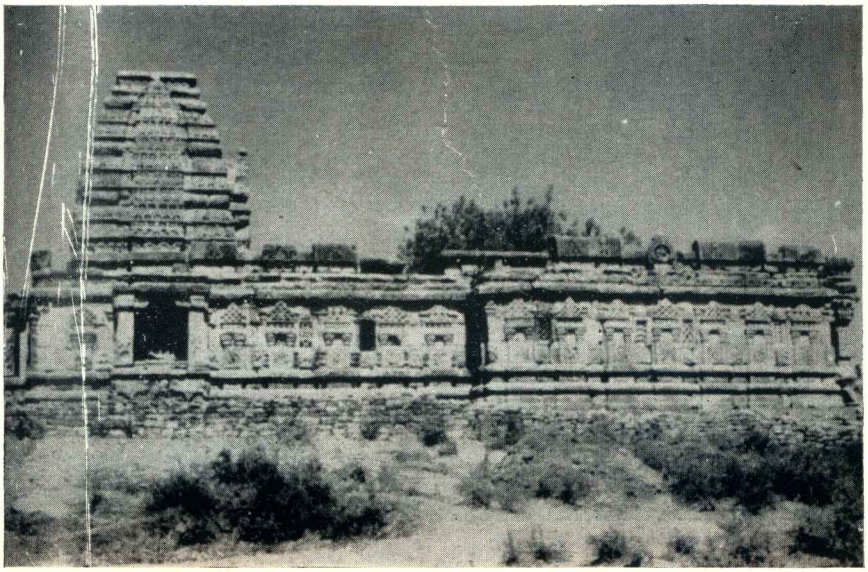


Fig. 60. *Paṭṭadakal, Pāpanātha Temple*

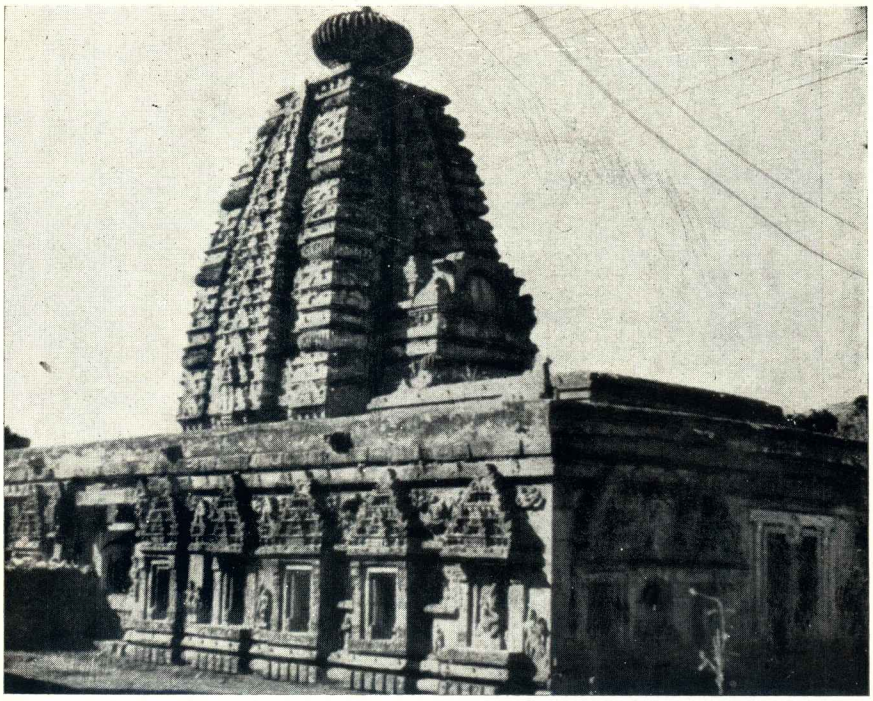


Fig. 61. *Ālampur, Viśva-Brahmā Temple*

Fig. 62. *Balsane, Temple No. 1*

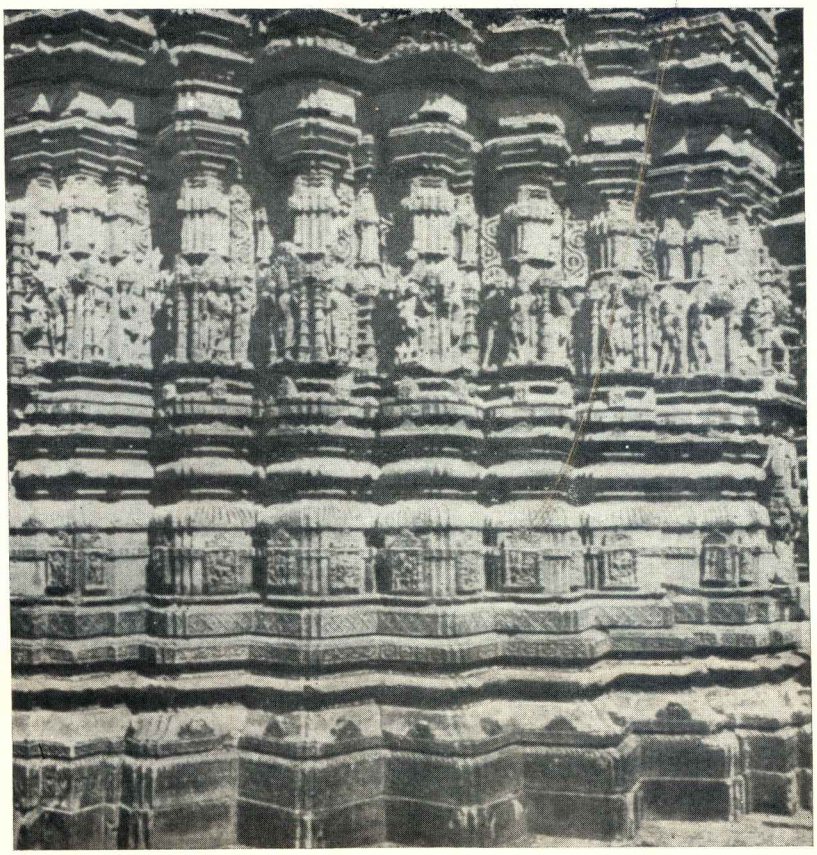


Fig. 63. *Udayapura, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple : Detail of wall*

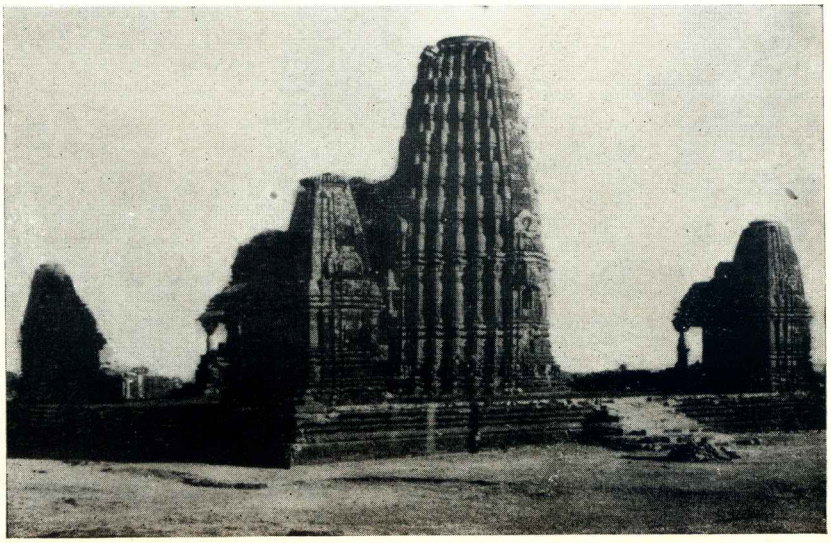


Fig. 64. *Sinnar, Goṇḍeśvara Temple : General view*

Fig. 65. *Sarnal, Galteśvara Temple*

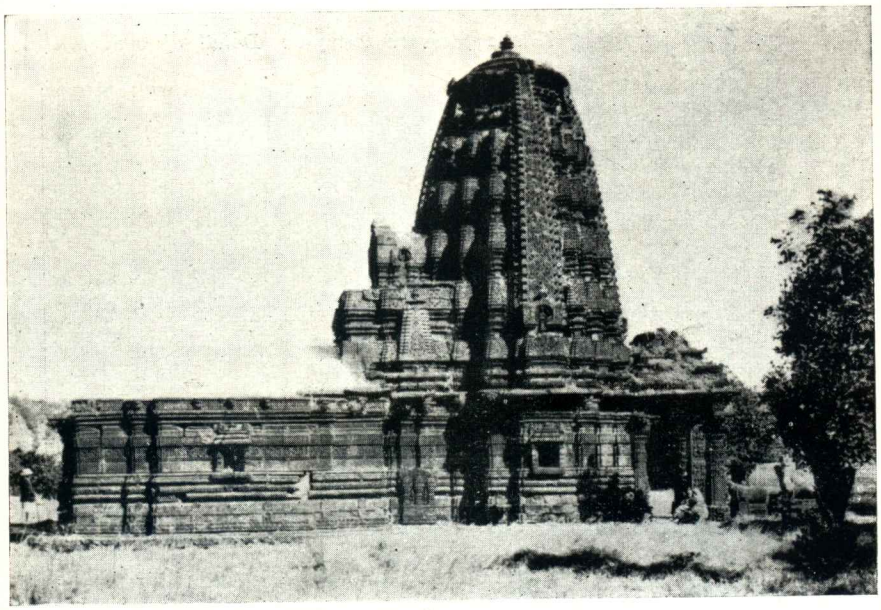


Fig. 66. *Ratanwāḍi, Amṛiteśvara Temple*

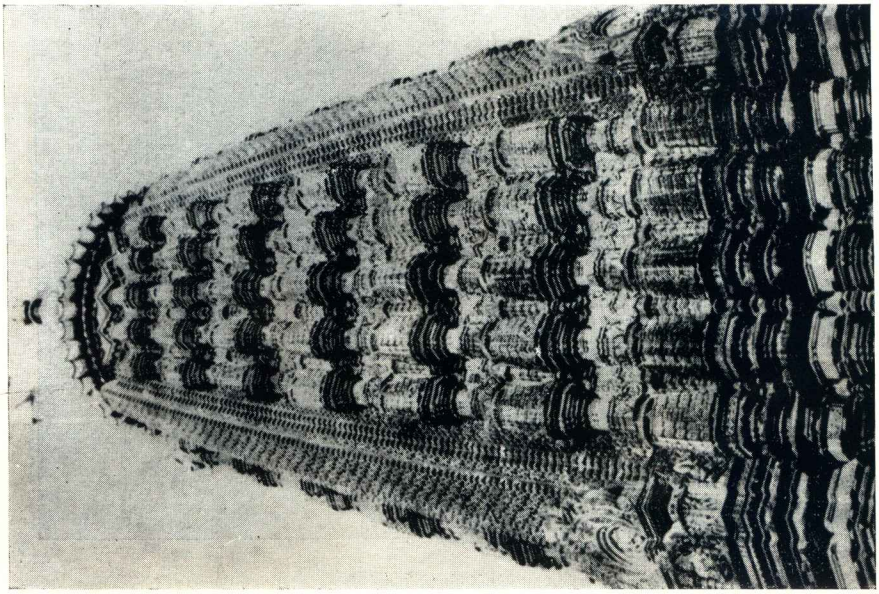


Fig. 68. *Udayapura, Nilakaṇṭheśvara Temple : Detail of Śikhara*

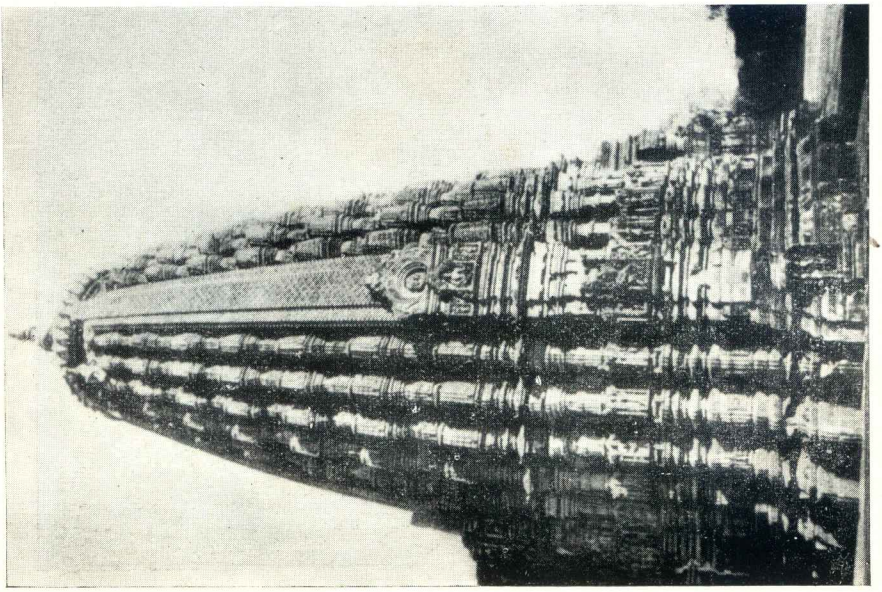


Fig. 67. *Udayapura, Nilakaṇṭheśvara Temple*

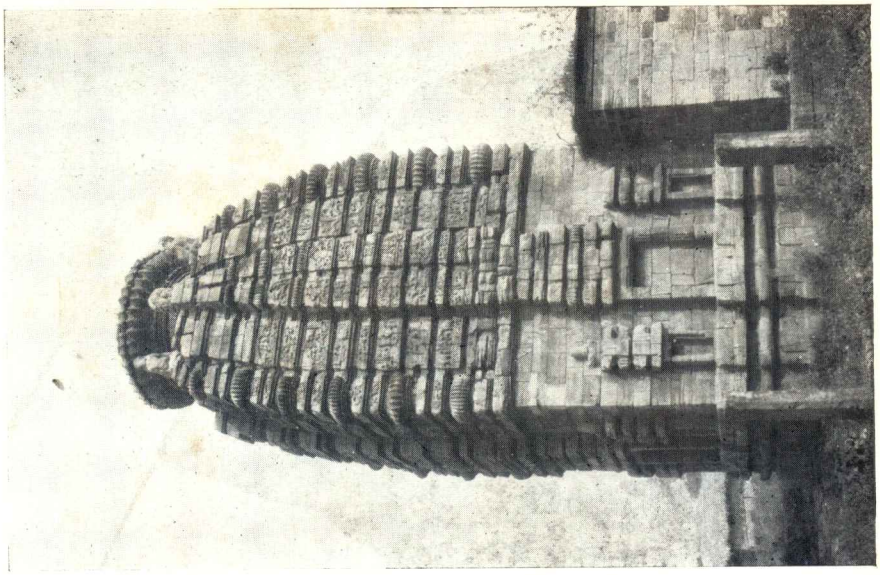


Fig. 70. *Barākar, Temple No. IV*

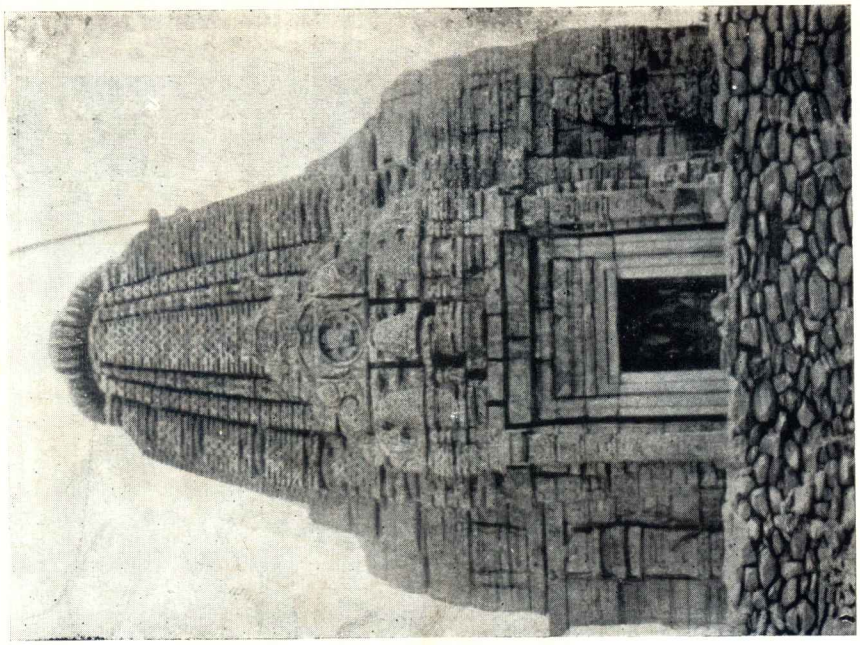


Fig. 69. *Bajaura (Kulu), Mahādeva Temple*

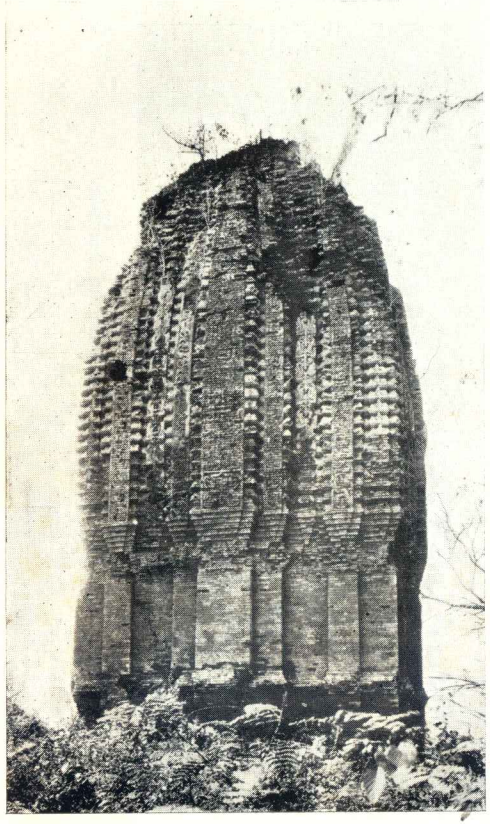


Fig. 71. *Sat Deuliyā, Śikhara Temple*

Fig. 72. *Bahulārā, Siddheśvara Temple*

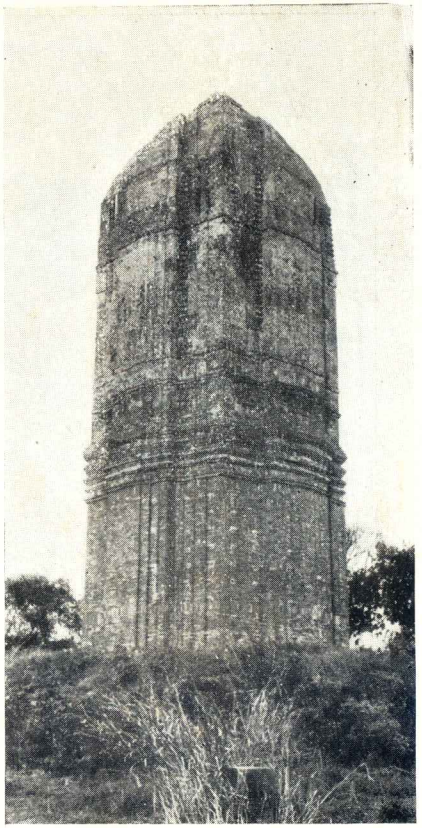


Fig. 73. *Sunderbuns, Jaṭār deul*

Fig. 74. *Māmallapuram, Shore Temple*

Fig. 75. *Kāñchīpuram, Kailāsanātha Temple*

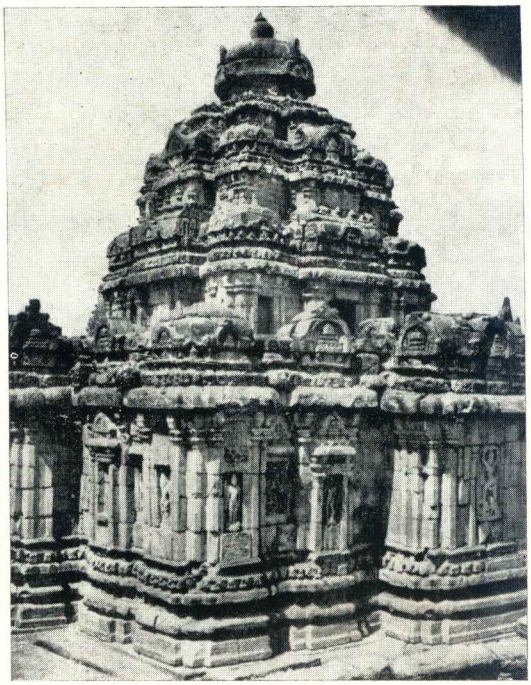


Fig. 76. *Paṭṭadakal, Mallikārjuna Temple*

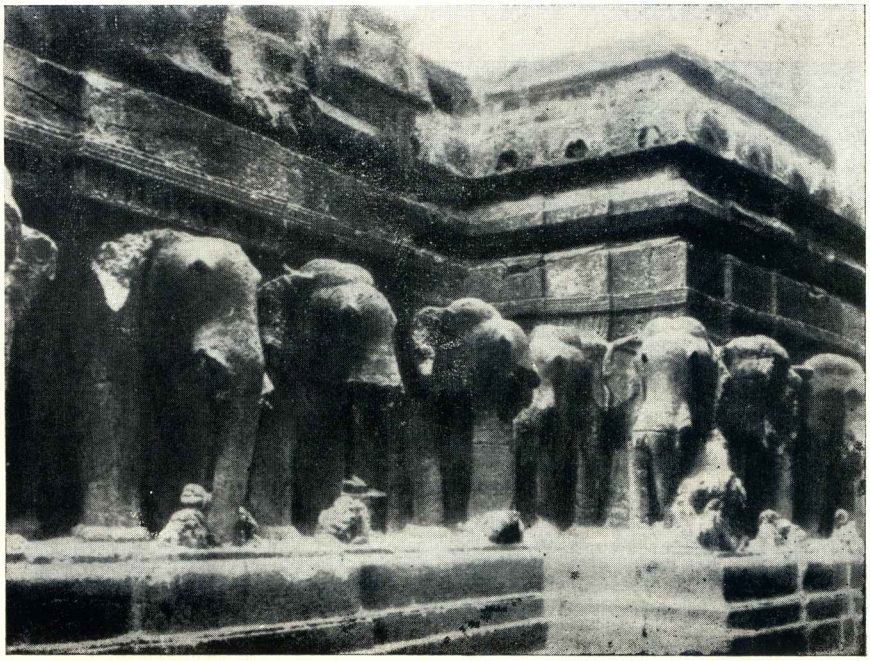


Fig. 77. *Ellora, Kailāsa Temple : Elephants*

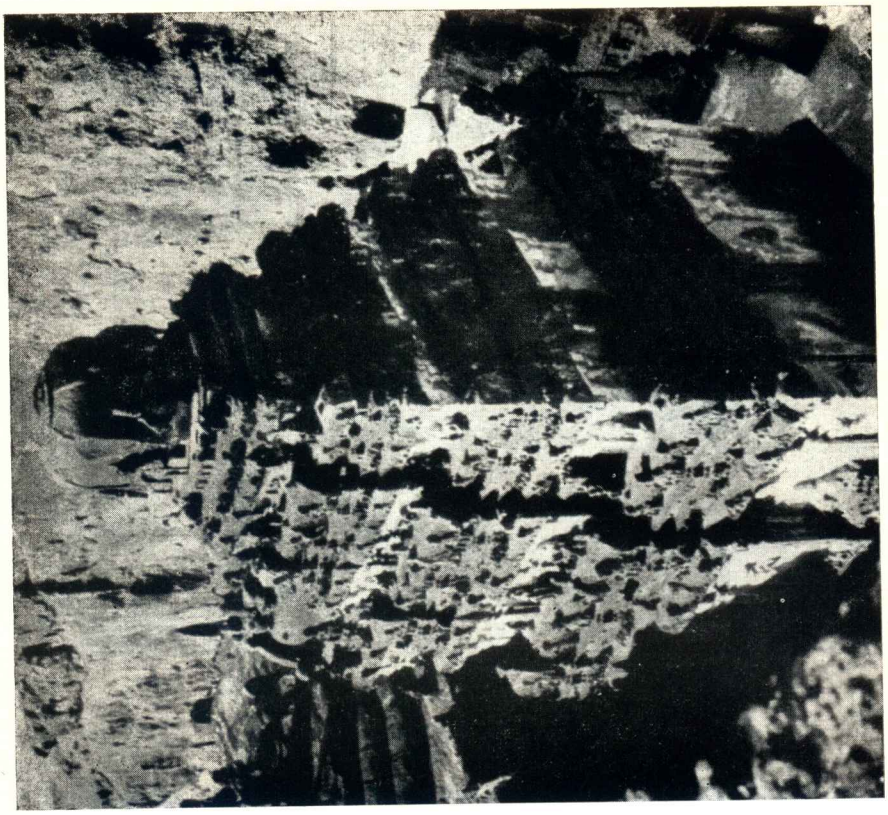


Fig. 79. *Ellora, Kailāsa Temple : Vimāna*

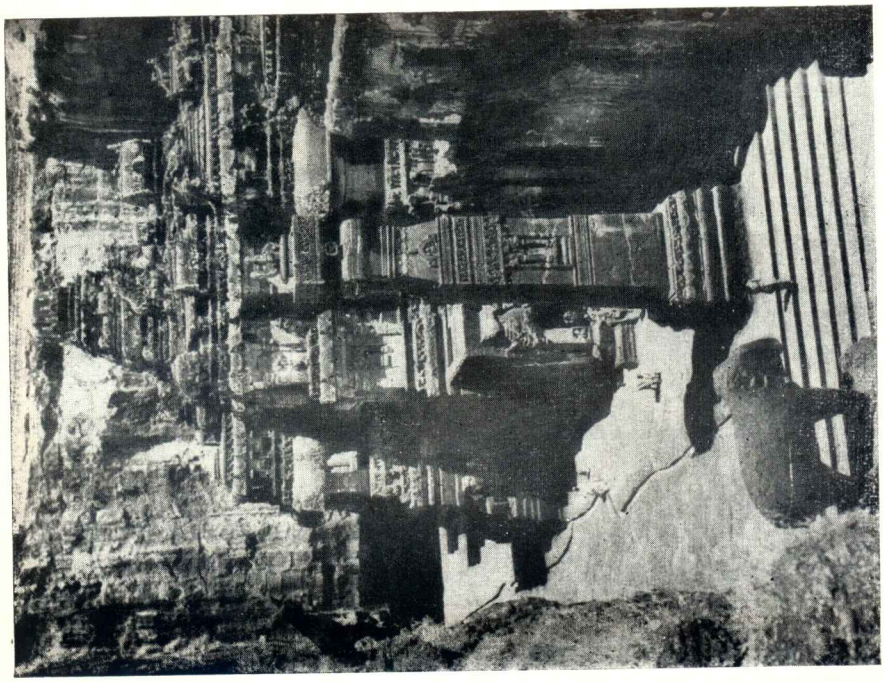


Fig. 78. *Ellora, Kailāsa Temple : General View*

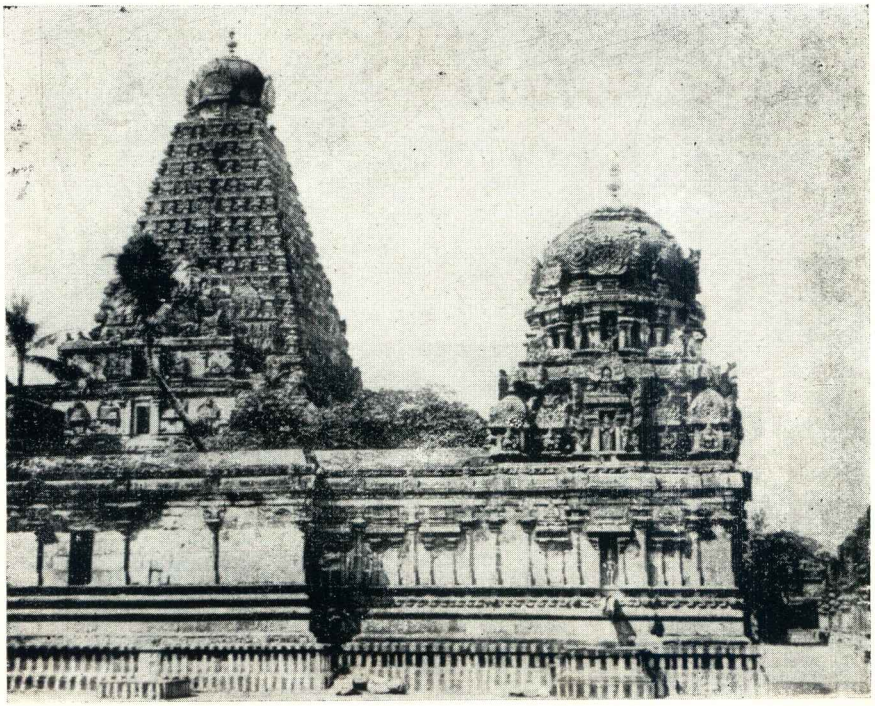


Fig. 80. *Tanjore, Bṛihadīśvara Temple*

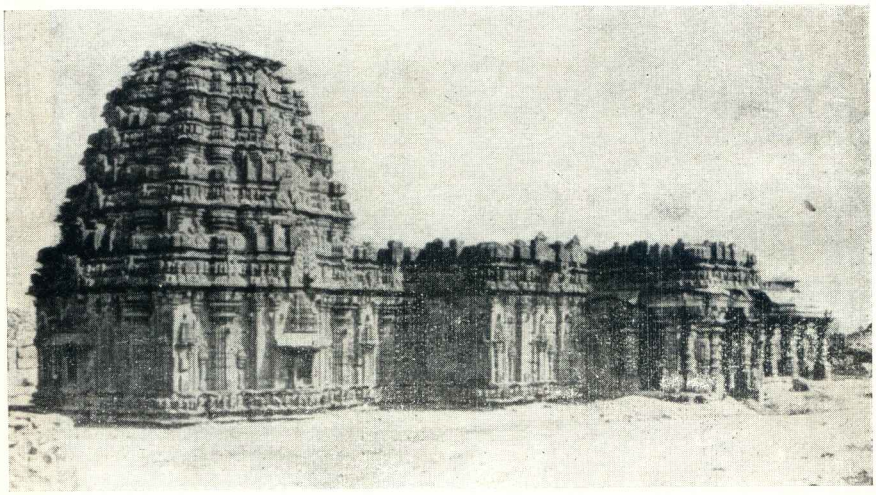


Fig. 81. *Ittagi, Mahādeva Temple : General View*

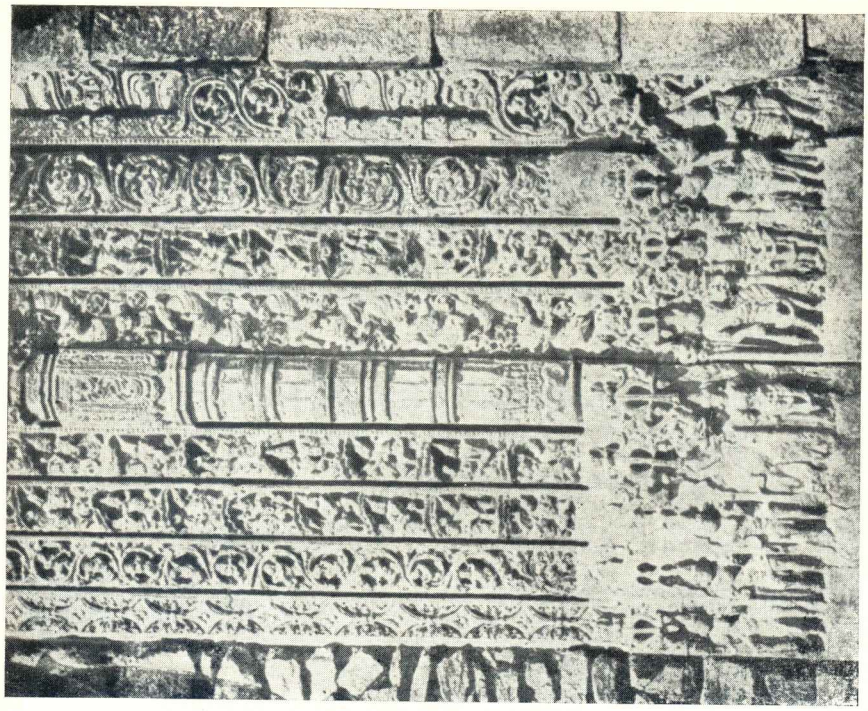


Fig. 83. *Lakkundi, Kāśiviśveśvara Temple : Door jamb*

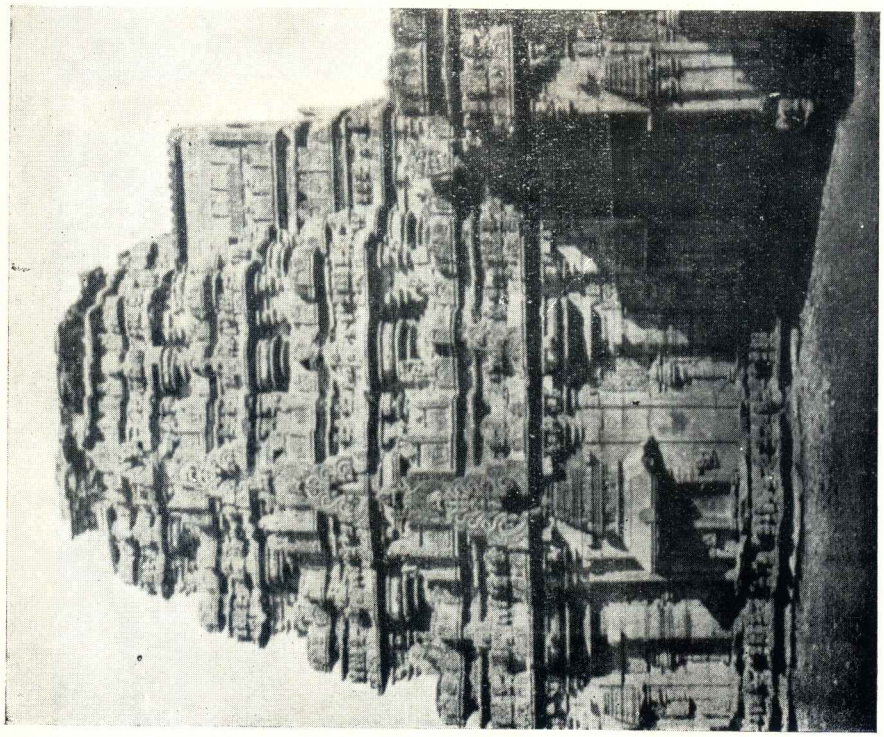


Fig. 82. *Ittagi, Mahādeva Temple : Detail*

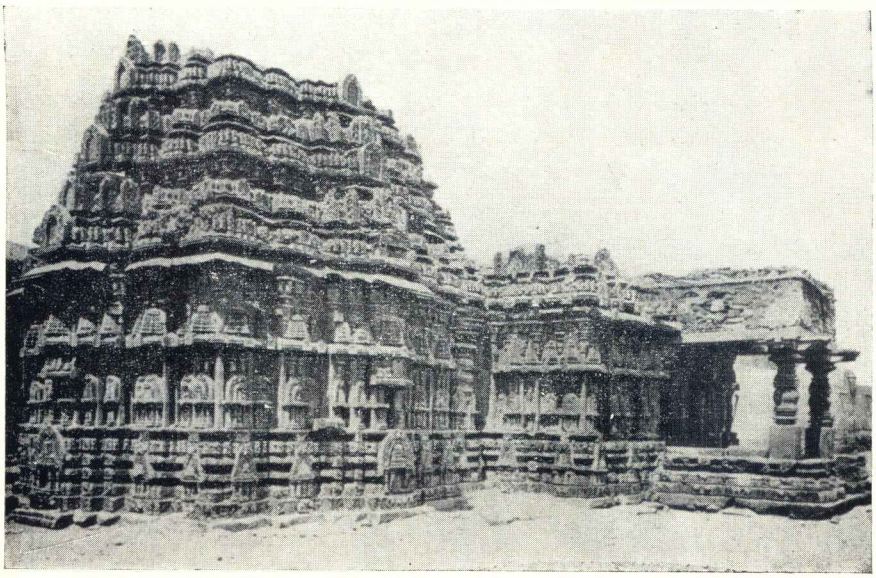


Fig. 84. *Gadag, Someśvara Temple*

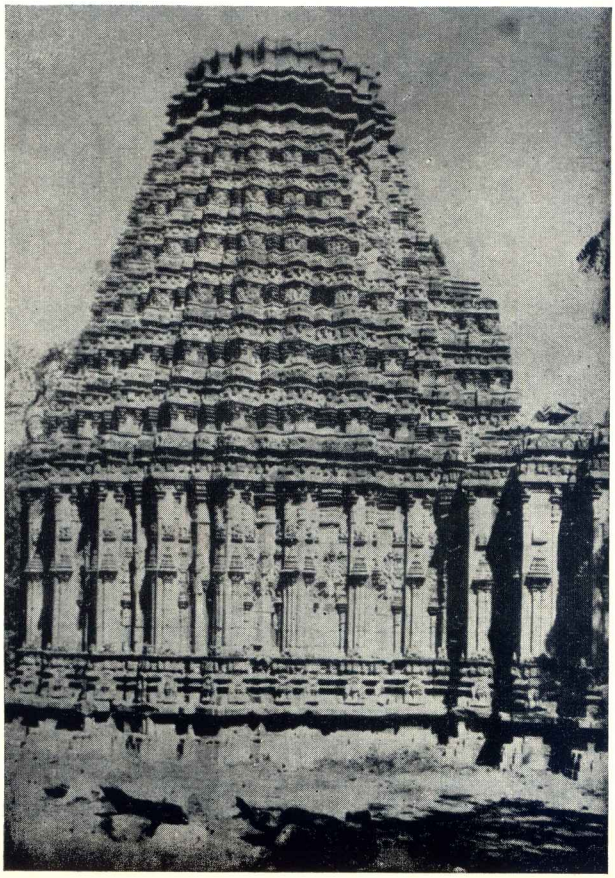


Fig. 85. *Ḍambal, Dodda Basappa Temple*

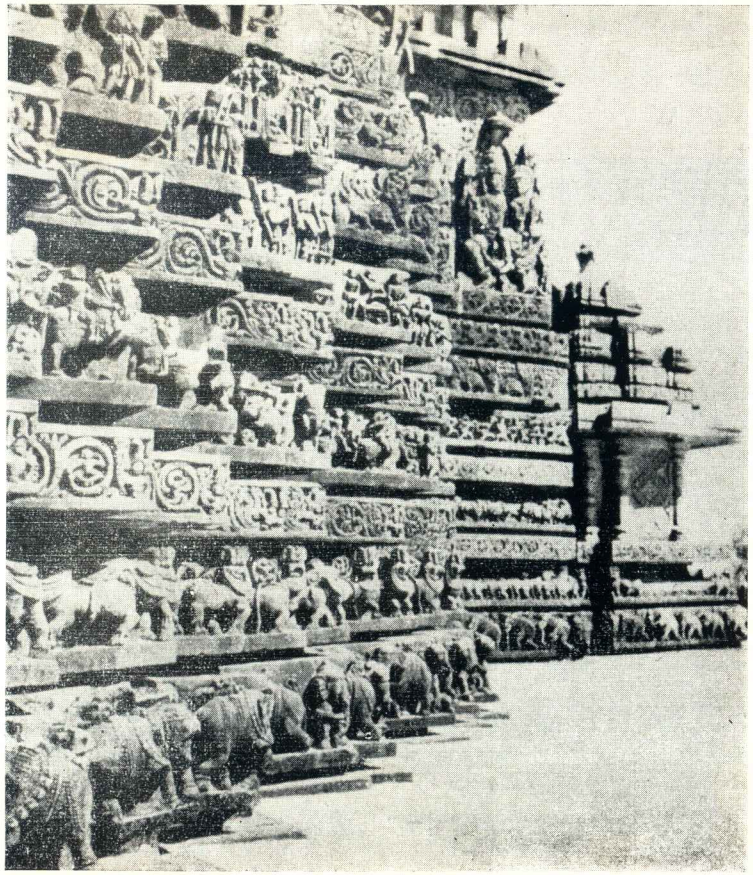


Fig. 86. *Halebid, Hoysaleśvara Temple : Plinth details*

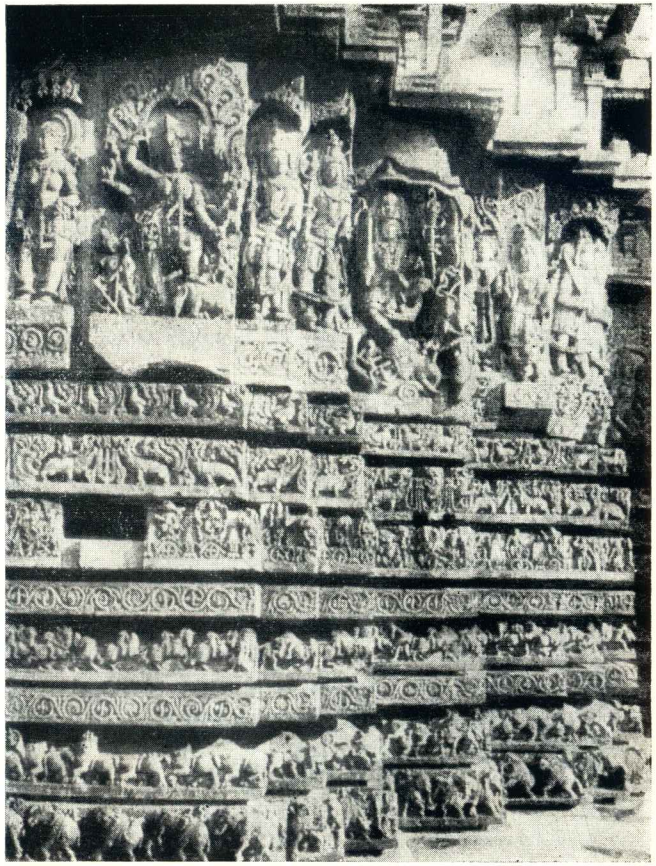


Fig. 87. *Halebid, Hoysaleśvara Temple : Plinth details*

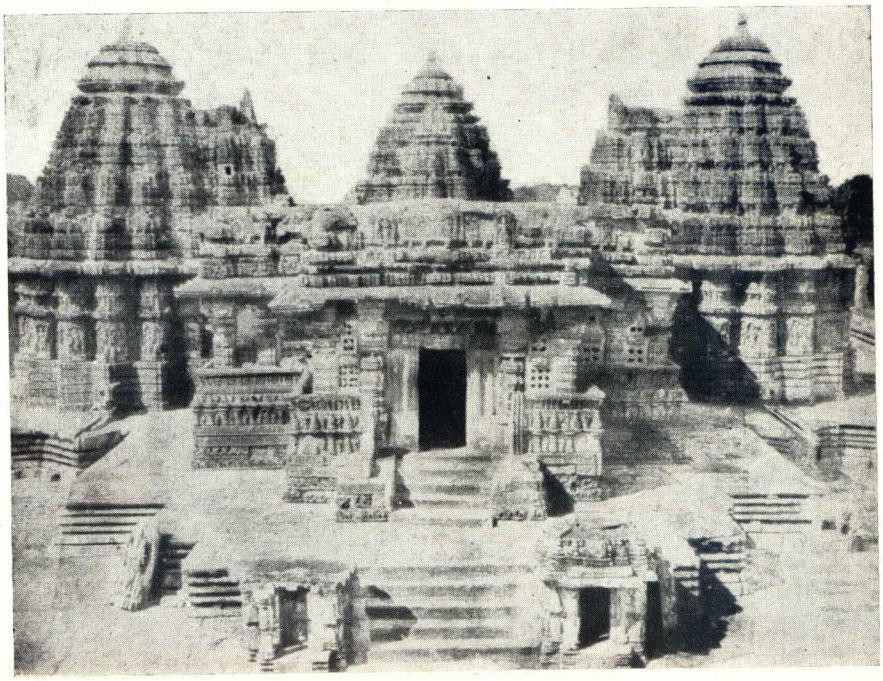


Fig. 88. *Somnāthpur, Keśava Temple*

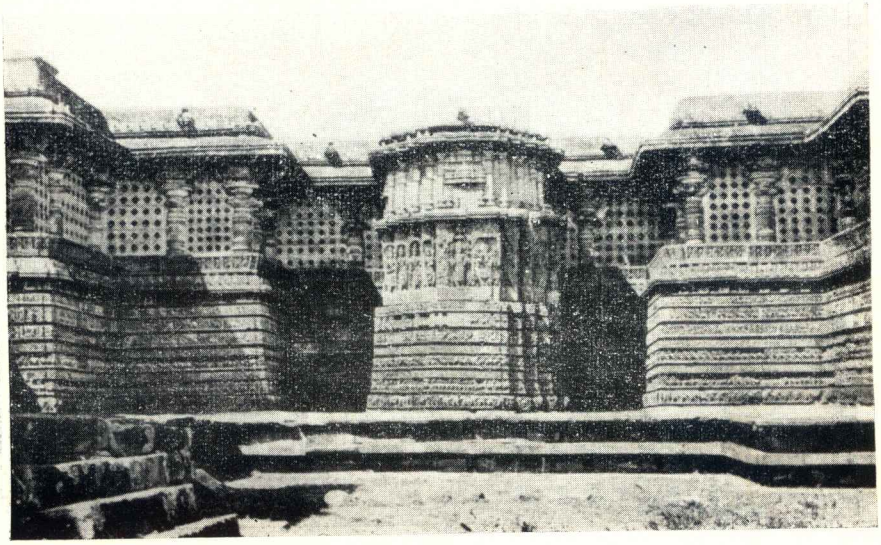


Fig. 89. *Halebid, Hoysaleśvara Temple*

Fig. 90. *Pāhārpur, Great Temple*

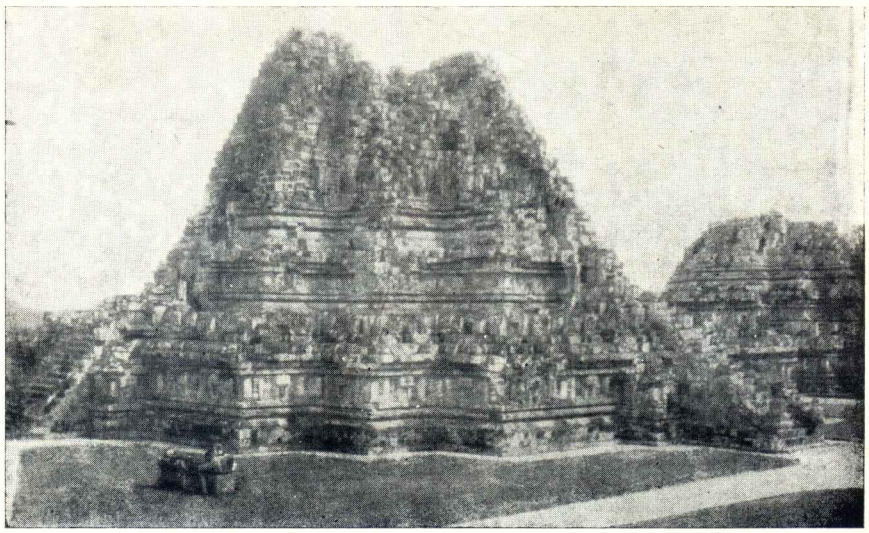


Fig. 91. *Prambanan (Java), Chandi Loro Jonggrang*

Fig. 92. *Ujāni, Buddha (Dacca Museum, East Pakistan)*

Fig. 93. *Nālandā, Avalokiteśvara*

Fig. 94. *Kurkihār, Tārā (Patna Museum)*

PLATE XLVI

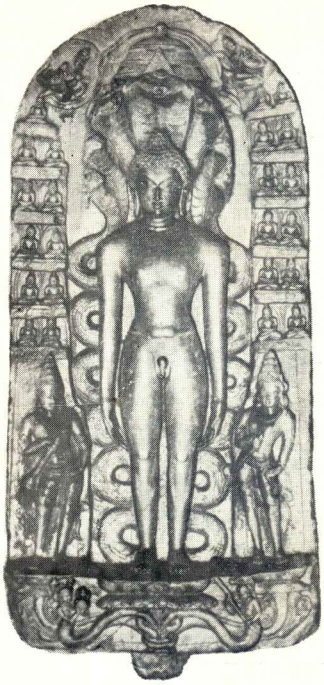


Fig. 95. *Kāṇṭābeniā Pārśvanātha*

Fig. 96. *North Bengal, Kārtikeya, (Indian Museum, Calcutta)*

Fig. 97. *Śaṅkarbāndhā Dancing Śiva (Dacca Museum, East Pakistan)*

Fig. 98. *Chāprā, Sūrya (Rajshahi Museum, East Pakistan)*

Fig. 99. *Deopārā, Gaṅgā (Rajshahi Museum, East Pakistan)*

Fig. 100. *Jaynagar, Devī (British Museum, London)*

Fig. 102. *Bhuvaneśvara, Old Temple : Śiva*

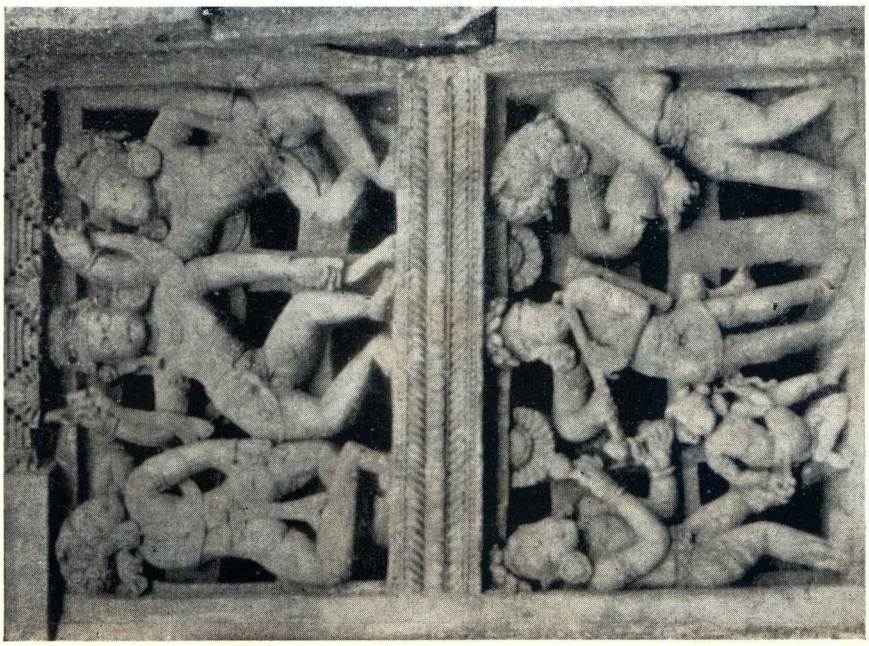


Fig. 101. *Bhuvaneśvara, Paraśurāmeśvara Temple: Stone grille*

Fig. 104. *Bhuvaneśvara, Liṅgarāja Temple : Teacher*

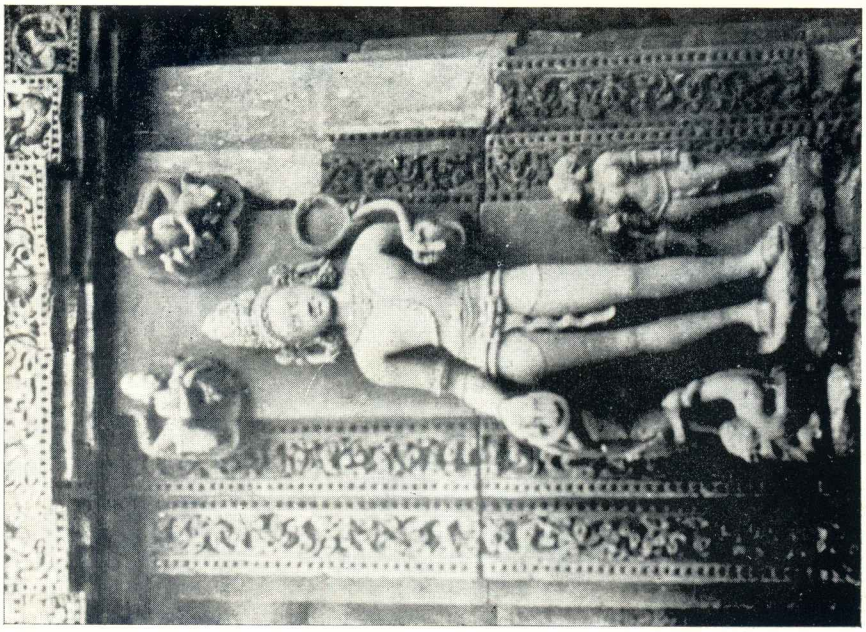


Fig. 103. *Bhuvaneśvara, Rājārāṇī Temple: Varuṇa*

Fig. 105. *Konārak, Sun Temple: Nāyikā*

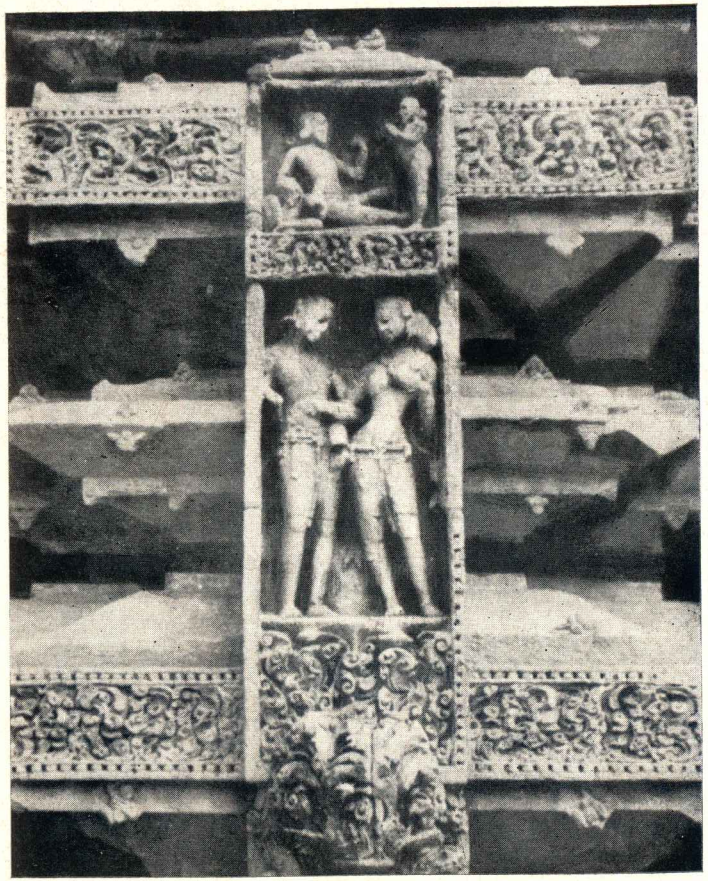


Fig. 106. *Bhuvaneśvara, Liṅgarāja Temple: Wall decoration*

PLATE L

Fig. 107. *Uttar Pradesh, Navagraha slab (Worcester Art Museum, U.S.A.)*

Fig. 108. *Uttar Pradesh, Twelve-armed goddess (British Museum, London)*

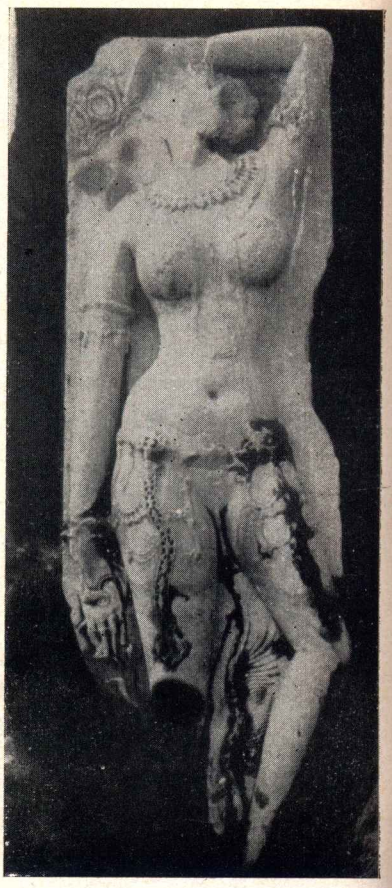


Fig. 109. *Nokhas, Rukmiṇī*

Fig. 110. *Uttar Pradesh, Head of a female figure (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.)*

Fig. 111. *Khajurāho, Lady writing letter (Indian Museum, Calcutta)*

Fig. 112. *Harshagiri, Dancers and Musicians (Shikar Museum, Rajasthan)*

Fig. 113. *Central India, A Chedī head*

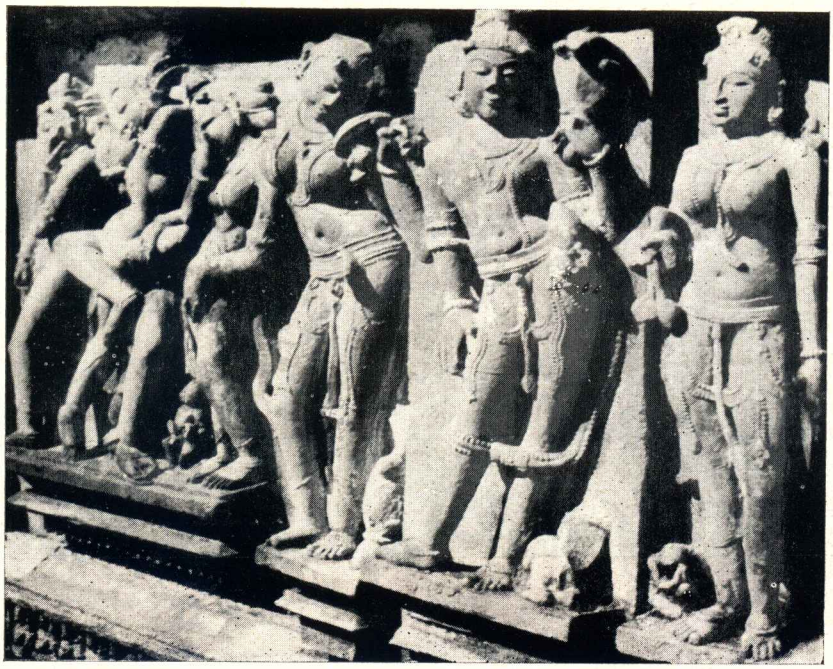


Fig. 114. *Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo Temple : Jāṅgha sculptures*

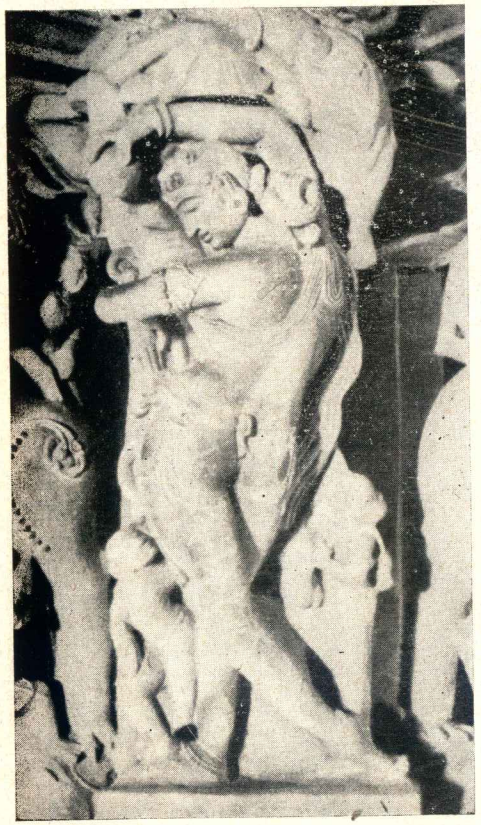


Fig. 115. *Khajurāho, Kandarya Mahādeo Temple: Jāṅgha sculpture*

Fig. 116. *Khajurāho, Ardhanārīśvara*

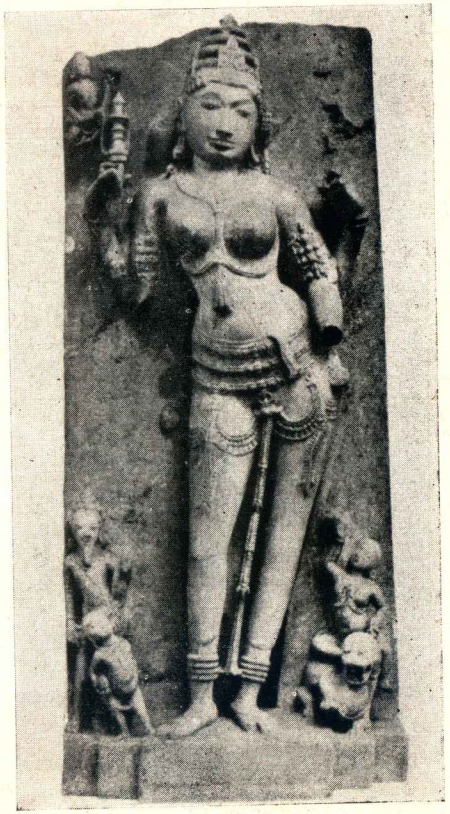


Fig. 117. *Dhārā, Vidyā Devī (British Museum, London)*

Fig. 118. *Dilwārā, Tejahpāla's Temple: Part of a ceiling*

Fig. 119. *Mahobā, Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara (Lucknow Museum)*

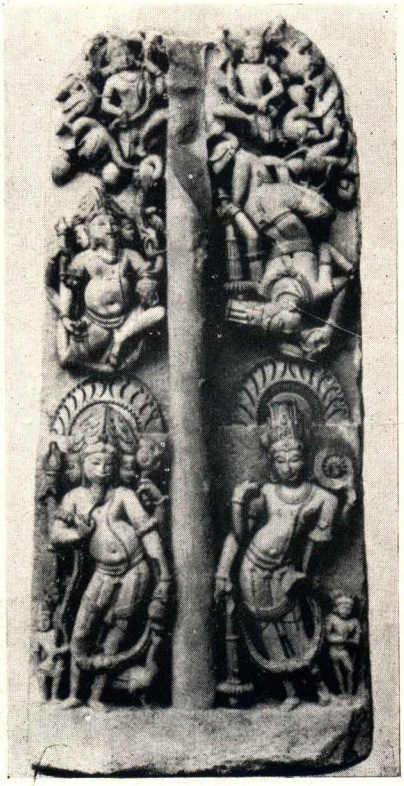


Fig. 120. *Harshagiri, Liṅgodbhava Mūrti (Rajputana Museum, Ajmer)*

PLATE LV

Fig. 121. *Dilwārā, Tejaḥpāla's Temple: Part of a ceiling*

Fig. 122. *Halebid, Hoysaleśvara Temple: Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa*

Fig. 123. *Modhera. Sun Temple: Pillar Sculpture*

Fig. 124. *Temple Sculpture*

Fig. 125. *Avantipura, Avantīsvāmī Temple: Sculpture*

Fig. 126. *Nepāl Padmapāṇi (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.)*

Fig. 127. *South India, Śiva Naṭarāja (Museum van Asiatische Kunst Amsterdam)*

Fig. 128. *South India, Devī (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.)*

Fig. 129. *South India, Śiva Naṭarāja*

Fig. 130. *South India, Śaiva devotee (C.W.E. Cotton collection, U.K.)*

Fig. 131. *South India, Pārvatī (Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.)*

Fig. 132. *South India, Sundaramūrtisvāmī (Colombo Museum)*

Fig. 133. *South India, Śiva Vīṇādhara (Museum Guimet, Paris)*

Fig. 134. *Ellora, Kailāsa Temple: Ceiling painting*

Fig. 135. *Tanjore, Brihadīśvara Temple: Painting on wall*

Fig. 136. *Painting in a Ms. of Gaṇḍavyūhya, c. 11th century A.D.*

Fig. 137. *Vasudhārā: Painting in Vredenburg MS. of Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

Fig. 138. *Tārā: Painting in a MS. of Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā copied in year 4 of Rāmapāla (Collection: Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Hindu University, Banaras)*

Fig. 139. *Mahāśrī Tārā: Painting in a MS. of Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā copied in N.S. 191/A.D. 1071 (Collection Asiatic Society, Calcutta, No. A. 15)*

Fig. 140. *Buddha: Painting in a MS. of Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā copied at Nālandā in year 6 of Mahīpāla I. (Collection: Asiatic Society, Calcutta, No. G. 4713).*

Fig. 141. *Nativity of Buddha: Painting in above MS.*

Fig. 142. *Tārā: Painting in a MS. of Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā; c. 11th century A.D. (Collection: S. K. Saraswati, Calcutta)*

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